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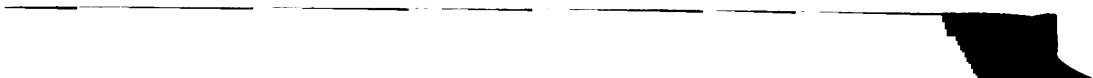
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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES,

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. III SECOND SERIES.

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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JANUARY, 1868.

[No. 1

I—THE ORIGIN OF "M'FINGAL."

Gage's Proclamation of June 12th, 1775, in Burlesque Verse, by John Trumbull.

By HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JOHN TRUMBULL, the author of *M'Fingal*, after his admission to the bar in Connecticut,¹ prosecuted the study of law at Boston, in the office of John Adams, from November, 1773, till September, 1774. During this period, as the

1. For the Life of Trumbull, see the Memoir prefixed to the Hartford Edition of his *Poetical Works* (1820, two volumes, octavo), EVANSER'S *Poets of Connecticut*, and DUVOLSON'S *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, i. 303-312.

The following Notes, preserved by President Stiles in his *Itinerary* [MS.], make a considerable addition to what the poet has elsewhere told us of himself and to the gleanings of his biographers:

"Memoirs Jno. Trumbull Esq., Poet. (*Ex ore John Trumbull*, May 14, 1783.)

"1750, Apr. 24 N. S. born at Westbury (now Watertown).

"Æt. 2. Began Primer and learned to read in half-year, "without school. Mother taught him all the primer "verses, and Watts' *Children's Hymns*, before [he could] "read."

"Æt. 4. Read the Bible thro'—before 4. About this time "began to make Verses. First poetry" [he read was] "Watts' *Lyrics*, and could repeat the whole,—and the "only poetical book he read till æt. 6."

"Æt. 5. Attempted to write and print his own verses. "Sample,—large *huguous* letters. This first attempt "at writing, by himself, and before writing after copy. "Scraps.

"Æt. 6. In Spring began to learn Latin and learned half "Lilly's Grammar before his father knew it; caught it, "as his father was instructing Southmayd" [William; grad. Yale, 1761; son of Capt. Daniel, of Waterbury.] "Same Spring, was 6 yrs. old. Learned *Quæ genus* by "heart in a day. Tenacious memory: quick, too."

"Æt. 9. On a wager laid—to commit to memory one of "Salmon's *Pater Nosters* in a quarter of an hour—he effected it, reciting by memory the P. N. in Hungarian "and Malabar, in Salmon; and retains it to this day. I "heard him repeat the Hungarian."

"Æt. 14. In Sept. 1767, entered Yale College—having fitted "for College in one year and half; having learned Cordery, Tully's *XII Select Orations*, Virgil's *Bælogues*, and "all the *Æneid* (not *Georgics*), and 4 *Gospels* in Greek."

"At the Commencement in this Town the 14th Instant, "among those that appear'd to be examined for Admission was the Son of the Rev'd Mr. Trumble, of "Waterbury, who passed a good Examination, altho' "but little more than seven Years of Age; but on Account "of his Youth his Father does not intend he shall at "present continue at College."—*Connecticut Gazette*, No. 129, Sept. 24, 1767.

Memoir prefixed to the revised edition of his Works informs us, "he frequently employed his "leisure hours in writing essays on political subjects, in the public gazettes; which had, perhaps, a greater effect from the novelty of the "manner, and the caution he used to prevent any "discovery of the real author." Shortly after his return to Connecticut, he became a contributor to the *Hartford Courant*,—then published by Ebenezer Watson, and afterwards by Hudson & Goodwin.² Gage,—whose early confidence in his ability 'to play the lion' had much abated since his arrival at Boston, in May, 1774,—was now apparently relying more upon the pen than the sword, to awe America to submission. In *M'Fingal* (Canto ii., p. 81) Trumbull retraces

"The annals of his first great year :
"While, wearying out the Tories' patience,
"He spent his breath in proclamations;
"While all his mighty noise and vapour
"Was used in wrangling upon paper;

"While strokes alternate stunn'd the nation,
"Protest, address, and proclamation;
"And speech met speech, fib clash'd with fib,
"And Gage still answer'd, squib for squib."

"Æt. 8. Read Milton, and Thompson's *Seasons—Telemachus* "—the *Spectators*. These, all the poetical and belles [lettres] "books till æt. 13."

"Æt. 13½. Sept. 1763. Entered College again and resided "there. Before this, read Homer, and Horace, and Tully "De *Oratore*. Versified half the Psalms before æt. 9, when "he first saw Watts' *Psalmes*, and laid aside (and burnt) his "own. Before 4 æt., upon first reading Watts' *Lyrics*, he "cried because he despaired of ever being able to write "Poems like Watts."

"Æt. 17. Grad. at Y. C. and resided as Dean's Scholar till [he] "took [his] 9d degree. Then lived one year at "Wethersfield."

"Æt. 21. Elected Tutor Y. C. and in office 3 years.

"1773. Resigned Tutorship, having studied law one year.

"1774. One year studied law under Dr. John Adams in Boston; and left, Sept. 1774.

"1775. Fall, wrote two first Cantos of *M'Fingal*; printed, "Jan. 1776.

"1782. Jan. to April, wrote the rest of *M'Fingal*; printed, "September."

2. In 1772, while a Tutor of Yale, he published the first Part of *The Progress of Dulness*,—a poem "designed to expose "the absurd methods of education which then prevailed;" a second Part, with another Edition of the first, was printed in January, 1773; and the third Part appeared in July. In May, 1773, he had published in the *Courant*, *An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Buckingham St. John*, one of his earliest and most intimate friends. Shortly before leaving Boston, (August, 1774,) he wrote *An Elegy on the Times*, which was printed in one of the Boston papers. All these publications were anonymous.

Into this wordy warfare, Trumbull entered with spirit and success. Imitations in burlesque of Gage's magnificent and turgid Proclamations,

"In true sublime of scarecrow style,"

had occasionally appeared in the newspapers of Boston and in Connecticut. At so fair a mark, ridicule could hardly miss its aim; and these squibs were perhaps quite as popular and effective as if their versification had been smoother or their wit more refined.

The Proclamation of the twenty-fifth of July, 1774, "for the Encouragement of Piety and "Virtue," &c., and that of the twenty-eighth of September, proroguing the General Court of Massachusetts, were thus re-produced, in doggerel, and printed (one, or both, perhaps, being copied from a Boston paper,) in the *Courant*, of the third of October. In the *Boston Gazette* of the fourteenth of November, a Proclamation prohibiting compliance with the requisition of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress for the payment of taxes to a Receiver of their own appointment, &c., appeared in Hudibrastic verse:

"Since an Assembly most unlawful,
"At Cambridge met, in Congress awful,
"October last, did then presume
"The powers of government to assume;
"And slighting British administration,
"Dar'd rashly seek their own salvation," &c.

This was re-printed the following week in the *Courant*, and in several other newspapers.

Whether this and other similar compositions, published in the *Courant*, in 1774, were from Trumbull's pen, is not certain. His characteristic "caution to prevent discovery" has rendered it impossible to convict him of the authorship, except upon the internal evidence. In some publications of the following year, such evidence is more direct; and in one instance, at least, it is positive and conclusive.

On the nineteenth of June, 1775, the *Courant* published GAGE's Proclamation of the twelfth, extending free pardon to "the infatuated multitude," on their return to allegiance, but proscribing Samuel Adams and John Hancock, with "all their adherents, associates, and abettors," and establishing Martial Law throughout Massachusetts. The Proclamation re-appeared in the same paper, on the seventeenth of July, in burlesque verse, as

"TOM GAGE'S PROCLAMATION,
"Or blistering Denunciation,
"(Replete with Defamation,)
"Threat'ning Devastation,
"And speedy Jugulation,
"Of the New English Nation . . .
"Who shall his pious ways shun?"

ending, in due form, with

"Thus graciously, the war I wage,
"As witnesseth my hand . . . TOM GAGE."

"By command of Mother Cary,
"THOMAS FLUCKER, Secretary."

This burlesque may have been previously published elsewhere. Its merit is too slight to impart any interest to the question of its origin. It appears, however, to have attained a transient popularity and was widely copied by the patriotic press. It may be found (re-printed from the *Pennsylvania Journal*, of the twenty-eighth of June), in MOORE's *Diary of the Revolution*, vol. i., pp. 93-94. In the *Courant* of the seventh and the fourteenth of August, another version of the Proclamation made its appearance,—and this last was unquestionably written by Trumbull. It is somewhat remarkable that not only the evidence of authorship, but the composition itself, should have escaped the observation of so many diligent gleaners of the newspaper literature of the Revolution. It is more surprising that no editor of *M'Fingal* has detected in the burlesque Proclamation, the origin of the "modern epic," to which more than fifty of the two hundred and sixteen lines of this earlier composition were transferred by its author.

In a letter to the Marquis de Chastellux, Trumbull states that "the poem of *M'Fingal* was "written merely with a political view, at the "instigation of some leading members of the "first Congress, who urged [him] to compose a "satirical poem on the events of the Campaign "in the year 1775." The Memoir prefixed to the Edition of 1820, adds, that the friends at whose solicitations the first Canto was written "immediately procured it to be published at Philadelphia, where Congress was then assembled." It made its appearance in an octavo pamphlet of forty pages,—printed by William and Thomas Bradford,—in January, 1776, but with the date of 1775. At this time, the author "had also "formed the plan of the [whole] work, sketched "some of the scenes of the third Canto, and "written the beginning of the fourth." (The first Canto, as originally published, was subsequently divided into two.) The composition was suspended until after the surrender of Cornwallis had established the success of the Revolution, when the poem was completed and published in Hartford, by Hudson & Goodwin, on the tenth of September, 1782. Before the close of the year, (December 28,) a second edition was issued by a rival Hartford publisher, Nathaniel Patten,³ without the author's consent.

3. NATHANIEL PATTEN—for many years an enterprising, not over-scrupulous, publisher at Hartford, was originally a book-binder. He had removed from Boston to Norwich, in the Spring of 1774, and after carrying on business at the latter place for two years, came to Hartford in the summer of 1776,—opening a shop as binder, stationer, and bookseller. After a few years he began to publish on his own account.

It is worth noting, that Patten's piracy of *M'Fingal* led to the enactment by the General Assembly of Connecticut, in January, 1783, of a law of Copyright, securing to authors the exclusive right of publishing and vending their works for fourteen years. PATTEN's edition of *M'Fingal* was ad-

The Proclamation Versified was published, as has been mentioned, in August, 1775. So large a proportion of it is re-produced in the first three Cantos of *M'Fingal*, that the latter poem may be said to have grown directly out of the former. That it was the appearance of this burlesque which induced the Author's friends to urge him to the composition of a longer and regularly constructed poem, in the same measure and a similar vein, is hardly doubtful.

Among the prominent members of the Congress of 1775 to whom Trumbull was personally known, and whose solicitation was likely to have weight with him,—besides the delegation from his own State, including Oliver Wolcott, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane,—were John Adams, his instructor in law, and Thomas Cushing, in whose family he had lived while in Boston. They were not mistaken in their estimate of his genius and of the service which, in that "period of terror and dismay," his wit, humor and satiric power might render to the friends of American liberty, "to inspire confidence in our cause, to crush the efforts of the Tory party, and to prepare the public mind for the Declaration of Independence." With these objects in view, as his Memoir informs us, he wrote the first part of *M'Fingal*. Its success abundantly justified the judgment of his friends. Its popularity was unexampled,—and that the favor with which it was received, at home and abroad, was not attributable merely to the interest of its subject or the seasonableness of the publication, is sufficiently proved by the fact that "more than thirty im-pressions" had been called for before 1820, and that then, as now, it had not only its established place in every good library, but had become the prey of "news-mongers, hawkers, peddlers and petty chapmen," who, as the author complains, republished it at pleasure, without his permission or knowledge.

In the Notes appended to this re-print, those portions of the burlesqued Proclamation which were afterwards incorporated in *M'Fingal* are indicated by references to the Author's Edition of the complete poem (*Hartford*, 1782), except when another Edition is particularly mentioned.

versified in the *Courant*, on the seventh of January, 1788, with the statement that "this ingenious work has lately been sold for the extravagant price of *Half a Dollar*, but will now be offered at one third less." In the same number of the *Courant* appeared an article of two columns, probably from Trumbull's pen, on the importance of encouraging productions of genius by ensuring to Authors the profits arising from the sale of their writings. The writer alludes to the "great discouragement to a writer, on the first publication of his work, to see some mean and ungenerous Printer . . . seizing [it] out of his hands, re-printing it in so mangled and inelegant a manner that the author must be ashamed of the Edition, and defrauding him of the profits of his labors." On the meeting of the General Assembly, a few days afterwards, a petition was preferred, and the enactment of "An Act for the Encouragement of Literature and Genius" was procured.

The suppression, after the publication of the First Canto, of the name of Daniel Leonard, as the author of the letters of *Massachusettsensis*, and the substitution of William Smith for Isaac Low, in the humorous description of proceedings in New York, are perhaps worthy of special notice. (*See Notes 4 and 9.*)

A copy of the genuine Proclamation, (from a broadside in the library of George Brinley, Esq.) is prefixed to the imitation, that it may be seen how closely and skilfully Trumbull followed his copy.

[THE PROCLAMATION.]

By His Excellency the Honourable THOMAS GAGE, Esquire, Governour and Commander-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of MASSACHUSETTS BAY, and Vice-Admiral of the same :

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, the infatuated multitude who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well known incendiaries and traitors, in a fatal progression of crimes against the constitutional authority of the State, have at length proceeded to avowed Rebellion; and the good effects which were expected to arise from the patience and lenity of the King's Government have been often frustrated, and are now rendered hopeless, by the influence of the same evil counsels; it only remains for those who are invested with supreme rule, as well for the punishment of the guilty as the protection of the well-affected, to prove they do not bear the sword in vain.

The infringements which have been committed upon the most sacred rights of the Crown and People of Great Britain, are too many to enumerate on the one side, and are too atrocious to be palliated on the other. All unprejudiced people, who have been witnesses of the late transactions in this and the neighbouring Provinces, will find, upon a transient review, marks of premeditation and conspiracy that would justify the fulness of chastisement; and even those who are least acquainted with facts, cannot fail to receive a just impres-

sion of their enormity, in proportion as they discover the arts and assiduity by which they have been falsified or concealed.

The authors of the present unnatural revolt, never daring to trust their cause or their actions to the judgment of an impartial publick, or even to the dispassionate reflection of their followers, have uniformly placed their chief confidence in the suppression of truth; and while indefatigable and shameless pains have been taken to obstruct every appeal to the real interest of the people of *America*, the grossest forgeries, calumnies and absurdities that ever insulted human understanding have been imposed upon their credulity. The Press, that distinguished appendage of publick liberty, and, when fairly and impartially employed, its best support, has been invariably prostituted to the most contrary purposes; the animated language of ancient and virtuous times, calculated to vindicate and promote the just rights and interests of mankind, have been applied to countenance the most abandoned violation of those sacred blessings; and not only from the flagitious prints, but from the popular harangues of the times, men have been taught to depend upon activity in treason, for the security of their persons and properties; till, to complete the horrid profanation of terms and of ideas, the name of *God* has been introduced in the pulpits, to excite and justify devastation and massacre.

The minds of men have been thus gradually prepared for the worst extremities. A number of armed persons, to the amount of many thousands, assembled on the 19th of *April* last, and from behind walls and lurking holes, attacked a detachment of the King's Troops, who not suspecting so consummate an act of phrenzy, unprepared for vengeance, and willing to decline it, made use of their arms only in their own defence. Since that period, the rebels, deriving confidence from impunity, have added insult to outrage; have repeatedly fired upon the King's ships and subjects,

with cannon and small-arms; have possessed the roads, and other communications by which the Town of *Boston* was supplied with provisions; and with a preposterous parade of military arrangement, they affect to hold the Army besieged; while part of their body make daily and indiscriminate invasions upon private property, and, with a wantonness of cruelty ever incident to lawless tumult, carry depredation and distress wherever they turn their steps. The actions of the 19th of *April* are of such notoriety as must baffle all attempts to contradict them, and the flames of buildings and other property from the Islands and adjacent country, for some weeks past, spread a melancholy confirmation of the subsequent assertions.

In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the effusion of blood; to offer, and I do hereby in His Majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms and return to their duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefits of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.

And to the end that no person within the limits of this offered mercy may plead ignorance of the consequences of refusing it; I, by these presents, proclaim not only the persons above-named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates, and abettors, meaning to comprehend in those terms, all and every person and persons, of what class, denomination or description soever, who have appeared in arms against the King's Government, and shall not lay down the same as afore-mentioned; and likewise all such as shall so take arms after the date hereof, or who shall in any wise protect or conceal such offenders, or assist them with money, provision, cattle,

arms, ammunition, carriages, or any other necessary for subsistence or offence; or shall hold secret correspondence with them by letter, message, signal, or otherwise, to be Rebels and Traitors, and as such to be treated.

AND WHEREAS, during the continuance of the present unnatural rebellion, justice cannot be administered by the common law of the land, the course whereof has for a long time past been violently impeded, and wholly interrupted; from whence results a necessity of using and exercising the Law-Martial; I have therefore thought fit, by the authority vested in me by the Royal Charter to this Province, to publish, and I do hereby publish, proclaim and order the use and exercise of the Law-Martial, within and throughout this Province for so long time as the present unhappy occasion shall necessarily require; whereof all persons are hereby required to take notice, and govern themselves, as well to maintain order and regularity among the peaceable inhabitants of the Province, as to resist, encounter and subdue the Rebels and Traitors above-described, by such as shall be called upon for those purposes.

To these inevitable, but, I trust, salutary measures, it is a far more pleasing part of my duty to add the assurance of my protection and support to all who, in so trying a crisis, shall manifest their allegiance to the King, and affection to the Parent State; so that such persons as may have been intimidated to quit their habitations in the course of this alarm, may return to their respective callings and professions; and stand distinct and separate from the parricides of the Constitution, till God in his mercy shall restore to his creatures in this distracted land that system of happiness from which they have been seduced, the religion of peace, and liberty founded upon law.

Given at *Boston*, this 12th day of *June*, in the fifteenth year of the reign of His Majesty *GEORGE* the Third, by the Grace of *God*, of *Great Britain*, *France* and

Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. *Annoque Domini*, 1775.

THOMAS GAGE.

By His Excellency's command:

THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secretary*.

GOD save the KING.

[THE PROCLAMATION VERSIFIED.]

By THOMAS GAGE, whom British frenzy

*Stiled Honourable and Excellency,
O'er Massachusetts sent to stand here
Vice-Admiral and Chief Commander,
Whose Power Gubernatorial still
Extends as far as Bunker-Hill,
Whose Admiralty reaches clever
Full half a mile up Mystic River',—
Let ev'ry Clime and ev'ry Nation
Attend, once more,*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS th' infatuated creatures
Still led by folks whom we call
Traitors,—

Whom, had we dar'd, we'd have you know,
We should have hang'd a year ago,—
Advancing in progression fatal
Have now proceeded to give battle,
And with deep wounds, that fate portend,
Gaul'd many a soldier's latter end;
And all the good effects we hop'd
From fear and patience, now are dropped,—
The good effects, we mean, of gaining
Whate'er you had was worth obtaining,—
The good effects we saw in visions
Of Lordships, Pensions, Posts, Commis-
sions,—

All which, by following those same elves,
You've kept most vilely for yourselves,—
It but remains for us who stand
Invested with supreme command,
To prove we do not bear or show you
The sword in vain....So woe be to you!

But first 'tis fit it should be seen
What arrant knaves ye all have been;

What horrid crimes ye've been committing
'Gainst Parliament and Crown of Britain;
Denied the sacred right to these
Of calmly robbing whom they please;
That any man with half an eye
Your plots and mischiefs may espy;
And those who nothing know beside 'em
May see the pains ye took to hide 'em.

Did ye not scare each printing press,
And make e'en *Rivington*³ confess?
Stop ev'ry printer bold and wise
Who dared to publish Tory lies?
Nay, when myself in proclamation,
Spread wholesome falsehood thro' the na-

tion,
Altho' the lies I used to scatter
Were of the noblest size and water,
Did ye not all refuse to credit,
As tho' some common liar had said it?
Did not my scribbler-gen'ral strain hard,
My *Massachusetts*, L. . . . d,⁴
Write, ev'ry moment he could spare
From cards and gallanting the fair,
To reason, wheedle, coax or frighten
Your rebel folks from schemes of fighting,—
Scrawl, till he muddled quite his head?
And did you mind a word he said?
Did not my grave Judge S. . . ll hit⁵
The summit of newspaper wit,
Fill ev'ry leaf of ev'ry paper
Of Mills and Hicks and Mother Draper;⁶
Draw proclamations, works of toil,
In true sublime and scarecrow style;
Write farces too, 'gainst right and freedom,
All for your good,—and none would read
'em?

My friends at York, did ye not hamper,
And make each tory scribbler scamper,⁷
From C. . . . r,⁸ to that senseless prater,
From folly's rear-guard, styled *Mercator*?
Raise such a tumult, bluster, jarring,
That, midst the clash of tempests warring,
L-w's weathercock, with veers forlorn,
Could scarcely tell which way to turn?⁹
What disappointments sad and bilkings,
Awaited poor departing W. . . . s;¹⁰
What wild confusion, rout and hobble, you
Made with his farmer, Don A. W.¹¹

How did you 'fore committees drag it,
And answer it with fire and faggot?
Still bent your own side to advance,
You never gave us equal chance,
That all the world might see and tell
Which party beat at lying well;
From whence the point is very clear,
You did not dare the truth to hear,
But fearful lest the world should guess it,
Took all this trouble to suppress it.
Did you not prate of *law* and *right*,
And spirit up your friends to fight?
Apply the animating lays

Of freedom's sons in ancient days,—
Altho' you could not fail to know
Those days were thousand years ago?

Did not your clergy,¹² all as one,
Vile protestants each mother's son,
Tho' miracles have left in lurch
All men but our true Cath'lic church,¹³
Persuade you Heav'n would help you out,
Till you despised our threats so stout,—
While ev'ry sermon spread alarms,
And ev'ry pulpit beat to arms?

And now to tell the things that past
The nineteenth day of April last.
Of your armed rebels, twenty dozens,
Whom our fear multiplied to thousands,
(For fear supplies, in ways most able,
The whole multiplication table),
Attack'd our peaceful troops, I sent,
For plunder, not for slaughter meant;¹⁴
Who little mischief then had done
But kill'd eight men at Lexington;
Who show'd their love to peace and virtue,
And prov'd they'd no intent to hurt you:
For did not every Reg'lar run,¹⁵
As soon as e'er you fired a gun?
And fearful if they stay'd for sport,
You might by accident be hurt,
Convey'd themselves with speed away,
Full twenty miles in half-a-day;
Raced till their legs were grown so weary
They'd scarce suffice their weight to carry?
When you, unmov'd by all this kindness,¹⁶
Pursu'd like tygers, still behind us;
And since, assuming airs so tall,
Because we did not kill you all,

Have dar'd, with jibes and jeers confounded,
 Insult the brave whose backs ye wounded,
 (Tho' valour would with shame have burn'd,
 To shoot folks when their backs are turn'd)
 And bragging high, as tho' ye beat us,
 No more mind reg'lars than musquitoes,
 Fire on us at your will, and shut
 The town as tho' ye'd starve us out,
 And with parade preposterous hedg'd,
 Affect to hold us here befeig'd,
 (Tho' we, who still command the seas,"
 Can run away whene'er we please;)
 Have scar'd the Tories into town,
 And burnt their hay and houses down,
 And boast, unless we quickly flee,
 To drive us headlong to the sea,
 As once, to faithless Jews, a sign,
 The De'el, turn'd hog-reeve, did the fwine.

At any rate, I'm now content to
 Avoid the scrape I have got into,
 And publish here my resolution
 Of blood to spare the least effusion;
 For fast proceeding in this pickle,
 Who knows whose blood the next may
 trickle?

'Tis time, in faith, to cry enough;
 Heav'n prosper those that now leave off!
 No more the Yankees I contemn;
 Let me alone, and I will them:
 Those who in peace will henceforth live,
 I and His Majesty forgive;
 All but that arch-rogue, and first grand
 cock,
 Your *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*,
 Whose crimes are grown to that degree,
 I must hang them,—or they'll hang me.

But further to explain, to th' end
 That none may ignorance pretend,—
 I, *ex cathedra*, each malfeazance
 That follows, rank with blackest treasons.
 Whoe'er in future, without more said,
 Associate with those knaves aforesaid,
 Take arms to fight, or to conceal
 Such traitors 'gainst the common weal,
 Aid them with money, arms, provision,
 Guns, carriages, or ammunition,
 Assist their onset or retreat,

And help them, or to fight or eat,
 Hold correspondence, us to weaken,
 By letter, message, sign or beacon,—
 Know they, as traitors we shall watch 'em,
 And hang they shall, if I [*can*] catch 'em.

And now, (for bravely we come on,)
 One more *Whereas*, and then we've done:
 Whereas, as long as we shall dwell on
 This strange "*unnatural rebellion*,"
 (For all rebellion, to a notch
 Is natural only to the Scotch; "
 Tho' parliament have done their share
 To naturalize it ev'ry where,)
 Since justice cannot take its course,
 And common law's kick'd out of doors,"
 I, by the pow'r your charters grant,
 (Find ye out how, for, faith! I can't)
 Proclaim, to keep all rogues in awe,
 The exercise of martial law,
 So long, and in such quantities,
 As my great wisdom shall devise;
 So, without qualms or grumbling take it,
 Or ropes shall trice the knaves who break
 it.

But, putting off this rage and fury,
 I'm twice as glad again t' assure ye
 That all who in this trying crisis
 Shall heed my peaceable advices,
 Submit to me in ev'ry thing,
 And lose their rights, to please the King,
 Shall from my arm, which is not short,
 Obtain protection and support,
 Such as I give the Boston tories
 Who starve for heeding thus my stories,"
 Or venture each his worthless head,
 Condemn'd to 'list and fight for bread.

And all the tory-refugees
 May now go home whene'er they please;
 We've no occasion for such stuff;
 We've British fools and knaves enough:
 Whene'er they dare, without remissness,
 Let them go off about their bus'ness;
 Yet not with whigs and rebels link'd,
 But still stand separate and distinct,
 Till Mercy aid your people undone,—
 And Heav'n dispatch me back to London

[NOTES TO THE BURLESQUE.

By Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull.]

1. "Tho' Gage, whom proclamations call
"Your Governor and Vice-Admiral,
"Whose pow'r gubernatorial still
"Extends as far as Bunker's hill;
"Whose admiralty reaches clever,
"Near half a mile up Mystic river," etc.

M'Fingal (1782), Canto 2: p. 87.

"Can any one"—asked a writer in the *Constitutional Gazette*, Nov. 25th, 1775,— "read with a grave face the high sounding additions newly granted to General Gage (*vide* the public 'prints')? To appoint a man Governor over a country as large as China, while he remains 'in durance vile,' in a little nook, scarce a mile and a half in diameter, and cannot obtain a pig from *Hog Island*, nor a truss of straw from 'Noddle Island,' though both within three miles of him,— puts him much in the condition of a Moorfields' monarch, 'who, with a crown and sceptre, pretends to give laws to mighty nations.'"

2. "Now rising in progression fatal,
"Have you not ventur'd to give battle?

"And with deep wounds that fate portend,
"Gaul'd many a reg'lar's latter end?"

M'Fingal, Canto 3: p. 87.

3. In a letter addressed to the Congress at Philadelphia, in May, 1775, Rivington admitted that "by the freedom of his publications during the present unhappy disputes, he had brought upon himself much public displeasure and resentment.... A few weeks ago he [had] published in his paper a short apology, in which he assured the public that he would be cautious for the future of giving any further 'offence,' &c. His confession and apology were so far accepted that on the seventh of June following, the Provincial Congress of New York recommended that he be permitted to return to his house and family, and that he should not be molested in person or property. His reformation was not permanent. His repeated offences so exasperated the Whigs that, about three months after this 'Proclamation' was published, a party from Connecticut, led by Captain Isaac Sears, marched to New York, and entering Rivington's office, destroyed such copies of his obnoxious publications as they could find there, and carried off his types and printing materials to New Haven. Trumbull alludes to this expedition, in the Third Canto of M'Fingal.

"All punishments the world can render
"Serve only to provoke th' offender,"—

argues the Tory 'Squire, and he tauntingly asks his persecutors,

"Has Rivington, in dread of stripes,
"Ceas'd lying, since you stole his types?"

4. In transferring this line to the first Canto of M'Fingal (Phil. 1775), Trumbull wrote the name of *Leonard*, in full,— with this Note: "One of the Mandamus Council in Massachusetts Bay, author of a course of Essays, under the signature of MASSACHUSETTENSIS; for which, and his other good services he has had a place given him, with a salary of £200 sterling." But in the first Edition of the completed poem [1782], the name and the Note are omitted:—

"Did not our MASSACHUSETTENSIS
"For your conviction strain his senses?
"Scrawl ev'ry moment he could spare
"From cards, and barbers, and the fair;

"And while he muddled all his head,
"You did not heed a word he said."

[p. 18.]

The revised edition of 1820 has only this Note for MASSACHUSETTENSIS: "A course of Essays under that signature was

* Probably referring to the expedition to Hog and Noddle Islands, on the twenty-seventh of May, preceding, which had not only proved unsuccessful but led to the loss of several marines and one of the King's armed schooners.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

"published in Boston, in the latter part of 1774 and beginning of 1775. It was the last combined effort of Tory wit and argument to write down the Revolution."

These Essays, which are said to have "excited great exultation among the Tories and many gloomy apprehensions among the Whigs," are now chiefly interesting as having called forth the admirable "History of the Dispute with America," published by John Adams, under the signature of NOVANGIUS, in the *Boston Gazette*, between December, 1774, and April, 1775. Mr. Adams, as is well known, believed that he recognized in the letters of MASSACHUSETTENSIS, the style of his old friend and correspondent, Jonathan Sewall; and it was not until after his publication of the revised edition of NOVANGIUS, in 1819, that he discovered his error. *Works of J. Adams*, iv. 9, 10; x. 178. It appears that Trumbull—who was a student of law, in Mr. Adams's office in Boston, when the first Essay of MASSACHUSETTENSIS was given to the press,—made a better guess at the authorship,—rightly ascribing it to Daniel Leonard, of Taunton. Leonard, on the testimony of Mr. Adams, "was a scholar, a lawyer, and an orator, according to the standard of those days..... He wore a broad gold lace round the rim of his hat, he made his cloak glitter with laces still broader, he had set up his chariot and pair, and constantly travelled in it, from Taunton to Boston.... The discerning ones soon perceived that wealth and power must have charms to a heart that delighted in so much finery, and indulged in such unusual expense." *Works*, x. 194, 195.

5. "Did not my grave Judge Sewall hit," &c.

Transferred, with the seven lines following, to M'Fingal, Canto 1 (p. 19),—where Sewall is described, in a foot-note, as "Attorney-general of Massachusetts Bay, a Judge of Admiralty, Gage's chief Adviser and Proclamation-maker; author of a farce called the *Americans Roused*, and of a 'great variety of essays on the Ministerial side, in the Boston newspapers.' Until seduced by the arts of Hutchinson, he had been the 'cordial, confidential and bosom friend' of Adams,— 'as ardent an American, and as explicitly for resistance to Great Britain.' *Preface* to NOVANGIUS, Edit. 1819. Though his perversion to Toryism made him justly odious to his early friends, acknowledged excellence in his profession and his reputation as a writer and public speaker should have spared him the contemptuous epithet with which Trumbull—possibly for the rhyme's sake,—dismisses

"that wit of water-gruel

"A Judge of Admiralty, Sewall."

6. Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks were the proprietors of the *Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston Post Boy* (formerly *The Boston Weekly Advertiser*), from 1773 to the commencement of hostilities, in 1775. Margaret, widow of Richard Draper, (who died in 1774), continued the publication of the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, until the evacuation of the town by the British, in 1776, when she accompanied the army to Halifax. She subsequently received a pension from the British government.

7. "There never was a more total revolution at any place than at New York. The Tories have been obliged to fly. The Province is arming; and the Governor dares not call his prostituted Assembly to receive Lord North's foolish plan. Two of the *Delanceys*, *Watts*, *Cooper*, *Rivington*, *Colonel Philips*, and the rest of the Tory leaders are fled; some to England, and some to private places in the country, where they are not known." *Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia*, May 22, 1775—*American Archives*, IV. ii. 669.

"The character of the New Yorkers is no longer suspicious. The few Tories among them are silent; the cry of 'liberty is irresistible.... Rivington follows their fortunes—[that of the Tory refugees] and his printing shop, which 'forged calumny and sedition for the whole continent, is shut up.'" *Wm. Hooper to Samuel J. Johnston*, May 23, 1775.—*Ibid*, 679.

"No people can be more despised, nor more frightened, than those here who have been inimical to their Country, particularly the eleven Members of the House. Mr. Rivington has made a recantation; President Cooper has been 'camped,' etc. *Letter from New York*, April 30.—*Ibid*, 449.

8. "Have not our Cooper and our Seabury
"Sung hymns, like Barak and old Deborah?"

M'Fingal, Canto 1 (p. 16.)

"I could not half the Scriblers muster
 "That swarm'd round Rivington in cluster;
 "Assemblies, Councilmen, forsooth;
 "Brush, Cooper, Wilkins, Chandler, Booth," etc.
Ibid. (p. 18.)

In a note, Cooper is characterized as "a writer, poet, and 'satyrlist of the same stamp' as Parson Peters,—and 'President of the College of New York.' Not even by the mob which compelled Dr. Cooper to resign his Presidency and to seek his safety in flight, was he subjected to so grievous and undeserved indignity as by this coupling of his name with that of 'the fag-end man, poor Parson Peters!'"

9. ISAAC LOW, a prominent merchant of New York, had been a Delegate to the first Continental Congress, one of the earliest subscribers of the Association, and the Chairman of the general Committee for the City and County, in 1774. But his timidity and lukewarmness gave offence to more zealous patriots; and he, with his conservative colleagues, gradually lost influence and position in the Committee, until, after wavering for a time between the two great parties, he rested in confirmed Toryism. The allusion to his "weathercock" policy in the summer of 1775, was omitted from the first Canto of *M'Fingal*, published in the autumn of that year: and was subsequently transferred by the Author, in the third canto of the completed poem (1782), to WILLIAM SMITH, the Chief-justice, who, like Mr. Low, had first espoused, then abandoned the popular cause:—

—"Such a tumult, bluster, jarring,
 "That mid the clash of tempests warring,
 "Smith's weathercock, with veers forlorn,
 "Could hardly tell which way to turn."

10. No one of the "Tory scribblers" of New York was more obnoxious to the patriots, than Isaac Wilkins. He had been one of the leaders of the Tory majority in the Provincial Assembly of 1774-5, and in a speech in that body had denounced "the ill-judged, tyrannical and destructive measures of the Congress," and declared the Boston Port Bill "the mildest chastisement that could possibly have been inflicted, considering the nature of the offence" of the Massachusetts patriots. He was suspected of a share in the authorship of *A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans*, *The American Quierist*, and the essays of *A. W. Farmer*, mentioned in the following note. Shortly after the battle of Lexington, Mr. Wilkins, with other prominent Tories, escaped the fury of the Whigs of New York, by taking refuge on board a British vessel of war, in which he sailed for England. On the eve of his departure, May 8, 1775, he published a farewell address to his countrymen, declaring that he was about to "leave America and every 'endearing connection, because he would not raise his sword 'against his Sovereign, nor would he draw his sword 'against his Country.'" *Forster's American Archives*, IV. ii. 479.

11. The anti-revolutionary pamphlets of "*A. W. Farmer*," printed by Rivington, had been extensively circulated in New York and Connecticut, in the winter of 1774-5. In February, 1775, the Committee of Suffolk County, N. Y., resolved, "that all those publications which have a tendency 'to divide us, and thereby weaken our opposition to 'measures taken to enslave us, ought to be treated with the 'utmost contempt by every friend to his country; in particular the Pamphlet entitled *A Friendly Address*, &c., and 'those under the signature of *A. W. Farmer*, and many 'others to the same purpose, which are replete with the 'most impudent falsehoods, and the grossest misrepresentations; and that the authors, printers, and abettors of 'the above and such like publications, ought to be esteemed and treated as traitors to their country, and 'enemies to the liberties of America.'" *Forster's American Archives* IV. i. 1298.

When copies of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the Whigs, they were disposed of in such a manner as most emphatically to express detestation of the anonymous authors and their sentiments. Sometimes they were publicly burned, with imposing formality; sometimes decorated with tar and feathers (from the turkey-buzzard, as "the fittest emblem of 'the author's odiousness'") and nailed to the whipping post. See, also, an account of the burning of *A. W. Farmer's View of the Controversy*, &c., by the Sons of Liberty in New York, in *Rivington's Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1775, re-printed in *Moore's Diary of the Revolution*, I. 12.

The odium of authorship rested, in popular apprehension

on Dr. Myles Cooper, Isaac Wilkins, and Samnel Seabury, afterwards Bishop of Connecticut. Mr. Seabury was, at this period, a resident of Westchester, and an uncompromising loyalist. He was one of the signers of the "White Plains Protest," by which the Westchester Tories, in April, 1775, expressed their "honest abhorrence of all unlawful 'Congresses and Committees.'" The writings of *A. W. Farmer* were very generally attributed to his pen; and this impression, with other less questionable evidence of his zealous Toryism, led to his arrest and imprisonment at New Haven, in November, 1775. Mr. Dawson, whose judgment in a question of authorship is nearly infallible, ascribes the *A. W. Farmer* pamphlets to Isaac Wilkins; and in this, I follow him, as my sufficient authority, though my earlier impression was that Seabury had a principal part in their composition.

12. A Boston correspondent of *Rivington's Gazette*, March 9, 1775, classes with "the high sons of liberty," "the ministers of the gospel,—who, instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments, and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the mother country. The independent ministers have ever been, since the first settling of this Colony, the instigators and abettors of every persecution and conspiracy."

When General Gage declared, in his Proclamation of June 12, that "to complete the horrid profanation of terms and of ideas, the name of God has been introduced in the pulpits, to excite and justify devastation and massacre," it is probable that he especially alluded to a sermon delivered some two weeks previously, before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, by the Rev. Dr. Langdon, President of Harvard College. "May we not be confident," asked the preacher, "that the Most High, who regards these things, will vindicate his own honour, and plead our righteous cause against such enemies to his government as well as our liberties? In a variety of methods he can work salvation for us, as he did for his people in ancient days. . . . May the Lord hear us in this day of trouble, and the name of the God of Jacob defend us, send us help from his sanctuary, and strengthen us out of Zion! We will rejoice in his salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners." This sermon, with others illustrating "the politico-theological phase of the conflict for American Independence," was re-printed in 1860, with pertinent notes, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, in an excellent volume entitled *The Pulpit of the American Revolution*.

13. This appeal to the *odium theologicum* is dexterously introduced. If any sentiment could unite the people of New England more closely than did the love of liberty, it must be hatred of Popery. The suspicion that Gage and his employers favored the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion,—however unfounded,—was very generally entertained in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Dr. Langdon gave it expression in the Election Sermon before quoted: "When we consider the late Canada Bill, which implies not merely a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion (which would be just and liberal), but a firm establishment of it through that extensive province. . . . have we not great reason to suspect that all the late measures respecting the colonies have originated from Popish schemes of men who would gladly restore the race of Stuart, and who look on Popery as a religion most favorable to arbitrary power?"

In *A Dialogue between the Friends*, viz.: *An unlimited Commander, now in America, and the D. . . .*, printed in the *Connecticut Courant*, October 17, 1774, the Commander [Gage] is made to say—

"The Pope I've worshipp'd long, 'tis true,
 But this must be 'twixt me and you;
 With all our zeal we must not dare
 One syllable of this declare; . . .
 For in this Place, you know, are those,
 Who fear a God, nor let his Foes
 Transgress all Laws divinely made,
 As if true sinning was a Trade."

14. "You must acknowledge it was duty, as it was the dictate of humanity, to prevent, if possible, the calamities of a civil war, by destroying such magazines." *Gage's Letter to Governor Trumbull*, May 3, 1775.

15. "For did not ev'ry Reg'lar run," etc.

This, with the seven lines following, was transferred to *M'Fingal*, Canto 2 (p. 37.)

16. "Yet you as vile as they were kind,
Pursued, like tygers, still behind,
Flr'd on them at your will, and shut
The town, as tho' you'd starve them out;
And with parade prepost'rous hedg'd,
Affect to hold them there besieg'd;" etc.

—*Ibid.*

17. "Tho' we, who still command the seas," etc.

Transferred, with the seven lines following, slightly altered, to *M'Fingal*, Canto 2 [p. 38.]

18. "His fathers flourish'd in the Highlands
Of Scotia's fog-benighted islands;
Whence gain'd our 'Squire two gifts by right,
Rebellion, and the Second-sight."

M'Fingal, Canto 1, (p. 4.)

19. "While reason fails to check your course,
And loyalty's kick'd out of doors."

—*Ibid.*, Canto 3 (p. 55.)

20. "There is no market in Boston; the inhabitants are all starving," wrote an English soldier, April 30th, 1775: "the soldiers live on salt provisions, and the officers are supplied by the men-of-war cutters, who go up the creeks and take live cattle and sheep wherever they find them.... Duty is so hard that we come off guard in the morning, and mount picket at night." *Foxes's American Archives*, IV, 41. 411.

"We heard yesterday, by one Mr. Rolston, a goldsmith, who got out from Boston in a fishing schooner, that the distress of the troops increases fast, their beef is spent, their malt and cider all gone; all the fresh provisions they can procure they are obliged to give to the sick and wounded," etc. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 2,—in *Moore's Diary of the Revolution*, I, 118.

Gage was doing his best to procure supplies. Captain Wallace, in the *Rose*, sloop-of-war, with two tenders, was plundering the sea-coast towns; and early in August, he was dispatched with a more considerable fleet, to the neighborhood of Stonington and New London, Connecticut. The day before the first portion of the burlesque Proclamation appeared in the *Courant*, August 6th, this fleet carried off from Fisher's, Gardiner's and Plum Islands, about eighteen hundred sheep and one hundred head of cattle. On their return to Boston, "with these trophies of victory, the bells, we hear," [says the *Essex Gazette*, August 17], "were set to music, to the no small joy and comfort of the poor, half-starved Tories."—*CAULKIN'S Hist. of New London 1775; FROTHINGHAM'S Siege of Boston*, 236.

II.—SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

By HON. E. E. BOURNE, PRESIDENT OF THE
MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Everything in relation to Sir William Pepperrell is interesting to the people of New England. Those who have read his life, by Parsons, could not fail to have had their attention specially attracted to his wonderful Christian faith. He was a full believer in a particular Providence, and was assured that his success at Louisburg was a special answer to prayer.

His son, Andrew, had been to a ball at Portsmouth, and returning across Piscataqua river late at night in a storm, took a severe cold, resulting in a fever which terminated his life. Under the pressure of his severe sickness, and his fearful apprehensions of its tendency, he wrote the following letter, which I have extracted from Parsons:

"TO REV. DR. SEWALL, MR. PRINCE, MR.

"FOXCRRAFT, DR. CHANCEY, &C., IN BOSTON.

"KITTERY, Feb. 20, 1751.

"DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS:—

"The great and holy, just and good God is
"come out against us in his holy anger. O, may
"it be a fatherly anger! He is bringing our sins
"to remembrance, and seems to be slaying our
"onlyson. O pray! pray! pray! for us that the Lord
"would keep us from dishonoring his great
"name, in our distress and anguish of soul; that
"He would support us under, and carry us
"through, what He shall in His sovereign plea-
"sure, bring upon us, and if it be His blessed
"will that our child may yet be spared to us, and
"sanctified, and made a blessing. Pity us, O
"our friends, and cry mightily to God for us.

"We are your distressed friends,

"WILLIAM PEPPERRELL,

"MARY PEPPERRELL."

This letter he despatched to Boston by a special messenger, directing him to make known to his Christian friends on the road, the critical condition of his son, for the purpose of obtaining their aid at the throne of Grace, and as soon as he reached Boston, to carry it to each one of the ministers to whom it was addressed. Such faith in the power of prayer is seldom witnessed at the present day. We have no occasion to express any opinion of the soundness of his views as to his relations with the Infinite. We only write of the historical man.

The following letter will be read with interest in connection with the above. In making some alterations recently in an old house in York, the workmen removed the large panel over the fireplace, and this letter fell out. The Mrs. Prentice to whom it was addressed, was the wife of Rev. Thomas Prentice, who preached at Arundel, and afterwards at Cambridge.

KENNEBUNK, May 23, 1867.

B.

KITTERY, May 1, 1751.

DEAR MRS. PRENTICE

You will easily excuse it that your favour of April 1st has lain by a month unanswered. It is not for want of a grateful sense of your tender sympathy with us in our distress &c. I thank you for it, and for your daily prayers, that are, I doubt not continually ascending (O that I had as much reason to say) to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God. But though I am not able with that holy reverence and filial freedom and confidence, which I really believe you are favoured, honoured, and blessed with, to cry, Abba, Father; yet I desire to be found trusting in the precious merits of the Blessed and Holy Lord Jesus Christ, for the pardon of my

many and great sins, for the Privilege and Spirit of Adoption, for the Mortification of my strong Corruptions, for the Bestowment and Increase of Grace, for the Sanctification of all Ordinances, and Providences, and particularly late awful———O dear Madam! excuse me, I cannot speak—I am overwhelmed and distressed; but I desire to be dumb and not open my mouth, because God has done it. The God against whom I have sinned and rebelled, whose wonderful Mercies and Favour I have wickedly and ungratefully slighted and abused, and, above all, whose only begotten and dearly beloved Son, worth ten millions of mine, to speak infinitely within bounds, but freely given up for my sins, a once crucified and now glorified Redeemer, continually offered to me in the Gospel, I have refused, and preferred the World before him, the Creature before him!—O! when I think of this, I know I am punished far less than my iniquities deserve. I wonder I have enjoyed so many Mercies so Long; yea I wonder that such a sinner is out of the hottest place in Hell one moment. You and the Rev^d Mr Prentice will be praying for me and poor Mrs Pepperrell, that we may not suffer so many things, such things in vain.—Blessed be a merciful God, though we are cast down, yet not destroyed; though distressed but not in despair. We would indulge a comfortable Hope, that a blessed, heavenly Father, means all for our best Good: means that we should be thereby made partakers of his Holiness. O astonishing Privilege! Such vile creatures made Partakers of Gods Holiness! Well, let this be all our Salvation & all our Desire, though our House be not so with God, and tho' he make it not grow May he establish his everlasting covenant with us and our dear remaining offspring make us Blessings here, and blessed for ever in the full enjoyment of himself and I have no more to say but only, Blessed be the name of the Lord.—

Your dear only son whom I rejoice that God yet spares to you behaves himself unexceptionally well. I hope shall be directed to give him the best Advice I can in Remembrance of my dear Brother Butman dec^d and his dear Master now taken from his Head. May he be a great and lasting Blessing and do something in his Day towards making up the wide Breach made upon us With Mrs Pepperrells and my best Regards to the Rev Mr. Prentice & yourself and repeated desires of earnest Prayers

I am dear Madam

Your assured tho' afflicted Friend
& humble Servant

WM PEPPERRELL

III.—LIBRARIES AND HOW TO MANAGE THEM.

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Esq., LATE PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

What is proposed in this article will relate chiefly to private libraries. The gentleman who has from two hundred to five hundred volumes, can scarcely need any promptings respecting an arrangement of so small a number of books, because, if he has such a collection for any other purpose but a show of literature, he will carry in his memory all that is necessary for the ready finding of any work. But in these days of books, a collection of from five thousand to ten thousand volumes is a very moderate-sized library. It is to those possessing some thousands of volumes, therefore, that these remarks are supposed to be applicable, and may be instructive and interesting.

If a gentleman has had due regard to the formation of a useful library, he will have collected, as his library has grown up, twice or thrice as many pamphlets as bound volumes. These, of course, if bound by themselves, become volumes.

And here let it be suggested that any other mode of binding pamphlets should never be tolerated, for many reasons, some of which may be considered before the close of this article, if room can be spared.

As it respects a catalogue of a library, there can be but one opinion; that is, that without a catalogue a library is of comparatively little use, especially to those who collect books merely for consultation. It is not many years since a system of cataloguing has been brought to a convenient system; namely, a complete alphabetical arrangement upon oblong slips of paper. By these slips a perfect alphabetical system is always at hand; and if a collector of books will make it a rule not to put a book into his case until it is catalogued, and follow the rule so made, his whole library will always be catalogued up to the last work obtained. The rule should apply to pamphlets as well as to bound books.

A classification of books, under various subjects, in a library, is impracticable, for various reasons: a classification requires a great deal more room than can generally be allowed to a tolerably extensive library, especially in cities. In carrying out a classification, an octodecimo must have the same height or space between the shelves as the tallest folio. Again, to make a classification complete, one wants two or more copies of the same work, because the same work may contain treatises on subjects in distinct branches of literature. To illustrate this, take a single example; go into library, and undertake to put all the works on poetry together!

As libraries, like many other personal effects, are continually on the increase, few general rules can be given respecting the apartments to be devoted to them. All that need be said on this head may be comprised in a few words—be sure and have room enough, not only to begin with, but prospectively, or you will find yourself in a predicament where thousands have found themselves, and where thousands are already. To illustrate this, take the following example: Mr. S— is a learned and distinguished professional gentleman, who has a fine taste in selecting a library. Meeting the writer, one day he spoke about his late acquisitions, but remarked that he must sell off a quantity of his books in order to make room for others, as he had no more room in his house to spare for books. On being asked if he could easily decide what works to part with, he seemed a little puzzled, and acknowledged that when he took down a work for disposal, he was often in great doubt whether to put it up again or to consign it to the auctioneer, and inquiringly asked what was to be done in such a dilemma. The writer replied, "You are a lawyer. Now what do you say to a jury before whom you are defending an accused party, when you are quite sure you have raised a doubt in favor of the accused?" Why, he replied, "Give the accused the benefit of the doubt, of course." It is not probable that the gentleman has made room in his library by selling off books which he at some time fancied he did not want. Another collector remarked that on a certain time he had sold off a quantity of the books from his library; but that such works generally turned out to be the first he desired to consult after they were thus disposed of.

The arrangement and management of pamphlets is a matter of no little perplexity to collectors. In nine libraries out of ten, if not ninety-nine out of every hundred, whatever pamphlets are contained in them, are in utter confusion; and for any use they are to the owner, they might as well be on a desolate island. Hence, it is a very common thing for a gentleman to say he has a certain pamphlet, but it would be a most uncommon thing if he should find it, although he might be very positive it was in his collection.

As it is a very expensive business to bind up pamphlets, separately, in this country, an expense few feel able or willing to submit to, another method of managing them has some peculiar advantages. It is this:—Divide them into two principal classes; first, *Treatises*, second, *Localities*. The first should comprehend all works of a scientific, controversial, political, legal, theological, and doubtful subjects. The second to include everything of a historical nature, in any way showing the affairs, historical, geographical, and characteristic of any place and its people. The first

class or division should be strictly alphabetical, and arranged in covers of the height and width of ordinary modern octavos. Those should be labelled or titled on the backs, and lettered *Treatises*, with space enough on the same title to put, in pencil, the letter or letters which indicate the titles of the tracts inside such cover or covers. A lead pencil mark is preferable to ink, because, as one is collecting, he constantly obtains works, which, when put in the irregular alphabetical order in the series, necessarily require a change in the pencillings just mentioned. Thus, one hundred or ten thousand pamphlets so disposed, form a series of volumes of good appearance in a library; in which a tract of five or ten pages may be found as easily as any favorite volume in the library. To keep the tracts from damage, and in a compact form in their covers, tapestrings in the front centre are necessary. By these strings, covers full or half full, are sufficient to guard them against damage, and falling out when in hand. Never employ "book boxes," unless you want your pamphlets speedily ruined.

The second series may be entitled *Local History*. Perhaps the best arrangement for this is alphabetical; placing the name of the locality upon the title, the same as in the other series. The collector will find this series less extensive than the other, but its convenience will be very apparent; for it often happens that it is very desirable to learn something of a locality, when there is no other guide to it in the mind but the locality itself. Suppose one desire to know if he has in his collection a Century sermon on any particular town, and knows nothing of the name of its author: he can decide the question without loss of time. It is true, that if his pamphlets are all catalogued, including subjects as well as authors, he has only to refer to that; but if he has no catalogue, and yet has his works arranged as above described, he can soon settle a question of the kind mentioned.

The documents relating to large towns are numerous enough of themselves, each for an extensive series of volumes. Some two hundred volumes, of not less than twenty tracts each, have been collected about Boston. A separate series of Funeral sermons, Eulogies and Orations is advisable. These, and also those tracts in each series, are, or should always be, specifically catalogued, so that the series containing them may be perfectly apparent in the catalogue. But where one has no catalogue, pamphlets are easily found thus arranged in any library.

Something about binding pamphlets has been said, and a protest entered against binding them into volumes, containing more than one work. In the first place, one is liable to bind up the same tract, or duplicates; in the next place, unless numbered and catalogued, they are lost sight of, and are of no more account than though they

were not in the library of their possessor. In the third place, inferior and imperfect copies are often bound, and consequently cannot well be replaced by good and perfect ones, when found. This observation applies to a whole collection of pamphlets; which, when in a series, or separately bound, can have the benefit of a life's pruning.

To the department of pamphlets in a library, particular attention is given, because it is, properly managed, one of the most valuable parts of a library. To say, as many used to, "It is nothing but a pamphlet," and consequently of no value, cannot be tolerated by any intelligent collector of a library. All these well know that a tract of a few tiny leaves is often of far greater value than many a ponderous folio. Nor is it the excited freak of an auction-room, where a comparatively worthless tract is run up among the nineties, that determines the value of a tract with the collector of intelligence.

Large tracts and broadsides must have portfolios or covers according to their size. These being numbered and the numbers noted in the catalogue, the works in them are as easily found as any other in the library.

Respecting the management of public libraries and those of institutions, it is not proposed to enlarge; for they have living examples, by which if they have profited, they are already under a system so nearly perfect, that there seems not much room for improvement. As regards the interior arrangement of buildings, there is no excuse for defects; yet, in some of the most modern and costly edifices, quackery has been allowed to a most culpable extent, by which taxpayers have been swindled out of thousands of dollars.

IV.—THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By HON. WILLIAM WILLIS, RECENTLY ITS PRESIDENT.

ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

After a political connexion with Massachusetts of one hundred and forty-two years, Maine was separated from that Commonwealth in 1820, and became an independent State of the Federal Union. The population of the new State was a little short of three hundred thousand, seated on a territory of thirty-two thousand square miles, the northern part of which was and still is a wilderness.

The Legislature, at its first session, which convened at Portland, on the last day of May, 1820, took prompt measures to promote the cause of learning and good morals. It passed an Act to encourage Literature and the Useful Arts and Sciences, by which was granted to Bowdoin College,

twenty-one thousand dollars, and to Waterville College, seven thousand dollars; provision was also made for the establishment of a medical school, in Bowdoin College.

The next year, 1821, the Maine Medical Society was incorporated, which included seventy of the principal physicians of the State, among whom were men eminent for learning and medical skill, one of whom was Benjamin Vaughan, of Hallowell, an English immigrant, once a member of Parliament, and distinguished not only for his learning, but as a Philanthropist and a Diplomatist.

The year after, in February, 1822, THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was incorporated. The forty-nine corporate members embraced the Governor of the State, the President of Bowdoin College, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and other prominent men, resident in different parts of the State. Of these corporators, after a period of forty-five years, six are now living, viz., the venerable William Allen, late President of Bowdoin College, Ashur Ware, the late eminent Judge of the United States District Court, Dr. Isaac Lincoln, of Brunswick, Nathan Weston, late Chief-justice of the Supreme Court, all over eighty-five years of age, and Ether Shepley, late Chief-justice of the Supreme Court, aged seventy-eight, and Peleg Sprague, late Judge of the United States District Court of Massachusetts, now in his seventy-fifth year, who was the youngest of the Corporators.

The first meeting of the Society was held at the Council Chamber, in Portland, on the eleventh of April, 1822, at which the Governor of the State, ALBION K. PARRIS, was chosen President; BENJAMIN HASEY, Recording Secretary; EDWARD RUSSELL, Corresponding Secretary; PRENTISS MELLEN, Treasurer, and Reverend EDWARD PAYSON, Librarian. Associates were at the same time admitted.

The Society in its early years made but slow progress. It was poor: it had to struggle with many difficulties: it was dependent for its resources on an annual assessment, which came slowly into the treasury, and from some members not at all. Little interest was then taken in historical studies; our people were so much absorbed in their material occupations, and so few with surplus capital took any interest in historical or literary pursuits, that they made no contribution for their advancement.

Few works, in these departments, had previously been published in our State, with the exception of Sermons and Occasional Addresses: a catalogue of the principal of them can easily be made. Several descriptive Essays relating to the Territory, were published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, previous to the separation; such as *Observations on the Climate, Soil and*

Value of the Eastern Counties, in the District of Maine, by General Benjamin Lincoln, in 1789; *A Topographical Description of Georgetown*, by Governor Sullivan, in the first volume; *A Topographical and Historical Sketch of Saco*, 1815, by Reverend Jonathan Cogswell; *An Account of the Penobscot Indians*, by Governor Sullivan, in the eighth volume; &c. An anonymous pamphlet of forty-four pages, was published in 1793, descriptive of the Climate, Soil, &c., of Maine, with a view to promote immigration to the District; and this contained also letters and certificates from prominent men to William Bingham, of Philadelphia, who had become the proprietor of more than two millions of acres in the territory, and was anxious to have it settled. In 1795, Governor Sullivan published *The History of the District of Maine*, in one volume, octavo, pp. 421; with a Map by Osgood Carleton, and an Appendix containing copies of original documents—a valuable contribution to the history of the Country. Governor Sullivan was a native of Maine; and was not only a learned and eloquent lawyer, but an industrious historical student, and a copious writer. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In 1816 two able and useful pamphlets were published, one of which was a *Geographical and Statistical Account of Maine, including a History of Acadia*, in one hundred and two pages, by Joseph Whipple; the other by Moses Greenleaf, in one hundred and fifty-four pages, gave a statistical view of Maine, having reference to the question of separation, then vehemently agitated. Numerous other pamphlets and addresses were published, from 1790 to 1819, on the subject of separation; and repeated Conventions issued Reports having the accomplishment of that object in view. In 1821, Reverend Jonathan Greenleaf published his *Ecclesiastical Sketches of Maine*, a work of great research and value, long out of print; and Samuel Freeman issued, in the same year, the *Journal of Reverend Thomas Smith*, with interesting and useful additions relating to the History and Statistics of Portland and the County. Both these works were in duodecimo form. In 1829, Moses Greenleaf published his *Maps of Maine*, accompanied by an octavo volume of statistics relating to Agriculture, Commerce, Population, Land-grants, etc., of very great value. This was the first map of Maine ever issued, except that of Osgood Carleton, which accompanied Governor Sullivan's *History*, and was more accurate than that. In 1830, George Folsom, then a student of law in Saco, now of New York, and prominent for his contributions to historical learning, published the *History of Saco and Biddeford*, in duodecimo form, containing the result of much careful research and useful materials for enlarged history, which would have perished but for this

preservation. These were the principal historical works relating to Maine, which appeared before the issue of the first volume of *The Maine Historical Collections*.

This volume was published in 1831. It contained *The History of Portland from its first Settlement* to the close of the seventeenth century, with an account of the various settlements on the coast of Maine previous to 1632, and an Appendix of original documents, by William Willis, occupying about two-thirds of the volume; and the remainder was filled by brief accounts of Towns, extracts from the old Records of the Province of Maine, Petitions of the Inhabitants to Cromwell and King Charles II., extracts from Governor Enoch Lincoln's MSS. relating to the Indian Languages and Catholic Missions in Maine, and the original Letters of Colonel Benedict Arnold, written in 1775, while on his expedition across Maine, to attack Quebec, accompanied by an interesting summary of the expedition by President Allen. A most graceful introductory Preface, from the classical pen of Judge Ware, ushered in the volume.

This publication was filled with copious and apt materials for American History; and was well received by the public. The demand for it having so much increased in the progress of historical studies, that a new Edition was issued in 1865, much enlarged by additional matter, and illustrated with fac-simile autographs of early settlers of the country. This has been followed by five additional volumes, of uniform octavo size, in 1847, 1853, 1856, 1857, and 1859; and, in 1863, by *The Popham Memorial Volume*, as it is popularly called, published under the direction of a Committee of the Society.

This *Memorial Volume* and the six volumes of *Collections* contain rich contributions to the history of Maine and of the whole country. They embrace Addresses delivered before the Society, by George Folsom, Bishop Burgess, William Willis, and John A. Poor; Notices of deceased members—among them an elaborate and learned eulogy on Professor Cleaveland, by Doctor Woods, and one on Doctor Benjamin Vaughan, by Mr. Gardiner;—Indian Vocabularies and treatises upon the Customs and Languages of the Aborigines; Sir Ferdinando Gorges's Narrative; Christopher Levett's Voyage of 1623; Strachey's account of the Popham Colony; Weymouth's Voyage of 1605; History of the Kennebec Purchase; Albert Gallatin's Autobiography; Cadillac's Memoir; numerous Town Histories; copies of original and interesting Documents, which had never before appeared in print; and a History of Scotch-Irish Immigration to the country, and of Presbyterianism.

In 1832, the year after the appearance of the Society's first volume, William D. Williamson, an original member of the Society, issued his

History of the State of Maine, from its first discovery to the Separation, in 1820, in two volumes, octavo. This work was prepared with great labor. Mr. Williamson was a devoted historical student: he visited personally all parts of the territory, examined the archives of States, Counties, and Towns, and held extensive Correspondence with numerous individuals in various parts of the State; and he was thus enabled to accumulate a large amount of interesting and valuable information on its Civil, Political, and Natural History. A second edition was published in 1839, containing corrections and additions of matter, and a Portrait of the Author. His Correspondence and MSS., carefully collected by his nephew, Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, a member of the Society, has been deposited in the Library by him, and abounds in interesting facts. Mr. Williamson died in 1846, at the age of sixty-six years, having held many honorable and responsible offices in the State.

The labors of the Society and of Mr. Williamson gave a strong impulse and interest to historical researches. Town histories followed in rapid succession. The second part of the *History of Portland* appeared in 1833, bringing the annals of the Town and of political changes in the State, to that date; the histories of Eastport, in 1834; of Kennebunk Port, in 1837; Windham, in 1840; Farmington, in 1846; Bloomfield, Canaan, Norridgework, and the *Journals of Smith and Deane*, in 1849; Warren and the Waldo Patent, by Eaton, and Union, by the laborious Sibley, in 1851; Gardiner and Pittston, by Hanson, and Norway, by Noyes, in 1852, followed in subsequent years, by Bartlett's *Frontier Missionary*, the town history of Winthrop, by Thurston; Sir William Pepperrell, by Parsons; Folsom's *Original Documents from the English Archives*, in 1858; Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Maine*; the Town Histories of Camden, by Locke; Gorham, by Pierce; Thomaston, Rockland, &c., by Eaton, (the blind yet indefatigable investigator,) and other historical publications, which we will not stop to enumerate. Most of these authors were members of the Historical Society; and they may be supposed to have drawn inspiration for their studies from its spirit and labors.

The Society, after struggling many years to get out its volumes and to take its place among its sister associations, received, in 1849, new impulse in a grant by the State, of a half township of land. This was sold for about six thousand dollars, which constitutes a permanent fund, the income of which has aided the Society in its efforts and its publications. In 1863, at the request of the Society, the State appropriated four hundred dollars to procure copies of documents in the British Archives, relating to the early history of Maine; and, in 1867, the State added to the

gratitude of the Society, to its own honor, and to the cause of historical knowledge and progress among us, by the passage of a Resolve authorizing the Government to contract with the Society for an Annual Volume, "in a series of volumes, "containing the earliest Documents, Charters, "and other State-papers, from the archives of "foreign countries, illustrating the history of "Maine." The subscription is limited by the Resolve to one thousand copies, and two dollars a volume, and is stated to be made to encourage and aid the Society in such publication. The Society, on receiving this liberal patronage, immediately took measures to procure from those archives, copies or abstracts of all such documents as were pertinent to the object. Doctor Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, now in Europe has charge of the subject there, and has employed Mr. Sainsbury, the well-known examiner of the English Archives, who has undertaken the work, and has already furnished the Society with a number of most interesting original documents which have never been published; among which are copies from the archives of Venice and Milan, of the dates 1472, 1476, and 1497, relating to John Cabot and his great discovery; and from the Spanish archives, concessions to Columbus from Ferdinand and Isabella, 1492, "in recompense of the discoveries he "has made in the Ocean Seas," which not only shed additional light upon those obscure transactions, but enable us to correct errors in narratives heretofore made.

An introductory volume of such materials is being prepared, under the direction of this Society, by Mr. Sainsbury and Mr. Major of the British Museum, which is believed will promote historical knowledge, gratify the curious students of history, and redound to the honor of the State. Mr. Willis of Portland, has been appointed Superintending Editor of the work. It is but just to add in this connection, that the Society is under great obligation to John A. Poor, a member, for his successful service in procuring this liberal and timely benefaction. These liberal grants have given renewed stimulus to the efforts of the Society.

Governor PARRIS held the office of President but one year. He was then Governor of the State and afterwards Senator in Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of Maine, and Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury. He returned to Portland in 1849; and in 1852 was chosen Mayor of the city. He died full of honor and public respect, on the eleventh of February, 1857, in the seventieth year of his age.

He was succeeded in the office of President by the Reverend WILLIAM ALLEN, then at the head of Bowdoin College, and now enjoying a ripe and honored old age, at his seat in Northampton, Massachusetts.

His successor was the Reverend ICHABOD NICHOLS, who was elected in 1828, and held the office six years. This able scholar and most estimable gentleman, died in 1859, in the fiftieth year of his Pastorate over the First Parish in Rutland, and the seventy-fifth of his age.

STEPHEN LONGFELLOW, the great lawyer and jurist, held the office one year; and after a long and successful practise of his profession, died in Portland, universally beloved, in 1849.

Chief-justice MELLEN held the office from 1835 to 1840, on the last day of which year, at the age of seventy-six years, he was removed from a life filled with useful and eminent services to a higher tribunal.

Judge Mellen, after a successful practise at the Bar of thirty-two years, was taken from the Senate of the United States and appointed the first Chief-justice of Maine, and filled the office with eminent ability and unspotted integrity, until disqualified by the constitutional term of seventy years, leaving the Bench in 1834.

He was succeeded as President of the Society, by ROBERT H. GARDINER, whose beautiful and philanthropic life will long be remembered by a large circle of friends, who enjoyed his elegant hospitalities.

Mr. Gardiner was son of Robert Hallowell, a Loyalist, of Boston, in 1775, whose wife was daughter of Doctor SYLVESTER GARDINER, an eminent physician of Boston, who also took refuge in England, in the War of the Revolution. Mr. Gardiner was born in Bristol, England, in 1782, and came to this country with his father's family in 1792. He inherited from his grandfather the large territory embraced in the towns of Gardiner and Pittston, on condition of adopting his grandfather's name. After taking his degree at Harvard College, in 1801, and spending sixteen months in foreign travel, he established himself upon his patrimony in Maine, which he administered with rare ability and liberality. He was a beloved and honored Citizen, and closed his long and useful life in 1864, at the age of eighty-two years.

Mr. Gardiner having resigned the office of President of the Society in 1856, was succeeded by WILLIAM WILLIS, who was successively re-chosen until 1865, when, on his resignation, EDWARD E. BOURNE was elected to his place.

Judge Bourne, Mr. Willis, and the venerable Doctor Allen are the only survivors of these presiding officers.

A full list of the Officers of the Society will follow our summary, which we cannot close without speaking a word of that most eminent man and beloved Professor, Parker Cleaveland of Bowdoin College. He held the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Society, faithfully discharging its duties, from 1829 to the day of his death, the fifteenth of October, 1858, a period of twenty-

nine years. During the six previous years he had discharged the duties of Librarian. Having taken his degree at Harvard, in 1799, he taught school three or four years; and in 1803 was appointed Tutor of Mathematics in Harvard College, where his popularity and reputation were so great, that he was sought at Bowdoin College, then just commencing its progressive life of honor and usefulness, as its first Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, to which place he was unanimously elected in May, 1805, and in which he died, after a distinguished service of more than fifty-three years, crowned with honor and the universal love of the Alumni of that Institution and of the community in which he had spent the greater portion of his long life. His works, known and approved in this country and abroad, will long survive to preserve his memory.

LIBRARY AND CABINET.

THE LIBRARY of the Society consists of two thousand five hundred and fifty volumes; one hundred and thirty bound and several unbound volumes of Newspapers; and twenty-eight hundred unbound pamphlets.

Among the above may be enumerated the Colonial Records of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and the *Documentary History* of New York; the *Collections* of the Historical Societies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; those of the Northern Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*; the Publications of the Smithsonian Institution, and of the coast and other surveys of the United States; Harris and Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, in seven volumes, folio; De Vries' *Voyage*; Oldmixon, Wynne, Douglass, Rogers, Prince, Mather, Williams, Belknap, Holmes, Hubbard, Drake and Palfrey; *the American Archives and State Papers*; Massachusetts Election Sermons, 1756—1799; Ordination Sermons; several volumes of Ecclesiastical, Theological, and Political Essays and Tracts, from 1691; many publications relating to the Rebellion and Slavery; etc.

The Library is particularly rich in Town histories of the New England States.

Among the MSS. are copies of a MS. Journal, by a British Volunteer, during the Siege of Penobscot, in 1779; Journals of Reverend Joseph Moody, of York, and Rev. William Homes of Martha's Vineyard, 1715—1747; Papers of Colonel Allan; Memorials concerning the rights of the United States and Great Britain to Grand Menan and the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay; numerous MS. sermons of early Ministers in Maine; a large and most valuable collection of Records and Papers relating to the Pijepscot title and contro-

versy on the Androscoggin River, and of the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase; Papers of the late Governor King, General Knox, Marshal Thornton, Commodore Preble, and Doctor Sylvester Gardiner; and those relating to the protracted and violent controversy on land titles in Lincoln County, growing out of the conflict between the Pemaquid and Kennebec Proprietors. These MSS. throw great light on the History of Maine from its earliest settlement.

We hope soon to add to our stores the works of Hackluyt and Purchas, which we have ordered from London.

THE CABINET contains numerous implements and relics of various Indian tribes; many ancient and modern Maps; cast of a grave stone which was placed over the grave of a French settler in Nova Scotia, of date 1606; a portion of a Roman (or Phœnician) pavement from Setubal, (St. Ubes) in Portugal, of great antiquity, by some supposed to be of Phœnician origin; numerous autographs of distinguished men; the Bell from Father Rale's Chapel, at Norridgewock, brought away in 1725; the clock case which stood in the house of Benjamin Franklin's father, in Boston, and the old clock case which belonged to the Brattle-Street Church in Boston; the latter presented by Mrs. Sarah Bowdoin; among the maps are the Weimar maps of 1527 and 1529; Graham's Map of the North-eastern Boundary Survey, and those of the United States Coast Survey; and Jeffery's American Atlas, London, 1775.

The Cabinet also contains a great variety of coins, ancient and modern, among which is a complete set of American cents, including the Washington, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia and New York colonial coppers; the Massachusetts pine tree shillings and sixpences, 1652; and specimens of old Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins, discovered at Castine, Richmond Island, and other places in Maine, of great interest and value. Among those found at Richmond Island, were silver shillings and sixpences of the times of Queen Elizabeth, James I., and gold coins of James VI. of Scotland, and James I. and Charles I. of England. Full descriptions of many of these coins may be seen in the sixth volume of the *Collections* of the Society, pp. 127—151.

The Weimar Maps above mentioned, are copies with a commentary by J. G. Kohl, issued in 1860, from the originals in the library at Weimar, of *The Two General Maps of America, published in 1527, and 1529, and by command of the Emperor, Charles V.* Kohl's elucidation is of high value.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS ORIGIN.

PRESIDENTS.—Albion K. Parris, 1822; William Allen, 1823-1828; Ichabod Nichols, 1828-1834; Stephen Longfellow, 1834; Prentiss Mellen, 1835—
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1840; Robert H. Gardiner, 1840-1856; William Willis, 1856-1865; Edward E. Bourne, 1865.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.—Edward Russell, 1822; Ichabod Nichols, 1823-1828; Samuel P. Newman, 1828; Parker Cleaveland, 1829-1858; James W. Bradbury, 1859; Samuel F. Dike.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.—Benjamin Hasey, 1822; Benjamin Tappan, 1823-1828; Stephen Longfellow, 1828-1831; William Willis, 1831-1835; Asa Cummings, 1835; Joseph McKeen, 1836-1846; William Willis 1846-1856; Phineas Barnes, 1856; Joseph Williamson, 1857-1860; Edward Ballard, 1860.

TREASURERS.—Prentiss Mellen, 1822-1831; Albion K. Parris, 1831-1833; William Willis, 1833-1835; William B. Sewall, 1835; John McKeen, 1836-1858; Augustus C. Robbins, 1858.

LIBRARIANS AND CABINET KEEPERS.—Edward Payson, 1822; Parker Cleaveland, 1823-1829; Samuel P. Newman, 1829-1834; Henry W. Longfellow, 1834; Alpheus S. Packard, 1835.

In 1859, an Amendment of the By-laws, authorized the appointment of a Vice President; and the late Bishop Burgess held that office, frequently presiding at the meetings with great dignity, until his lamented death, on the twenty-third of April, 1866.

The Officers of the Society in 1867 are

HONORABLE EDWARD E. BOURNE of Kennebunk, *President*.

HONORABLE JAMES W. BRADBURY, of Augusta, *Vice President*.

SAMUEL F. DIKE, of Bath, *Corresponding Secretary*.

REVEREND EDWARD BALLARD of Brunswick, *Recording Secretary*.

PROFESSOR ALPHEUS S. PACKARD, of Brunswick, *Librarian and Cabinet Keeper*.

AUGUSTUS C. ROBBINS, of Brunswick, *Treasurer*.

WILLIAM WILLIS, JOHN A. POOR, LEONARD WOODS, A. D. WHEELER, ALPHEUS S. PACKARD, J. B. SEWALL, EDWARD E. BOURNE, and EDWARD BALLARD, *Publishing Committee*.

V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIES IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

88.—THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.*

PRINCETON 29th October 1783

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose your Excellency an exemplification of the Preliminary Treaty with

* From the original, belonging to Charles I. Bushnell Esq., New York.

Great Britain and the ratification thereof by Congress.

The reason of this Act of Congress having been thus delayed arose from many important considerations—Amongst others we waited for some explanations from our Ministers, which we have lately received and are encouraged to believe that the ratifications are exchanged in England.

Congress did not choose to attend this exemplification with any recommendations to the States; as their principal desire at present is to prevent the States from doing anything which would render the carrying of the articles, on our part, hereafter, into full execution, any way impracticable, especially as one part of them is to take place on a ratification in America.

Our last advices from New York are, that the British will evacuate the City within ten days. This is an event most devoutly to be wished, and for which I earnestly pray.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

& very humb^l: Servant

His Excellency ELIAS BOUDINOT.
Governor CLINTON.

89.—BOARD OF WAR TO COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

WAR OFFICE 2 o'clock P M
Thursday

GENTLEMEN

I did myself the Honour of writing you about two Hours Since informing your honourable Body that the Members of this Board were very ready to confer & co-operate with you in any Measures you should think necessary for the Defence of this State—The Congress having vested us with all their powers we beg Leave to repeat that we are and shall be ready at all Times to meet a Committee from your Board to consult upon such steps as may require our joint Exertions—Should you be inclined to hold a Conference you will be pleased to signify the same to Gentlemen

Your most obed. Ser^t

By order of the Board of War

E RUTLEDGE

[Addressed]

The Hon^{ble} the COUNCIL OF SAFETY of Pennsylvania.

[Indorsed]

WAR OFFICE
21 Nov. 1776.

* From the original, belonging to Francis S. Hoffman, Esq New York.

90.—JOHN ADAMS TO MONSIEUR BINON. *

QUINCY Feb 7 1819.

DEAR SIR

I have received your polite favour of the 3^d of this month. I am afraid that you are engaged in Speculations that will never be profitable to you. The age of Sculpture and painting have not yet arrived in this Country, and I hope it will not arrive very soon. Artists have done what they could with my face and eyes, head and shoulders, stature and figure and they have made them monsters as fit for exhibition as Harlequin or Punch. They may continue to do so as long as they please. I would not give sixpence for a Picture of Raphael or a Statue of Phidias. I am confident that you will not find purchasers for your bust & therefore I am sorry that you are engaged in so hopeless speculation, because I believe you to be a great artist and an amiable man

I am Sir with sincere esteem

Your most Ob^t

humble Ser^t

J ADAMS

91.—THOMAS WALPOLE AND OTHERS' CONSENT TO ADMIT THE OHIO COMPANY.†

We the Committee of the Purchasers of a Tract of Country for a New Province on the Ohio in America do hereby admit the Ohio Company as a Co-Purchaser with us for Two Shares* of the said Purchase in consideration of the Engagement of their Agent Col. Mercer to withdraw the application of the said Company for a Separate Grant within the limits of the said Purchase—Witness our hands this 7th day May 1770—

THOMAS WALPOLE

T. POWNALL

B. FRANKLIN

SAM^l WHARTON

* The whole being divided into seventy-two equal Shares—by the words "two shares" above is understood two Seventy Second parts of the Tract so as above Purchased.

THOMAS WALPOLE

T. POWNALL

B. FRANKLIN

SAM^l WHARTON

92.—GEORGE BANCROFT TO J. L. O'SULLIVAN.‡

Boston, May 9th 1842

MY DEAR O'SULLIVAN,

In the first place I am heartily glad to see a

* Copied from the original by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D.C.

† From the collection of M. M. Jones, Esq., of Utica, N. Y.

‡ In the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

letter from you. & to know that you are well. I regret the loss of your bill: do you remember Sir Robert Walpole's remark? He that giveth the power of blood giveth blood.—Mrs B. joins me in expressing regard. & in complaining that you did not fulfil your promise of a visit.

In the second place: I am not writing the Life of Andrew Jackson, & am delighted to hear that you are. His papers he has by his will bequeathed to Amos Kendall; I have never had from the General one line on the subject. Your view is an admirable one. An illustrated life of the General, giving scenes in the Backwoods, the log cabin, the wars with the Indians, the war with England, the scenes at Washington, would be a work without a parallel. The idea is your own; God bless you in the execution of it.

For me I regretted seeing the notice in Langley's Advertiser. I was unwilling to contradict it plumply for one or two reasons: one, that Gen Jackson's papers would be of vast service to me in writing history: another, that the wicked with whom the world abounds, would interpret a contradiction as an expression of unwillingness; for the statement professed to be only a rumor. Now in the next number of the Democratic, just make a little notice without alluding to the other, and say, that I am busily engaged in the History of the Am. Revolution, that I have vast collections of original never used materials, & that I am employing ten to fifteen hours a day upon it. & that nothing will turn me aside from completing what I have begun but a loss of health or life.

Thirdly. This I am afraid is an answer to the next point: for I cannot positively promise you an article, till I get a volume through the press. Then I will promise one.

Fourthly. I have never been painted: If my face is to be put into the magazines at all, I should rather it should be done well. I will think of this & perhaps suggest a plan.

Faithfully & ever yours

GEORGE BANCROFT.

P.S. for P.S. Very many thanks for the sheets from N. Y. I will in about months send you a volume, woven, in some part, out of them. Mr Weed has not sent *Index* or *title-pages*. Neither do the volumes appear to be complete.

One of Correspondence has 368 pages & no title Page or Index.

The other has 1116 pages & ends in the middle of a sentence & has also neither Title page nor Index. Of course the completing of them would greatly enhance their value But do not give yourself too much trouble.

Once more farewell. I hope in due time, we shall see Democracy triumphing in the Union.

Ought books to be taxed? I buy a foreign

book to read & lend to all my neighbors. It produces nothing except spiritually.

Ought engravings to be taxed? & works of art? I see Friend Dickens is out, once more upon international copy-right. As far as the development of American mind is concerned, he errs. An international copyright would not stimulate American Genius: but it would revolutionize England. The public to whom he speaks use the pinions on which an author is sustained; their minds inspired his mind. Let the writers of England take for their inspiration the mind of Republican America, and Great Britain would feel the consequences in every part of her political & religious system. Talfourd's son would cease to be a fiction.

[Addressed.]

J. L. O'SULLIVAN, Esq
NEW YORK
N. Y.

93.—BARON HUMBOLDT TO COLONEL WILLIAM
DUANE OF PHILADELPHIA.*

CARACAS, 21 August 28.

CORONEL W. DUANE
PHILADELPHIA

DEAR CORONEL

You will please to remember the very short conversation I had the pleasure to hold with you, dear Sir, in the time of your passing this town to Bogota; more than a *lustrum* is gone since, and I hope if life lasts some years longer to enjoy again in South Eastern parts of Europe the sight of the blessings which a reasonable despotism, considerate and rational arbitrariness gives to beginning societies. Here I looked six years on the doings of the Hispanic race, and came to the belief that this race is among the peoples of the earth like a breed of corcomas in the creation, which by the will of Providence shall destroy part or parts of mankind and incumber during 4 or 5 centuries some fine spots on the globe. Forgive you, dear Coronel, my bad English, the French is more familiar to me, but I recollect not if you speak, write or like it.

Four years back I got intimations from Europe to show the 4 then reigning persons in Bogota the probably bad consequences of their proceedings in government and administration of their *sicdicta* republic; the proposition to make better institutions and take better measures came from men in celebrity who are in power in well governed countries, and well acquainted with the things here and who gave their propositions merely from philanthropic views. I, however, never did interfere personally to bodder myself with the Spanish creole rulers, but they were informed by

*From the original, belonging to William Duane, Esq.

others of the interest great men in Europe take in their welfare. The counsel how to make it better, they received with scorn, because a Spaniard is the most wise being in the creation only for being a Spaniard, and now as the consequences are coming in from their bad proceedings, some begin to comprehend they were fools and wish back the former instructions which they then despised.

The desire of the noble Europeans who have taken interest in the welfare of Spanish America was I shall publish some of their expositions before I leave this hemisphere. I do not know how to begin because all savoir humain and any opinion on anything is banished from here, Boliver is or has shown himself a Creole ruler. I know no other way than to insert something in a French or Spanish periodical work redacted in the U. S. I will take an exemplar with me to Europe so that my good will can be seen, and therefore I beseech you, dear Sir, to inform me if there is not in the U. S. some Journal or periodical Redaction which takes up South American affairs.

A second prayer you will give me leave to direct to you, to send me with the trade vessels between your country and La Guaira the Almanac for 1829. I know nobody in Philadelphia of a literary or learned character except you, and beg you to send me an Almanac as soon as you can procure one; it is indifferent which one of the many which are published in the States; the first is the best; in former years I calculated myself the eclipses, equ: of time, lunations, &c, but past year I was robbed of my learned astr: apparatus and books and among others the Astronomical Ephemeroids of Bode, and I have no desire to impair my health with calculations without the bridges to find those notices; have you the goodness and send the Almanac as soon as possible. What it cost shall be paid for in Laguaira.

A third prayer is in behalf of Mr. Idler. Some days ago I asked him for your address, and he sends me to day the letter annexed. I am acquainted with him the whole time he is here, and am a witness how he and his family are sufferers for the sake of these Spanish creole republicans. If you have the kind to send the letters and documents asked for, I give you my word of honor, they shall be sent back to you, in the time and mode you order.

Je vous salue avec respect

Votre devoue

R. E. B. DE HUMBOLDT.

ADDRESS

Srs Lorenzen Dreyer & Comp del comercia de Laguaira, this house will forward the letters.

94.—WASHINGTON IRVING TO MESSR'S LANGLEYS.*

SUNNYSIDE (TARRYTOWN) Dec 18 [1841]

GENTLEMEN,

I am looking over the ground in order to make up my mind about the proposed work. To aid me in this I should like to have two or three works that have been published on the subject, such as Paulding's *Life of Washington*. Weems Do. *Custis Memoir of Mr's Washington*, published in the 1st vol of *American Portrait Gallery*—These and any other works relative to the matter (excepting Sparks & Marshall which I have) I would thank you to procure for me and send them to No 37 Murray St directed to E. Irving, Esq^r when I have done with them I will return them to you

very respectfully
your obt Sert^t

WASHINGTON IRVING

[Addressed]

MESSRS LANGLEYS
Booksellers
Chatham St

95.—JOSEPH GREENLEAF TO JOSEPH HAWLEY.†

WATERTOWN NOV^r 7 1775.

SIR,

I recd a letter from Dr Franklin dated Oct 26 1775 in which he directs the Post office committee to receive & pay all to the end of the last quarter & let the present quarter commencing with 5th Oct to be on acct of the General Post Office, since which I find Mr Goddard (riding Surveyor to the General Post office) has Commissioned Mr Jon^s Hastings deputy Postmaster for Cambridge & taken bonds for the faithfull performance of his duty, which bond bears date Oct 28 from which time he is accountable to the Postmaster General: so that there will remain in his hands & in the hands of the several Postmasters in this Colony, all the money received by them from the 5th to the 28th Oct which they are not accountable for to anybody. The Committee are of opinion that it will be best to settle to ye 5th Oct & leave Mr. Goddard to rectify the error, as the income of the office falls greatly short of the expense. I expect to see Mr. Goddard to-morrow & should be glad of directions from the honorable House relative to the settlement of this affair. The Committee would also be glad to be instructed relative to the settlement with, & cancelling the bonds of

* This interesting letter, indicative of the origin of Mr Irving's *Life of Washington*, is in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society. The date is completed from the bookseller's endorsement.

† From the original, by C. H. Morse Esq. Washington, D.C.

the several Postmasters & riders. It will be best to have our instructions while Mr. Goddard is here, if possible, as it may prevent some confusion in this affair. If you will be kind enough to lay this matter before the house you will greatly oblige the Committee in whose behalf I subscribe myself

Sir your humble
Servant
JOSEPH GREENLEAF

To JOSEPH HAWLEY Esq

96.—MEMORIAL OF SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.*
BOSTON 20 Feb 1765

I promise my Master Tho^s Hubbard Esq that if he will consent to my being married to Rose negro Woman belonging to John Winnett to be obedient & faithful to him & his, constant at home at his house on nights save three in a week as he shall allow me & then very early at my masters on the following mornings & in every thing endeavor to please my Master Mistress & others.

PETER
PETER'S MARK.

WITNESS
EDWARD LYDE
THANKFULL HUBBARD

97.—J. FENNIMORE COOPER TO MR. LANGLEY.†
PHILADELPHIA March 18th 1842

DEAR SIR,

If you are disposed to accept a criticism on the Edinburgh and James, touching the Naval Events of the Late War, I am ready to furnish it. I have the matter written out, in another form, and with another object, and shall charge you the \$5 a page, or \$100 cash, for the article. It will require altering and to be re written—I think it will make fully 20 pages, perhaps a little more, with very short quotations. My motive is a more permanent form, and my charge is to pay me for remodelling and en principle.

I shall be at the *Globe* on Sunday afternoon, where a note will find me. If any thing is done, it must be on Monday and Tuesday.

Yours &c

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

MR. LANGLEY.

[Addressed]

MESSRS. LANGLEY
Booksellers
Chatham Street
New York.

* Copied from the original, which is in Mr. Hubbards hand writing, by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.
Mr. Hubbard was a Deacon in the Old South Church, Boston, Massachusetts.

† From the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

98.—GENERAL JOHN MORIN SCOTT TO COLONEL
RICHARD VARICK.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 5th, 1782.

DEAR VARICK,

The Secretary for foreign Affairs has on Leave, determined to go home for a few weeks. This Leave he obtained in a Letter to Congress, assigning three Reasons for his request, to wit. the sitting of the Legislature, the Business of the Court of Chancery, and the necessity of attending to his own private affairs. On reading the Letter, many Members expressed their disapprobation of the 1st & 2^d Reasons declaring that in their Opinions his Acceptance of his appointment under Congress had determined his Office as Chancellor. Unluckily I was balloted in as one of the Committee on the Letter, & being first in the order of Choice, was of course Chairman. Thus placed in a delicate situation, I determined to act frankly & candidly with Mr. Livingston. I accordingly at a private Interview with him on the subject, acquainted him with my Opinion as well as that of many of the other Members, upon which he requested that our report might be so framed as to pass over his 1st & 2^d Reason unnoticed. This was accordingly done.

I expect that on his Arrival at Poghkeepsie he will make a formal Resignation of the Chancellorship. If he should not, the Council of Appointment may perhaps conceive the office already vacant, and proceed to a new appointment.

Tho' I have too much spirit to beg for an office; yet that same spirit will ever be mortified when I am slighted in the disposition of an office. I am the eldest in the profession; and yet the Office of Chancellor was heretofore given to another. I hope that in the next disposal of it, I shall not be treated with the same affrontive neglect. Should it be offered to Me, I should have no Objection to accept of it; provided the Secretaryship† could be secured to my son. This provision for both would in my humble Opinion be no more than an Act of Justice to one who has done and suffered so much in the Cause as I have.

I am,

With great sincerity and affection,
Dear Varick

Your friend and humble Servant

JNO. MORIN SCOTT.

P.S. Be pleased to communicate this Letter to the Gov^r. It is reported this Moment as from the Minister of France that the Enemy were preparing to evacuate the S. States,

* From the original, belonging to Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., New York.

† General Scott was Secretary of State of New York. Ed. Hist. Mag.

VI—THE COLONY OF NEW YORK AND VERMONT IN 1772-3.*

BY HON. HILAND HALL, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The commencement of the year 1773 was a period of considerable anxiety, if not of peril to the New York rulers and land claimants in their controversy with the New Hampshire grantees. Judgments in ejectment, almost without number, had indeed been obtained in the Courts at Albany against the settlers, but the Sheriff had been unable to render them available. The militia of Albany County, summoned as a *posse-comitatus*, had been marched three hundred strong to Bennington to assist him in taking possession of the farms of James Breakenridge and Josiah Fuller. But both the Sheriff and his *posse* had cowed and retired without accomplishing their object, before a body of men in military array who confronted them. The settlers had met in Conventions and passed Ordinances forbidding New York claimants from entering upon or surveying any lands under the Patents of that Province, and prohibiting officers appointed by that Government from performing any official acts connected with the controversy. These Ordinances were carried into execution under the direction of Committees of Safety, by a body of armed men styling themselves "GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS," commanded by Allen, Warner, Cochran, Baker, and others; and such was the power and vigilance of this organization that the New York claimants were foiled in all their efforts; and the jurisdiction of that Province over the New Hampshire Grants became merely nominal, especially on the West Side of the Green Mountains.

The leaders in this opposition had, it is true, been indicted as rioters in the New York Courts, and the Governor had issued Proclamations offering large rewards for their apprehension. But these proceedings had been treated with contemptuous mockery and defiance by the settlers—Allen, Baker, and Cochran issuing from Poultney a counter Proclamation offering small rewards for the arrest and delivery at "Landlord "Fays in Bennington" of James Duane and Attorney-general Kemp, two of the most notorious New York land claimants, who were described as "those common disturbers of the public peace."

The conduct of the Governors of New York in demanding most exorbitant fees for confirming the titles of the New Hampshire Grantees, and in

re-granting their lands to others in violation of the principles of justice and the Order of the King in Council, of July, 1767, forbidding the making of such Grants, had been severely censured by the English Colonial Secretary, and also by the Lords of Trade. The inhabitants of the Grants had prepared Petitions to the Crown for relief against the oppressions of the New York Government, and asking to be re-annexed to the Province of New Hampshire; and Messrs. Breakenridge of Bennington and Hawley of Arlington had sailed for England as their Agents to lay their Petitions before the King.

Under these circumstances it was deemed very important by the New York Government and land claimants, to place their cause before the British authorities and the public in the strongest possible form. A labored argument in favor of the New York title to the New Hampshire Grants was therefore prepared with great care by James Duane, a learned and adroit lawyer of New York City, who was a claimant under New York Patents to some fifty or sixty thousand acres of land within the disputed territory. In order to give character and dignity to the argument, it was reported to the New York Assembly, by a Committee of that body, in the winter of 1773, and ordered to be entered on its Journal. In this official form it was published, with an Appendix giving a highly colored narrative of the alleged misconduct and outrages of the New Hampshire settlers, and was extensively circulated. It is entitled *A state of the Right of the Colony of New York with respect to its Eastern Boundary on Connecticut river, so far as concerns the late encroachments under the government of New Hampshire.*

This document, which embodies all the arguments that have at any time been adduced in favor of the New York title, presents it in its most plausible and imposing light. It has been received by some historical writers, without enquiry into the truthfulness of its statements, as a full and complete vindication of the early right of New York to the territory in question, and as a satisfactory defence of the conduct of the Government of that Province towards the settlers. This is especially and unfortunately the case with Benjamin H. Hall, author of *The History of Eastern Vermont*, who, without any apparent suspicion that anything could possibly be wrong in this official manifesto, has rested the entire theory of his work upon its supposed correctness—and has consequently treated our people as wholly in the wrong throughout the whole controversy—thus making his book an apology for the unfeeling avarice and cupidity of their oppressors, rather than an impartial History. If he had looked upon the matter of this paper as open to enquiry and criticism, and had applied to it

* This article was written by the venerable ex-President of the Vermont Historical Society—Governor HILAND HALL—for an excellent local newspaper, *The Vermont Record*, and it was printed therein on the nineteenth of February, 1864.

We re-produce it, as we shall the second article on the same subject, from a revised copy sent to us by our honored friend, the Author. ED. HIST. MAG.

the like thorough investigating talent which he has happily displayed upon other subjects, he would have found good reason to discredit both its facts and arguments—would most certainly have discovered that instead of being a reliable historical document it was but a tissue of misrepresentation and falsehood from beginning to end, wholly unworthy his confidence.

This famous Manifesto occupies some eighteen folio pages of the New York Assembly Journal and embraces quite too wide a range of matter to be profitably discussed in a newspaper. I propose, however, in a future number of your journal to call the attention of your readers to *one of its prominent statements of fact*, as a specimen of its general character.

H. HALL.

VII.—REMINISCENCES OF THE RECENT CIVIL WAR.

COMMUNICATED, BY REQUEST, BY MAJOR-GENERAL WOOL.

1. *General Wool to General Cass.*

Troy, December 6, 1860.

MY DEAR GENERAL :

Old associations and former friendship induce me to venture to address to you a few words on the state of the Country.

I have read the President's Message. South Carolina says she intends to leave the Union. Her Representatives in Congress say she has already left the Union. It would seem that she is neither to be conciliated nor comforted. I command the Eastern Department, which includes South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi. You know me well. I have ever been a firm, decided, faithful and devoted friend of my Country. If I can aid the President to preserve the Union, I hope he will command my services. It will never do for him or you to leave Washington without every star in this Union is in its place. Therefore no time should be lost in adopting measures to defeat those who are conspiring against the Union. Hesitancy or delay may be no less fatal to the Union, than to the President or your own high standing as a statesman.

It seems to me that troops should be sent to Charleston to man the Forts in that harbor. You have eight companies at Fort Monroe, Va. Three or four of these companies should be sent without a moment's delay to Fort Moultrie. It will save the Union and the President much trouble. It is said that to send, at this time, troops to that harbor would produce great excitement among the people. That is nonsense, when the people are as much excited as they can be, and the leaders

are determined to execute their meditated purpose of separating the State from the Union. So long as you command the entrance to the City of Charleston, South Carolina cannot separate herself from the Union. Do not leave the Forts in the harbor in a condition to induce an attempt to take possession of them. It might easily be done at this time. If South Carolina should take them, it might, as she anticipates, induce other States to join her.

Permit me to intreat you to urge the President to send at once three or four companies of Artillery to Fort Moultrie. The Union can be preserved, but it requires firm, decided, prompt and energetic measures on the part of the President. He has only to exert the power conferred on him by the Constitution and Laws of Congress, and all will be safe, and he will prevent a civil war, which never fails to call forth all the baser passions of the human heart. If a separation should take place, you may rest assured, blood would follow in torrents, followed by pestilence, famine, and desolation, and Senator Seward's "irrepressible conflict" will be brought to a conclusion much sooner than he could possibly have anticipated. Let me conjure you to save the Union, and thereby avoid the bloody and desolating example of the States of Mexico. A separation of the States will bring with it the desolation of the Cotton States, which are unprepared for war, and to a greater extent than any other people on the face of the Globe.

Think of these things, my dear General, and save the country, and save the prosperous South from pestilence, famine and desolation. Peaceable secession is not to be thought of. Even if it should take place, in three months we would have a bloody war on our hands.

Very truly your friend.

JOHN E. WOOL

Major-General

Hon. LEWIS CASS,

Secretary of State,

Washington,

D. C.

2. *General Cass's Reply.*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR :

I received some days since your truly patriotic letter, and showed it to the President. He fully appreciated your pure motives, who as you will have seen, does not concur with you as to the measures to be taken.

We have indeed fallen upon evil times. The pillars of our glorious Temple are shaking. Whether they are to be overthrown, and with them the noblest and freest Government ever given to man, God alone knows. While my gloomy

apprehensions predominate, I have yet some hope, that the same kind Providence, who has so often saved us from anarchy will yet interpose for our rescue. I have felt it necessary to leave the Cabinet, as you will have seen. I part from J. Buchanan and the Administration with the kindest feelings. But the course of measures which I considered necessary did not appear to them to be called for, and I was unwilling to remain and share in the responsibility, which did not belong to me.

And now my friend, farewell. You have been a gallant soldier, and by your noble deeds have inscribed your name upon the rolls of your country.

May the evening of your days be without a cloud, though I fear they will not be.

I am, dear sir,
truly yours.

Major Genl. WOOL.

LEWIS CASS.

VIII—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.—CONTINUED.

COMMUNICATED BY HIS GRANDSON, PROFESSOR
GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

4. FROM DOCTOR GORDON, THE HISTORIAN.

JAMAICA PLAIN Apr 5. 1784

DEAR GENERAL

I have not yet had the pleasure of hearing that your family is happily increased, but hope that event will have taken place before the receipt of this.

I have a grateful sense of your kindness when I was at Newport, & that I believe in your professions shall convince you by these presents. Pray you to inform me

Who accompanied You when reconnoitring for a position upon the landing of Genl Howe—

How far the Cross Roads were from him—

What was the name of the place the army occupied at the back of Wilmington.

What was the particular spot You would have chosen on the other side of the Schuylkill instead of crossing it, in hopes that Genl Howe would have fought you ere he attempted passing it & going on for Philadelphia?

My best regards to your Lady & General Kuskasco. You have the sincere wishes, for a pleasant & safe [] or passage to the southward,

Your affectionate Friend
& humble Servant

WILLIAM GORDON

[Addressed]

The Hon^{le} Major General

NATHANIEL GREENE Esqr

Favored
by Mr. Mumford

5.—FROM DOCTOR GORDON.

JAMAICA PLAIN Sep^r 12. 1785

DEAR SIR

I have sent you by Mr Mumford part of a map of New York & its environs, containing the portion of Long Island, whereon were our works; You will oblige me by marking out upon it, with a pencil or ink, the lines & fortifications & every thing else that may prove explanatory to the transactions that passed upon it. Whatever illustrations may be necessary be pleased to communicate in writing. In a former letter I requested answers to the following queries, viz

Was the proposed night attack to be made by the Baron, when Kniphausen advanced the first time & burnt Connecticut Farms, or after the attack at Springfield Bridge?

Was Gen Washington at Morris Town or at Short-Hills, when the last attack was made? Had he only 2500 the whole included at that period, or had he received any reinforcement after the enemy's fire landing at Elizabeth Poin making his number more than 2500?

Was the advice to retreat & cover the necessity by pleading that it was to guard the heights, given upon the enemy's first coming out, or when they were advancing the second time toward Springfield?

Did he go or send any troops to the Highlands as the British historians say, after the landing of Kniphausen?

The death of your child & the sickness in your family, of which I have been informed since writing them, may have prevented my receiving an answer. I sympathize with you under your exercises.

Have requested Mr Hazard to send you immediately a Map of the Carolinas executed for Dr Ramsay's History, which he will do if he can procure one. Pray you to give me your opinion of it, & if it is good & will answer, to perfect it, where wanting, by marking scenes of action—the routes of the armies—and the places where they crossed rivers &c as I would make every thing as plain to the reader as possible. I suspect that the Kings Mountain affair will be too well told in Dr Ramsay. Shall be glad to know, therefore, whether You are at a certainty as to Messrs Campbell, Cleveland & Williams's meeting by accident—whether they did not attack in three divisions, & in three different places, & whether when Ferguson drove one party, the other did not advance & attack him in flank or rear, so that he had it not in his power upon driving the one to push on & attempt a retreat; & whether you had it from Campbell himself or what other, that he found it exceeding difficult to prevail on his men to renew the attack. The paper with which this is accompanied, I apprehend will be acceptable, but would

not have it get into the public prints: Have written in great haste but trust to your goodness to excuse it. With respects to Lady & family I remain your sincere friend & very humble servant

WILLIAM GORDON.

6.—FROM DOCTOR GORDON.

JAMAICA PLAIN Sep^r 26. 1785

DEAR SIR

Your obliging letter, with the map part of Long Island improved, were received on the saturday in good order. Your information is such as I wished to receive. I make it a rule not to produce my vouchers for the facts I relate, when it may lay them under difficulties, so that you need not be under any apprehensions, of your being known to be an author as to any communications with which you may entrust me.

Lest you should not receive Dr Ramsay's map in time, or it should not answer upon inspection, have sent the maps of Virginia & Maryland, of North & S^h Carolina, on which I pray you, can you possibly find time, to mark your marches & counter-marches, the same of Cornwallis's, the places where You, Morgan, Huger & Williams crossed the rivers, where battles were fought, & important matters transacted; & whatever else may tend to the illustration of the history of the war. Let me hear, when you, your Lady & family mean to move to the south ward. My best wishes will attend you; & I shall rejoice to hear, that you have tried & succeeded in the plan of admitting the negroes to the rights of copyholders, which if it could be once effected might possibly tend to their increasing so as to render further importations of them needless. Could you, by your example, prove instrumental in demolishing slavery & the importations of negroes, I should think you rendered the human species nearly as much service, as when you was fighting successfully against British attempts to reduce the white inhabitants of America to the hard condition of slaves.

M^{rs} Gordon unites in best respects, to Self Lady & family, with

Your much obliged humble servant
& sincere friend
WILLIAM GORDON.

7.—FROM DOCTOR GORDON.

JAMAICA PLAIN Aut^r 27. 1785

DEAR GENERAL

You will oblige me greatly by an answer to the following questions, upon the return of Mr^r Mumford, viz, was the proposal for Baron Steuben's attacking Knipphausen in the night, after the burning of Connecticut Farms, on June the 6th; or after the

engagement at Springfield on June the 23^d? Had Gen^l Washington, the whole force included, on the 23^d of June no more than 2500, or had he received between the 6th of June & that period any reinforcement? Was Gen^l Washington at Morris Town or at Short Hills on June the 23^d? Was it upon Knipphausen's first advancing from Elizabeth Town that you advised Gen^l Washington to retreat under the feint of guarding the passes, or was the advice given or renewed when they advanced the second time June 23^d? Did Gen^l Washington march at all, as the annual Register mentions *with the greater part of his army to secure West Point &c* before the British advanced again toward Springfield on the 23^d June?

The readiness You have ever shewn to enable me to keep to the *exact* truth, encourages me thus to trespass upon your time. I know it will give you less pain to prevent my mistaking, than to read any of my mistakes in print. If the Baron is with you, make my respects acceptable to him, & inform him I shall be glad of the Frenchman's name, whether nobleman or commoner, who encouraged his coming over & acquainted him with Mr^r Beaumarchais being permitted to send us over military stores, for which Mr^r Beaumarchais was to be debited & to account to the French ministry. My best wishes attend You, your Lady & children, while you remain in these eastern states & when you remove to Georgia,

Your sincere friend
& very humble Servant
WILLIAM GORDON

Have written to Mr^r Hazard as proposed about Dr Ramsay's map of the Carolinas.

8. FROM DOCTOR GORDON.

JAMAICA PLAIN, Nov^r 24. 1785

DEAR SIR

I hope this will find you & your family safe & well in Georgia. You have obliged me greatly by marking out, as you have done, upon the N & S Carolina map. Have now sent you one of my proposals, for printing by subscription, the History of the American Revolution, in four volumes. After such experience of your friendship, I cannot doubt of your countenance, in promoting and hastening subscriptions, so far as it falls in your way, that so the work may be the sooner published, & with the embellishments mentioned in the proposals. Mess^{rs} May & Hilla, Merchants in Savannah do me the favour of receiving subscriptions on my behalf. With the sincerest regards to Self Lady & children, I remain

with much esteem, Dear Sir,

Your very humble servant
& real friend

WILLIAM GORDON

Gen. GREENE

9.—FROM DOCTOR RAMSAY, THE HISTORIAN.

DEAR SIR,

I return you herewith your manuscript & am much obliged to you for the perusal of it, which has been of great service to me. I have no further occasion for it; but, if you continue to minute down future occurrences with the exactness you have past ones, I shall thank you for the perusal of what you may hereafter write.

I brought away no letters from Gen. Green excepting the printed ones in the Newspaper. I took minutes from his manuscripts but brought none of them away. I shall return the Newspapers; but, at present cannot as they are at Singletons.

I am your humble Ser^t

DAVID RAMSAY

Nov^r 22^d 1782

RICHARDSONS. H. H. SANTEE,

Capt PENDLETON

[Addressed:]

Capt. PENDLETON

or in his absence

Col. MORRIS

IX.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

By GEORGE H. MOORE, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

5.—THE NEW ENGLAND SYNOD OF 1637.

The First General Synod in New England, that Assembly of all the elders of the Churches, which the General Court of the Massachusetts judged it necessary to call in 1637, and which condemned the whole brood of heresies hatched in Massachusetts in the first seven years of her colonial existence, has always been recognized as one of the most important themes of her historic past. Yet it is a curious fact that although the proceedings were most carefully reported at the time in short hand, and afterwards written out and prepared for publication by authority, the work was soon afterwards as carefully suppressed, and no recent traces of its existence appear. Perhaps among the hidden treasures of Societies and individuals round about Boston in New England, it may be still secreted from the eyes of the too curious inquirer—but it is certainly not to be found among the materials of history readily accessible to the student. In the examination of other topics of Massachusetts history, we have made occasional notes which are now brought together in the hope that they may help to stimulate inquiry into the subject and perhaps lead to the discovery of important materials concerning it, if not the manuscripts themselves to which we refer.

The following document gives us the history of the official report down to the year 1643—six years after the termination of the Synod:

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF Jo: HIGGINSON
"SHEWETH

"THAT whereas I was employed by ye Magistrates
" & Ministers of ye Bay At ye Synod held at
" Cambridge 1637; to take in short hand all
" yt then Passed, At ye end of it I was desired to
" draw vp a copie of all ye Materiall Passages,
" yt it might be printed for Publicke vse, wch so
" farre as it did belong to me, after ye Expence
" of much time & paines on my Part was done,
" And accordingly I Presented it to ye Court
" held at Boston in May 1639: where it was ac-
" cepted by you, & ordered yt ye Ministers
" should haue ye viewing of it; & then yt it
" should be printed & yt I should haue ye bene-
" fit of ye printing of it for my paines It
" being then conceiued it would amount to about
" a 100l: And so it was returned to me againe
" by ye Court with a charge of trust, yt I should
" so order it yt it should be faithfullie printed
" yt no damage might arise from it either to
" ye cause or ye Countrey, & then yt I should
" haue ye profit of it It being thus ordered by
" ye Court I left it for a time in ye hands of
" ye ministers who had ye viewing of it &c.
" After wch I had ye occasion to vnderstand
" ye Judgmt of diuers concerning ye publishing
" of it, & I found yt so some were for it, yet
" others were against it conceiuing it might pos-
" sibly be an occasion of further disputes & dif-
" ferences both in this Country and other parts of
" ye world; whervpon I found a Scruple arise
" in my spirit so yt I durst not haue a hand in
" ye publishing of it, fearing wt might be
" ye consequence of it; whervpon I resolved to
" deliuer it in to ye Court againe, wch accordingly
" I did At ye generall Court in May 1641:
" desiring of you then yt I might be free from
" yt charge or trust yt was committed to me by
" ye Court, & referring my selfe againe to your
" consideration wt I should haue for my Painies;
" It was then considered of mutually by ye Ma-
" gistrates & Ministers, & it was resolved (vpon
" ye grounds before mentioned) yt it should not
" be printed, Also I was Promised yt I should
" be considered by ye Court for my Painies when
" as ye treasury of ye Country should be better
" furnished then at yt time it was; The Consider-
" ation of ye former Passages hath encouraged me
" againe at this time to Present my selfe & the
" case before this honourable Court yt if it may
" be, I may receiue yt from you wch may be suit-
" able to ye nature of ye thing & to the bountie
" of this Court; I shall not propound anything
" to you, (Though I was offred 50l for it when

"I had libertie to sell it) neither w- I mention;
 "ye Length of time since ye thing was done
 "but shall lea ue it to your seules to doe wt you
 "thinke fitt; And if ye treasure of ye Coun-
 "treys be not such as may well be don now; My
 "humble request then is; yt it may Pleas
 "ye Court to Pass an act wherin a certaine
 "Summe may be nominated & promised, (as if it
 "be thought fitt ye Summe of 50l; I mention it
 "because I was offred so much; but yet I leaue
 "yt to ye Court) & yt it may be recorded in
 "ye Court booke, & yt also it may be delivered
 "to me vnder ye Governours & Deputies hands;
 "this I shall thankfullie accept of for ye Present,
 "& shall be willing to wait ye some longer time
 "vntill I may conveniently receiue yt wch shall
 "be resolved vpon by this honourable court,

"Thus Praying yt is onely wise to guide &
 "prosper all your Counsells & proceedings, I take
 "my leave & rest

"Your humble Servant :

"GUILFORD

"Jo; HIGGINSON

"Aug: 9 :

"1643 "

A note in the margin of one of Giles Firmin's tracts authorizes the belief that he assisted Higginson in his labors during the continuance of the Synod. Referring to "that eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker in New England, "who I am sure hated and condemned your" [*Antinomian*] "doctrines, when he was Moderator each day (Mr. Bulkley the other), of that Synod, wherein Mrs. Hutchinson's Errors were "condemned," he says, "I was at the Synod, and "did with another young Man write for the Elders at Night."*

The Record of the Proceedings of the Synod in 1637, was in existence in 1743, when it was in the possession of one thoroughly qualified to appreciate its value—Dr. Charles Chauncey, of Boston. In that year, he published his famous work—"the "work which cost him the greatest pains, which "made the greatest clamour among the enthusiasts "of the day, and which continued to be accounted "one of the most powerful antidotes to the- "ological empiricism in the country,"—his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*. He introduces the work with the story of the early spread of Antinomianism, giving in his preface "an account of the Antinomians, "Familists, and Libertines, who infected these "Churches, above a hundred years ago," &c.

Quoting the *Short Story*, Doctor Chauncey vouches for the account given therein of the errors condemned by the Synod, in 1637, "having had "Opportunity to Compare it with an ancient "Manuscript Copy of the Proceedings of the Synod

* This is probably the statement which Calamy intended to copy in his notice of Firmin's being at the Synod, and afterwards writing "in defence of the Ministers."

"in 1637." He quotes from the manuscript, among the reasons given for the meeting of the Synod, this one—that some "pretended such a New "LIGHT as condemned all the Churches, as in a "Way of *Damnation*; and the Difference to be "in *Fundamental* Points, even as wide as be- "tween *Heaven* and *Hell*. And hence it was "Conceived, that all the Churches should con- "sider of this Matter, that, if it were a Truth, it "should be universally embraced: but if it were "an Error or Heresy it might be universally sup- "pressed, so far as such a Meeting could reach." "*Manuscript Copy of the Proceedings of the Synod, in 1637. Page 3.*

Again referring to the condemnation of errors by that assembly, he quotes the following important statement: "All the Churches unanimously "consented to the Condemnation of them, except "diverse of BOSTON, one or two at CHARLESTOWN, "one at SALEM, one at PLYMOUTH, one at DUX- "BURY, two at WATERTOWN: And although Mr. "COTTON set not down his Hand as the rest of "the *Elders* did; yet he thus expressed himself, "in Disrelish of them, *that some were blasphem- "ous and heretical, many erroneous and all in- "congruous. Manuscript copy, Page 46.*"

There were above Eighty of these errors—and it was said "That as to some of these Errors, they "were not held by any." This was given to the Synod, as a reason why they should not be con- sidered. To which, says Chauncey, the reply was in these words: "That they were indeed main- "tained in the Country, by some or other, either "by their *Speech*, or else by *Writing* under their "own hands, as the *Elders* were able to prove by "two or three or four Witnesses, and that in every "Particular." For this passage he says in a note "—This is a transcript from a *Manuscript Copy I "have now by me, of the Proceedings of the "Synod in 1637; in which are some things, well "worthy of Notice; which have never yet seen "the Light."*

Doctor Chauncey's principal notice of this manu- script treasure is in a note towards the close of this Preface wherein he says:

"The Disputes (preserved at large in writing) "between the *Synod* and Messieurs CORRON and "WHEELWRIGHT, upon some of the grand Points in "Agitation at that Day, would, perhaps, set some "of our present Controversies in a just Light. "But the inserting these would have taken up too "much Room. I should be glad if a Compleat "History of those Times might be wrote. I know "there are authentick Materials sufficient for such "a purpose: and it might be of Advantage to "the present, as well as Times to come."

They would indeed have been "gratifying to "the Curious"—and corrective of errors in history, from that day to this, more numerous than those condemned by the Synod of 1637.

The official report was not the only account of these transactions. In the *Brief Apologie* which is printed as a part of the *Short Story*, etc., it is stated that "It is thought needful to make this 'public Declaration of all the proceedings, with 'the reasons and grounds thereof, so farre as 'concerneth the clearing of the justice of the 'Court. As for such passages as fell by occasion, 'and are too large to be here inserted, such as 'desire to know them, may receive satisfaction 'from three or foure of *Boston* (being Mr. Wheelwright his speciall friends) who tooke all by 'characters (we doubt not) will give a true report 'thereof."

Hutchinson printed in the Appendix to his second volume, an account of the Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, at the Court of Newton, November, 1637, taken perhaps from the "ancient manuscript of the trial at large" to which he refers in the former volume as "having been preserved;" but we find no special reference to the account of the proceedings of the Synod. Hutchinson refers to, and quotes the *Glass for the People of New England*, which strangely enough he attributes to Samuel Gorton.

Samuel Groom, in his *Glass for the People of New England*, printed in the year 1676, refers to one of the records of the doings of that Synod, from which he gives several interesting passages. He describes it to his readers, as "a Book in 'Manuscript, in which is all their Proceedings." (Pp. 4, 6.) He quotes the Sermon of Wheelwright, as preached "at Boston," which "caused 'the combustean in Church & Comanwealth," and the extracts which he gives were, until very recently, the most considerable portions ever given to the public.

"At a Court in *Boston*, 1636, consisting of 'Henry Vane, Governour, Twelve Magistrates, 'Twelve Priests, and Thirty Three Deputies; 'John Wheelwright was brought into the Court, 'and accused for preaching on the Fast Day* a 'Heretical and Seditious Sermon, tending to 'Mutiny and Disturbance. Wheelwright bids 'them prove it by Scripture, and so did the Governour and many others, who saw their Wickedness, and abhorred and declared against their 'Proceedings; and many Members in the Court 'gave in their Testimony, That his Doctrine was 'True, and according to God and Scriptures; 'and so said John Cotton, one of the Twelve 'Judges of the Matter, and a chief man for 'Learning, as they accounted him. But so mad 'was the greatest part of them, that they would 'proceed against Wheelwright and his Doctrine, 'right or wrong; but he would not answer to 'their ensnaring Questions, but still offered to 'prove his Doctrine by Scriptures.

* Groom says the Fast was kept on the 16th day of the 11th month, 1637. P. 4.

"And now to make good my word, I'll give 'the Reader their own words in Court.

"And just let's hear Collicott, one of the Witnesses against him in Court (saith Collicott) 'His Use in his Sermon was, to put a Difference between a Covenant of Works, and a Covenant of Grace, and, I do conceive, that he did 'drive against the things now in question. And 'for the Light that is revealed by the Spirit, he 'did plainly and punctually say, That in that 'Case there was nothing to be seen but the Glorious Light of the Spirit breaking in upon the 'Soul in an absolute Promise. So far Collicott.

"But let's hear Spencer, that great Orator, and 'New England Church Member; may be he'll 'be more to the purpose than his Brother Collicott: Well, come on, Spencer; let's hear what 'thou canst say against John Wheelwright.

"Spencer: Wheelwright teaches, that the Knowledge of our Sanctification, as well as our Justification, is only by our Faith in Christ; and 'that in the Covenant of Grace nothing is revealed 'but Jesus Christ, and his Righteousness freely 'given to the Soul, and the Knowledge of it 'comes by Faith: And this, saith Spencer is 'contrary to the Doctrine preached in New England; for, saith Spencer, it is commonly taught 'in New England, That a man may prove his 'Justification by his Sanctification. And so far, 'Spencer in his place.

"Well, hear John Endicott: This is concluded 'a False Doctrine, because it is a Doctrine against 'all the Ministers of the Country. But here, 'John Endicott told a Notorious Lye in Open 'Court; for sure he owned John Cotton was a 'Minister, and if so, hear what he declared in 'Open Court.

"Cotton: Brother Wheelwright's Doctrine was 'according to God, in the Points Controverted, 'and wholly, and altogether; and nothing did I 'hear alledged against the Doctrine proved by 'the Word of God. And so far, John Cotton, 'with much more, which he then spake to allay 'the heat of their Raging Spirits, but all would 'not do; for when they were so much Challenged to prove by Scripture the Doctrine False, 'which Wheelwright had delivered, or else to 'acquit him, they found out another way to 'bring their Wicked Ends to pass.

"And said Spencer: The matter in hand is 'not the Doctrine, whether it be true or false; 'but the question is, Whether or not Mr. Wheelwright hath stirred up Mutiny in the Country, 'and cast Aspersions upon the Ministers? And 'the Ministers, I mean eleven or twelve, were as 'mad as who was madest, and as violent as any 'in this matter;" etc. (Pp. 6—7.)

Groom elsewhere says of them, that they "Arraigned him, Judged him and Condemned him, 'but could not disprove his Doctrine, though he

"and others often challenged both Priests and Professors, from highest to lowest; and all or most you had to say, was, that it was contrary to the rest of the Ministers, and therefore was Seditious and Mutinous." (P. 5.)*

Besides the extracts which Groom gives from Wheelwright's Sermon, he quotes Wheelwright's Testimony against the Massachusetts Law of 1637, that none should be received to inhabit within that jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates. The passage which he gives (p. 14) is the conclusion of the *Briefs Answer*, etc., which is printed in the *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 82-83. The curious reader will be repaid, if he will compare the two. Hutchinson attributes the authorship to Vane, but Groom's has the advantage of being much earlier testimony; and the internal evidence does not repel but rather confirms it. Some of those who have seen Groom's tract, appear to have thought that he quoted this passage as a part of Wheelwright's sermon, which is not the case. Compare *Pulfray's N. E.*, i. 480 and 483 Notes; also 499 and Note: also Note of Publishing Committee, Massachusetts Historical Society, to Wheelwright's Sermon, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, II. i. 216, and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1866-67, p. 257.

Groom also preserves a memorial of Anne Hutchinson, of peculiar and touching interest. He quotes "her Letter, to one Mr. Leveret, as she writ him in her Answer to his 1st, Moneth, 1643.

"It seems by that letter which Leveret sent to Ann Hutchinson, he termed her *Haughty Jezebel*, and said she was a *Railer and Reviler*, and such like Terms and Names, and yet in the same Letter asked her *what was become of the Light, she once shined in, in their Parts?*

"And now Ann Hutchinson, to that Letter of Leveret's, *If it were the True Light, in which you say I once did shine in, I am sure the Author thereof, and the Maintainer of it is God, and it shall break forth more and more unto the perfect Day, and when I was with you it discovered the best Light in yourself to be Darkness, as yourself confessed to me in your own Parlour.*

"And whereas you say *I speak great swelling words of Vanity, that Scripture is fulfilled in your false Teachers, who follow the way of Baalam and Bozer, and that Water holds out the Spirit*, John 7, 38, 39.. And Christ Jesus came by this Water or Spirit, Mat. 1, 18. And

"hereby we shall know the Spirit of Antichrist, because he confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh. And as to that in Rev. 12, which you say must be meant of Constantine, and not of Christ, being brought forth in the Gentile Church, then the Woman that brought forth Constantine must be crowned with Twelve Stars.

"But your Church standing in the City Order, by your own Confession must needs be one of those Cities of the Nations which the Lord hath said should fall, Rev. 18, 19. And if what you called *Railing or Reviling*, were a Truth of God, acted by him through me, then you have called the Spirit of God a *Railer and Reviler*. And so far Ann Hutchinson, with much more in her Answer to Leveret's Letter of the 1st Moneth 1643, after they had imprisoned her, and banished her." Pp. 9, 10.

6.—DUDLEY'S REQUEST TO WINTHROP ON HIS DEATH-BED.

EXTRACTS from Letters of the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society,

I have (I think) found the authority for the account of Dudley's request to Winthrop on his death-bed. The reference made by your venerable and honored predecessor, the Editor of Winthrop's Journal, in his admirable note to the passage concerning the law against Anabaptistry, in 1644, on the intolerance of that period, enhances the interest with which the discovery may be regarded. Referring to Winthrop as undoubtedly opposed to such severities in his latter days, he quotes the story from *Hutchinson*, i. 142, "that upon his death-bed, when Mr. Dudley pressed him to sign an order of banishment of an heterodox person, he refused, saying, 'I HAVE DONE TOO MUCH OF THAT WORK ALREADY.'" Mr. Savage adds 'Gladly would I adduce, were it in my power, the original authority for this golden commentary on the fatuitous legislation of the age. Hubbard and Mather are silent—perhaps from design."

The authority is George Bishop, in his *New England Judged*. After referring to the murder of Anne Hutchinson by the Indians—"the guilt and weight of whose blood he lays upon the authorities of New England"—he proceeds thus: p. 172.

"And its like Governor John Wintroppe, Senior (who was an honest man and had some hand in this being drawn to it by your Priests) was made sensible of it on his Death-bed, when old Dudley, a man of Blood, and the rest of you, sent to the said John Wintroppe to set his hand to a Paper for the Banishment of one Matthews,

* In 1647, Winslow said of "the proceedings of the Massachusetts against Mr. John Wheelwright, etc., had it been the will of God, I would those differences had never been: But the main difference was about a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government took too very offensive: But Mr. Wheelwright and they are reconciled, hee having given satisfaction," etc.—*Hypocrisy Unmasked*, &c., 66.

"a *Welch* Man, a Priest; which he refused, telling *them* he had had his hand too much in such things already; but nothing of all this will work on you," &c., &c.

The heterodox person referred to must have been the same Marmaduke Matthews, who appears first in the Records as the subject of a petition from the inhabitants of Hull that he might be encouraged to "goe to them and preach amongst them" (4 May, 1649) not long after the death of Winthrop. The vote upon this petition "that he should not retourne to Hull nor reside wth. them" (9 May, 1649) shows that his "offences to magistrates, elders and many brethren" may not improbably have been such as to challenge the discipline of the authorities at or near the time referred to by Bishop.

But I may very safely leave this part of the subject to you, for such examination as you may think proper. You will join with me in the expression of satisfaction with which I find even in the pages of the indignant old Quaker so just a tribute to the superiority of your great ancestor.

* * * *

I may add to the former note concerning the elder Winthrop, a memorandum and reference to the same authority, for another statement even more honorable to the younger. It is with respect to his attempt to save the lives of the unhappy Quakers, who were executed in Boston, in 1659.

"Besides did not *John Wintrop* the Governor of the Jurisdiction of Connecticut, labour with *you*, that *ye* would not put *them* to Death? and did *he* not say unto you, 'That he would beg it of *you* on his bare knees, that *ye* would not do it?' " Bishop's *N. E. Judged*: p. 119.

Sir Thomas Temple's intercession which follows in the same page is a happy early association of your honored family names.

X.—MINNE-HA-HA.

A LETTER FROM L. T. PRESCOTT, Esq., TO
MRS. H. M. P. DRESSER.

[We are indebted to Mrs. H. M. P. Dresser, of East Otto, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., for the following exceedingly interesting letter concerning the meaning of this celebrated word, now immortalized by Professor Longfellow, in his *Hauwatha*.

The writer, Mr. Prescott, is a half-breed Indian—the grandson of a Sioux Chief—and is widely known in the West as thoroughly conversant with the Sioux language and an official Interpreter to the Government. "On his land, a few rods from his door, are the celebrated falls of Minne-ha-ha"; and it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the meaning of the word is perfectly known to him. *Ed. Hist. Mag.*]

MINNE-HA-HA, March 9th, 1866.

MRS. DRESSER:

Minne-ha-ha is not an English word, or lan-

guage, as is supposed by the whites. It is Sioux language.

It was erroneously interpreted and made known to the whites by some white man or person that was not acquainted with the Sioux language.

It was interpreted and made known as "Laughing-water," which is not correct; and it should be corrected through the Press.

The real meaning of the words *Minne-ha-ha* is "Water-falls"—the word *Minne* is "Water"; and *ha-ha* is "Falls, the act of falling."

The person that interpreted and made it known as "Laughing-water," must have understood the words *ha-ha*, as "*ha ha*, when we laugh."

[*In*] The words *ha-ha*, in the Sioux language, the letter "a" is spoken as in "Hate," "Haste," etc.; and in the English language, the words *ha-ha*, "when we laugh," the letter "a" is spoken as in "far," "father," etc. The words "Laughing-water," therefore, would not correspond with the words *Minne-ha-ha*, as it is lettered and spelled in the Sioux language.

To read and spell the words "Laughing-water," in the Sioux language, it would read and spell thus: *Minne-era-era*; which is not proper and would not be appropriate in the Sioux language. *Minne-era-era*, or "Laughing-water," would, also, personify the Falls, which cannot be done very well—that is, to be appropriate to the Sioux language.

Respectfully, Yours,
L. T. PRESCOTT.

XI.—"WOMEN'S RIGHTS," IN REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE.*

MORRISANIA, December 22, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:

In the July number of your Magazine, a letter of G. H. M. on "Woman's Rights in Massachusetts," will probably not have failed to attract the attention of your readers, and as a supplement to what was done here in "this line," you will allow me to add a few historical facts from another quarter of the globe.

It was at the time of the first French Revolution, that amidst the great struggle for freedom and the "rights of man," the voice of woman for the sake of political rights was heard louder than ever before; and the energy with which these

* Our readers will welcome this article as the first contribution to the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE by an accomplished townsman of our own, who is already well known to all of them, in another capacity; and we have reason to congratulate them that X will hereafter, from time to time, as his business shall permit, contribute other papers to our pages. *Ed. Hist. Mag.*

rights were claimed, finally led to a summary rebuke from the most exalted defenders of the principles of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

In the electoral law relative to the Convocation of the States General in 1789, the King of France declared, that women, possessing real estate, could only take part in the elections by male representation. Against this law remonstrance was made by a number of women to the National Assembly, and the right to vote and to be elected was claimed for the female sex. The argument was as follows: "It may be said, that the admission of 'women to the States General is the assumption of an incomprehensible ridiculousness. The 'maxim of women—so we hear—is: to *work*, to *obey* and to be *silent*, or perhaps to have their 'rights (as it was done before) represented by 'procuration. But we reply that a nobleman 'can not be the representative of a plebeian and '*vice versa* ; therefore a man cannot be the representative of a woman,—their interests not 'being the same."

When the National Assembly, which framed the Constitution of 1791 had proclaimed the "rights of man," new remonstrances were made by women and perfect political equality with the other sex was demanded. The paper says: "Open—open the great book of history, and see 'what at all times so many great women have performed, and then judge whether we cannot do 'the same, if your blind prejudices and your aristocracy would not lay in chains our courage, 'our wisdom, and our talents." To this remonstrance was added the proposition of a bill, which demanded the abolishment of all the privileges of the male sex, the establishment of the same liberties and the same honors for women as for men. The "protestants" went so far as to demand that the distinction between "male and "female" should be stricken out from the grammar and the Codes of Law! Women, they claimed, should not only be eligible as Representatives of the People, but should also be entitled to hold any civil or military office. And soon after the Constitution of 1791 had been adopted, one of the most energetic defenders of woman's rights—Olympe de Gournay—says in her *Declaration des droits de la femme*: "Woman is 'born equal to man in regard to natural rights and so she remains. The object of political 'society is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of woman and man; these 'rights are liberty, well-being, security, and, before all others, *resistance against oppression*. . . "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold, so 'she has the right to step on the pulpit. Woman 'pays taxes, so she has a right to call to account 'those who expend them," etc.

On the sixth day of March, 1792, women sent in a petition to the National Assembly, asking per-

mission to "wear pikes" and "to make military 'exercises" on the Champ de Mars.

They also entered the field of journalism and organized political clubs. In the *Journal des Dames*, the interests of the female sex were represented; also subsequently in the *Observateur Feminin*.—Rosa Lacombe organized the society of republican and revolutionary women and in the "Societe fraternele de deux sexes," the reconciliation of both sexes was celebrated. The different clubs communicated to each other their resolutions; and when one of the heroines of the revolution, Thervigne, after her exile, returned to Paris, in February, 1792, Manuel received her in the club of the Jacobins, and offered to the "first 'Amazone of liberty" the presidential chair. Several journals defended with great earnestness the political rights of women, even Condorcet, the philosopher and statesman, did so, and conceded to their extremest claims. But St. Just, in his *Institutions republicaines*, although he assigns to woman a high social and moral position, would not grant them *political* rights. Robespierre held the same opinion. In the session of the thirty-first day of October, 1793, Amar reported from the "Comite du salut public" in regard to this subject. Some time previous six thousand women, all members of the revolutionary societies, went in procession through the streets and would compel others to dress as men, like themselves. "No," said Amar, "women are not capable to 'exercise the rights of men: they should preserve 'morality, because without it no republic can 'exist." The decree which he proposed was made a law; the revolutionary associations of women were dissolved, and the club houses closed, whereupon the members, under their President, Rosa Lacombe, penetrated into the "Commune," and demanded access to the Conseil-general. Here the Attorney-general, Chaumette, met them and with a thundering voice rebuked them. "Since what time,"—he said—"are women allowed to renounce their sex and make themselves 'men? Since what time is it custom to see, that 'women sacrifice the sacred cares of their household and children, to hasten to public places, step 'on the rostrum, and enter the ranks of the army, 'to fulfil those duties, which nature has destined 'to man? Has nature given us breasts, to nurse our 'infants? No! She said to man: 'Be man!—the 'race-course, the forest, hard labor, politics, and 'dangers of all kinds, this is thy right! She 'said to woman: 'Be woman!—the cares of thy 'children, thy household, the sweet solicitude of 'a mother, this is thy right! . . . Imprudent 'women! Why do you wish to become men? 'Is not the world well divided? In the name of 'nature remain what you are!" In consequence of what seemed to be the wild extravagancies on the part of the members of the revolutionary clubs

of women, Robespierre sent the leaders of this movement—his former friends and supporters—to the guillotine, so punishing them with eternal silence. Once more, at the time of the conspiracy of Babeuf, a woman with the name of Sophie Lapierre, made her appearance on the political stage, but disappeared like the conspiracy itself.

This is what history says in regard to that particular period—in fact the only period, in which woman's rights were claimed and insisted upon with great persistency and terrible earnestness. Of course, times and circumstances have changed; but there is this analogy between yesterday and to-day, that in the United States, the question of political emancipation of women has arisen with great force just at the moment when the political movement resulting from the late war has reached its climax. And furthermore, what the guillotine has done in the eighteenth century, the people of this Republic have decided in the nineteenth century by the very soft process of the ballot—at least *for the present*.

Respectfully and truly yours,
X.

XII.—THE COPPER COINS OF VERMONT.*

By REV. PLINY H. WHITE, PRESIDENT OF THE
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Prior to the establishment of the United States as a nation, many of the States and Colonies exercised the sovereign right of coining money, as well as of issuing paper currency. The coins thus put in circulation are now among the rarest and most highly prized objects in the cabinets of collectors, and when offered for sale they bring almost incredible prices. A Baltimore half-penny, supposed to be the only specimen extant, was sold at an auction, a few years ago, for not less than *three hundred and sixty-two dollars*. Ten, twenty, or thirty dollars is not an extraordinary price to be paid for a single copper coin, and that not of the rarest kind.

In Vermont, the coinage of money took place at a later date than in any other of the States. This was not quite a necessity, but it was a result of that sturdy independence which characterized all the movements of the Green Mountain boys. Refused admittance to the Union, they felt perfectly assured that if the United States could do without them they could do without the United States in regard to money as in regard to all things else. In 1785, the Legislature granted to Reuben Harmon, Jr., of Rupert, the exclusive right of coining copper money within the State for

two years. He had already made preparations for coining, and would perhaps have engaged in the business as a private enterprise, as others had done in other States, but the legislative approbation and the exclusive privilege were worth having. He was required to give bonds in the sum of five thousand pounds, and to make no coin weighing less than a third of an ounce Troy. His establishment is described by the historian of Rupert in the *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer*, as follows:—

"His mint house was located in the North easterly part of the town, a little East of the main road leading from Dorset to Pawlet, on a small stream of water called Mill Brook, which empties into Pawlet River. It was a small building, about sixteen by eighteen feet, made of rough materials, simply clap-boarded, unplanned, and unpainted. At the East end, was the furnace for melting the copper, and machinery for rolling the bars; in the middle of the room was the machinery for cutting; and at the West end, that for stamping. The latter was done by means of an iron screw attached to heavy timbers above, and moved by hand with the aid of ropes. Sixty coppers per minute could be stamped, although thirty was the usual number. The mint building is still standing, (1861) but its location is entirely changed; having long since been removed to the edge of the adjoining town of Pawlet, where it is now used as a corn house."

In 1786, the Legislature granted Harmon an extension of his privilege for eight years from July 1787, allowing him the first three years without compensation, but requiring him to pay into the Treasury of the State two and a half per cent. of all that he should coin during the remainder of the term. The weight of the coins was fixed at four penny weights, fifteen grains, each. Harmon then went into the business somewhat largely, taking nine other persons into partnership, and carrying on an establishment in Ulster County, New York, as well as at Rupert. As there are no coins extant of a later date than 1788, it may be presumed that the business was not continued much, if any, after that year, and that the State Treasury was never any richer for the two and a half per centage reserved.

The "image and superscription" upon Harmon's coinage was established by statute; but in reality there was considerable variety in the devices. The following is a description of the most marked of them:

1785.

VERMONTS. RES. PUBLICA.

Device. An eye, symbolical of supreme power, reflecting its rays upon thirteen six-pointed stars, emblematic of the States of the Confederacy.

* This article was written for *The Vermont Record*, and appeared in that paper of September 30, 1864. ED. HIST. MAG.

Legend. QUARTA. DECIMA. STELLA.

Reverse. The sun rising from behind the mountains; in the foreground a plow.

Legend. VERMONTS. RES. PUBLICA.

Æserque. 1785.

1786.

VERMONTENSIMUM. RES. PUBLICA.

Device. An eye, as in the preceding.

Legend. QUARTA. DECIMA. STELLA.

Reverse. The sun rising, etc., as in the preceding.

Legend. VERMONTENSIMUM. RES. PUBLICA.

Æserque. 1786.

Nothing could be more beautifully expressed than the devices upon these coins. A Supreme power had indeed cast the rays of approval upon the thirteen infant States, in their contest, for liberty and humanity, with the leading power of the world. Omnipotence protected them, delivered them from vassalage, and led them on to victory. The reverse upon these coins is equally appropriate: the sun, emblematic of rising liberty, even beyond the distant mountains, and the plow, the implement of husbandry and emblem of peace.

Of the first of these coins there were two types, in one, the reflected rays on the obverses being pointed, and in the other, obtuse. Of the second coin there was but one type and no variety. They were executed upon two qualities of metal, one quite good, the other inferior. Perfect specimens are very difficult to procure, and command a high price.

1787.

VERMON. AUCTORI.

Device. A bust in a coat of mail, laureated.

Legend. VERMON. AUCTORI.

Reverse. The Goddess of Liberty seated, holding in her right hand the liberty pole, and in her left the olive branch.

Legend. INDE ET LIB.

Æserque. 1787.

Of this coin there were three types and five varieties, all of which are scarce. In one of the types the bust faces to the left, and in the other two, to the right. The varieties of the first type are three.

1788.

VERMON. AUCTORI.

The description of this differs from that of the preceding only in the following particulars:

Legend. INDE* ET LIB*

Æserque. 1788.

The emission of this coin was quite abundant, and though limited to the single year it bears date, it consisted of ten sizes, thirteen types, and not less than twenty-six varieties. To describe

all of these in detail would be tedious. The varieties are occasioned mainly by the punctuation of the legend, the facing of the bust, or the decoration of the head. One variety has no legend on the reverse, in one, INDE ET LIB is placed entirely on the left hand of the field, and in one the legend reads LIB ET INDE. One of them is quite remarkable, as having on the obverse the bust and name of George the Third. This may have been occasioned by a partial recoinage of English half-pennies.

A complete set of these coins is unknown to be extant. The largest collection of them within the knowledge of the writer, belongs to General Peter T. Washburn, of Woodstock, who has eight or ten varieties. Single coins are occasionally to be found in the cabinets of Vermont antiquarians, or are advertised for sale in the cities. It is a consummation most devoutly to be wished that all the extant coins should be deposited with the Vermont Historical Society. Possibly there might thus be made a complete set, which would be of immense historic interest and value.

P. H. W.

COVENTRY, September 1, 1864.

XIII.—THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK, BY THE BRITISH, SEPTEMBER, 1776.

A LETTER FROM MAJOR NICHOLAS FISH,* COMMUNICATED BY HIS SON, HON. HAMILTON FISH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

KINGSBRIDGE 19th Sept^r 1776.

DEAR SIR

Your favours of the 12th & 18th instant I have the Honour & Pleasure of receiving—the former yesterday, [] latter this day, and do embrace the present, & the first opportunity of answering them both—But feeling myself constrained by want of time, am urged to be more concise [] than Inclination would dictate.

In consequence of your application respecting

* At the date of the foregoing letter, Nicholas Fish held a Commission from the "Congress of the Colony of New York," now the Convention of the Representatives of the State of "New York," dated the sixteenth day of August, 1776, signed by ABRAHAM YATES, JUN., President, and attested by ROBERT BENSON, Secretary, (appointing him Major of Brigade to certain detachments of the Militia of the Colony of New York—the Commission to be in force "as from the twenty-first day of June last," (1776.) Major Fish was not then eighteen years of age.

On the twenty-first day of November, 1776, a Commission was issued to him from the Congress of the United States, signed by JOHN HANCOCK, President, and attested by CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary, appointing him "Major of the Second Battalion of New York Forces." H. F.

Wentworth, I have made strict enquiry about him [] upon enquiry find that he not only is not in either [] the City Battalions which you seem to suppose, but that he is in Philadelphia where he went some short time before our Retreat from the City, which you no Doubt must have heard of ere this.

This Phenomenon took Place on Sunday Morn^g last when our Brigade, who were the last in the City excepting the Guards, marched to the lines back of Stuyvesants, where from the Movements of the Enemy it was evident was the [] ination for landing—The Enemy's Ships of War bei [] drawn up in Line of Battle parallel to the Shore, the Troops to the amount of about 4,000 being embarked in fl [] bottom Boats, and the Boats paraded—A Cannonade from the Ships began, which far exceeded my Ideas, and which seemed to infuse a Panic thro' the whole of our Troops, especially the Connecticut Troops, who unfortunately were posted upon the left, where the Enemy landed without the least opposition; for upon their near approach to the Sho [] these dastardly sons of Cowardice deserted their Lines & fled in the greatest Disorder & precipitation & I know [] but I may venture to say infected those upon the Right, who speedily copied their vile conduct, & [] pursued them in their flight. I am sorry to say that the Panic seized as well Officers (& those of distinction) as Men, in so much that it magnified the Number of the Enemy to thrice the Reality, & generated substances from their own shadows, which greatly assisted them in their flight to the Heights above Harlem.

We are now in possession of the ground from the Heights of Harlem to the Heights of West Chester. our advance Guard is posted a Mile from our Lines; here it was that our brave and heroic Marylanders Virginians &c. made a Noble & resolute stand against the Efforts of the Enemy on Monday the 16th drove them back, pursued, and forced them to retire—The Conduct of our Troops on this occasion was so counter to that of some others the preceding Day as nearly to form a Counterpoise.

Our Troops were in a most desponding Condition before, but now are in good spirits. Our Brigade is encamping upon West Chester side. I am this moment called from this agreeable employment [] the most pressing Business, must therefore conclude with subscribing myself

Your most obedient & very humble Servant
NICH^s. FISH.

PS. In the action on the 16th we lost about 17 killed and I believe as many wounded. It is remarkable that all our killed were shot thro' the Head, which induces [] belief that they were first taken Prisoners, & then massacred.—The Number of the Enemy killed and wounded is

not yet known, but it is generally thought, they far exceed us.

[Addressed.]

JOHN MCKESSON. Esq^r

one of the Secretaries of the Convention
of the Representatives
of the State of New York
at Fishkill.

XIV.—MAJOR-GENERAL SAMUEL ELBERT, OF GEORGIA.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS,
LL.D.

1.—*A Biographical Sketch of the General's Life and Services, by the Late Doctor Joseph Johnson, of Charleston, S.C.*

The parents of Samuel Elbert were both natives of England; and his father was a Baptist Minister in Prince Williams Parish, South Carolina, in which settlement their son Samuel was born, in the year 1740. At an early age he became an orphan, and went to Savannah to seek employment and earn his subsistence. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and continued to be so engaged until the commencement of the American Revolution; here also, he married Miss Elizabeth Rae.

The first evidence that we have of Elbert's part-taking in the all-absorbing incidents of the Revolution, is his signature to a document pledging his allegiance to the American cause, dated the fourth of June, 1774, thus, "SAMUEL ELBERT, Captain of the Grenadier Company." A Council of Safety was appointed on the twenty-second of June, 1775, of which he was a member.

The General Assembly of Georgia passed a resolution to raise a battalion of Continental Troops; and on the fourth of February, 1776, the following field-officers were appointed, LACHLIN MCINTOSH, Colonel; SAMUEL ELBERT, Lieutenant-colonel, and JOSEPH HABERSHAM, Major.

On the sixteenth of September, 1776, Elbert was promoted to the rank of Colonel; and in May, 1777, he commanded in an expedition intended by President Gwinnett for the reduction of East Florida; but they failed in their object, and after some skirmishing, the troops were withdrawn.

In the next year, the British retaliated, and an invasion of Georgia was projected by General Prevost, aided by the Indians and Royalists from Florida. The Carolinians were called upon for their aid, and it was promptly and liberally afforded. The combined movements of the Georgians and Carolinians on this occasion, certainly saved the State from the intended invasion, but they did no other good.

Their army was badly provided in every respect, and badly conducted. General Robert

Howe, of North Carolina, was, unfortunately, the commander of this gallant but unfortunate army. The climate and country overwhelmed them with disease and death, more destructive than battle, and prostrated their brave companions in arms; and the survivors retired to Savannah, greatly reduced in numbers, discontented with the conduct of the expedition, and depressed in spirits. Here they were attacked, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1778, by an expedition sent direct from New York, under Colonel Archibald Campbell, outgeneralled, defeated and driven at the point of the bayonet through the streets of Savannah. The Georgia troops, under Elbert, made a brave but ineffectual stand against the victorious British Regulars, and retreated fighting them.

The next battle in which Colonel Elbert was engaged, was at Briar Creek, where General Ashe, of North Carolina, commanded the Americans. This was a complete surprise and total defeat. The British amused General Ashe by a feint, while they crossed the Creek above him, and actually gained the rear of his army before the alarm was given. Then there was but little else than alarm, fright, and flight. Colonel Elbert rallied a few of his command, and fought until he was struck down. He was then on the point of being dispatched by a soldier with uplifted bayonet, when he made the Masonic sign of distress. An officer saw it and instantly responded; he stayed the sturdy arm of the soldier, and Elbert's life was saved by the benevolent principles of brotherly love, even among enemies; even in the heat and hurry of battle.

While a prisoner on parole in the British Camp, Colonel Elbert was treated with great respect and kindness. Offers of promotion, honors, and rewards were made to him, and courtesy, persuasion and blandishments used, to seduce him, from the American cause. It is a tradition in his family, that when these were declined, an insidious attempt was made by means of two Indians to murder him, his person having been described as the object of their aim. Elbert, in his mercantile transactions with the Indians, was a favorite among them and well acquainted with their customs. He fortunately discovered these two in time, and gave them a signal which he had formerly been accustomed to use among them; their guns were immediately lowered and they came forward to shake hands with him. This attempt is not charged to any of the British army, who continued to treat Elbert kindly. There was a gang of lawless marauders calling themselves Royalists, infesting the State, against whom Colonel Elbert had been particularly active. At that time, also, there was excessive virulence prevailing between the Whigs and Tories, inciting them to acts more savage than those of the savages. Even the atrocities of civil war can neither justify nor excuse such deeds as were then committed by both.

When the three Southern States were overrun by the British troops, after the fall of Charleston, Colonel Elbert having been exchanged, went North, and offered his services to General Washington. They were gladly accepted by this excellent judge of human character, and at the siege of Yorktown, Virginia, Colonel Elbert was honored with the command of the grand deposit of arms and military stores, a post of great trust and honor. Here, by his strict adherence to his orders, he merited and received the approbation of the Commander-in-chief. Here, also, he contracted other friendships; here he became intimate with La Fayette, and corresponded with him several years. One of his sons was called La Fayette, in consequence.

General Elbert was gradually advanced in rank by the Legislature of Georgia, and finally made Major-general, the highest military command. In civil offices he was also favored; he was elected Sheriff, an office then considered the most profitable in the State. In 1785, he was elected Governor, by a vote almost unanimous, at a time when the affairs of Georgia required to be conducted with great energy, decision, and judgment. The State has also gratefully perpetuated his good name, by calling one of its best Counties "Elbert," in honor of him.

On the second of November, 1788, General Elbert died in Savannah, after a lingering illness, at the early age of forty-five years, leaving a widow and six children. His funeral was honored by the Cincinnati Society, the Masonic Lodges, and all the Military of that city. Minute guns were fired by the Artillery, and a funeral sermon delivered by the Reverend Mr. Lindsay. His remains were interred in the family cemetery, on the Mount at Rae's Hall, about five miles above Savannah. His honor, patriotism, and valor are commemorated as examples to future generations.

2.—*Letters written by General Elbert, from the originals in the collection of Rev. Doctor Sprague, of Albany, N. Y.*

SAVANNAH. 6th May 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter in answer to mine by Burns came to hand yesterday on my return from the 8^o Ward where I have been not a little active to secure Beards bluff, which I obtained a special warrant for, & am in hopes a few days will give us in possession with a line of blazed trees by way of barrier against intruders. Oswalds bluff is secured in the same way, or rather is to be. This last business is left to Mr Clark who I fancy wont loose time that can be helped. It remains with you to secure the bluff called White or Schofalite bluff above the Ohorpy. This last is undoubtedly within the limits of the new County, & some yet think

7—preached a lecture this Even^g.

9—Thursday returned to Fort Schuyler rode all the way in the rain¹

In this visit to the Indians—find them more divided in y^r sentiments to the cause of liberty —& Enemies to the free & united States of America do certainly increase among them.

They report that the Cherokees have sent a large belt through all the back Nations—informing that they are invaded by the Virginians & their blood actually runn^g—they earnestly request the immediate assistance of their indian Allies.

I found by several hints from particular friends among them, that the Indians are upon a plan of union—offensive & defensive among all their different Tribes.

13—Lords Day—preached twice to the Battalion.

14—Monday—informed by some Indians of S^r Johns reasons for not attacking this post y^e ensuing fall—viz—That he had a mixt company of Chippewes & other foreign Indians who could not distinguish his tory friends, on Mohawk River from his Enemies—whom he greatly respected—& Rather than they should suffer indiscriminately wth y^e whigs he w^d defer it till spring—when the kg of England w^d furnish him w^h a large body of troops for that purpose.

17—Col. Elmore* wth four Companys arrived here to relieve Col. Dayton.

19—This day gave to Col. Dayton an Acct of some charges for scouts parties which, he had not charged to y^e public—& entertain^g of Indian parties of which he had made no charge to the am^t of eighteen Dollars—18 Dollars added 12 Dollars more 30 totum

20 Lord Day—Col. Dayton & his Reg^t march- ed for Albany.

22 Tuesday rec^d some acct from the Indians which were in favour to our Cause—& Col. Elmore requested my tarry^g a few days longer & not to leave this post till Mr Spencer might be procured to tarry here during my absence.—

This Even^g informed that the Oneidas refused to send any of their young men in quest of three tory deserters from Germanflats, viz. Col. Tinbrook, † Honyost harkimer & Honyost Schuyler†

1 N.B. Spent in this journey to Oneida—7 dollars—& engaged to procure several small articles for several who are very necessitous.

* Colonel SAMUEL ELMORE served as Major in the campaign against Canada, where he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. The term for which his men were enlisted having expired, he proceeded to Connecticut where he raised another regiment with which he marched to Albany in the summer of 1776, and was ordered thence to Tryon county.—O.C.

† FREDERICK BROOK of Tryon, now Montgomery, County.—O.C.

‡ This is the well-known half fool half knave, who was afterwards the means of raising the siege of Fort Schuyler. He ultimately joined Sir John Johnson but returned to the Mohawk Country where he died, anno, 1818.—O.C.

Fort SCHUYLER 25th OCTOB^r 1776—Friday, Set out for Albany, with Col. Elmore's leave to inform Gen^l Schuyler of y^e state of things among the Indians—particularly the follow^g things.

1—Of a large black belt sent from the Cherokees to y^e back Nations & on its return, by way of Niagara to the Six Nations—Monday 21st brought to y^e Oneidas by two Onondago's

The intention of this belt so far as it is known is to request the aid of y^e remote Tribes of Indians together wth y^e Six Nations—to distress & destroy the Virginians—who have fell upon the Cherokees without provocation (as y^r report).

2^{dly} The reasons why y^e Oneidas refuse to take up tory deserters.

3—Mohawk Squaw's report & belt brought from Niagara.

4—The Oneida Sachems conclud^g to visit Niagara.

5—the absconding of some of y^e Mohawks wth Major Tinbrook & Honyost Schuyler.

6 a proposed reward to y^e Oneida Chiefs for their friendly interposition in apprehending 5 tory deserters.—

25 L Day—preached at Kaghawaga after divine service rode to Schenectady.

30—Wednesday—arrived at Saratoga where I found Gen^l Schuyler—informed him of y^e state of things among y^e Indians.

31—Thursday towards Evening set out for Albany—having leave to visit my family at Stockbridge—

Nov^r 1—Friday at 2 o'clock P M. left Mr Dows at Green Bush—at Eleven in the Even^g—arrived at Stockbridge—found my family all well—

5—Tuesday left Stockbridge

6—Wednesday Morn^g—reached Albany—P M—proceeded to Schenectady in Company wth Mr Deen* having rec^d a speech & belt, to the Senecas concern^g y^e Prisoners

* Judge JAMES DEAN was a native of New England. His parents intending him for an Indian Missionary, he was sent at an early age to Oghquage to learn the Indian language. He afterwards entered Dartmouth College, and in 1771, was appointed to accompany the Reverend Mr. Avery as an interpreter into the Oneida Country. He graduated in 1773, and in June, 1774, accompanied Mr. Frisbie on a Missionary tour to the St. Francis and other Canada Indians. This visit was renewed in the course of the ensuing Spring, with a view to strengthen the chain of friendship between these tribes and the American Colonies, now on the eve of revolution. When hostilities did commence, Mr. Dean's thorough acquaintance with the language and customs of the Six Nations recommended him for public employment, and he was appointed (with the rank of Major,) Indian agent as well as Interpreter to the Northern Department. In the former capacity he attended a Council at Onondaga, in 1776, a Journal of which is published in the *American Archives* IV. v. 1100. He accompanied General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians of Western New York, in 1779, when he was present at the battle of Newtown, now Elmira, Chemung County. He left a Journal of this expedition, but unfortunately it has been destroyed. General Schuyler and others deeming it good policy, in 1780, to send a deputation of Indians on a visit to the French army and fleet at Newport, selected

9—Saturday 4 o'clock P M—reached Fort Schuyler—found all well³

10—L. Day—preached in the Eveng —

11—Monday—sent ye belt by Mr Spencer—
This week full business—& much crouded—

17—L. D.—preached both parts of ye Day—

20—Wednesday—set out for Oneida—by ye request of ye Indians—reached ye village at evening—

21. Thursday—delivered the Genl speech lately sent to Col. Elmore—& pieces of intelligence—sat in company with ye Chiefs most of ye day—& eveng —till near midnight.

N. B. Thomas Scravis & 4 more this day set out for the Senekas Country with Genl Schuyler's speech concerning the prisoners.

XVI.—RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.—CONTINUED.

IN COMMON COUNCIL

Resolved. That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Alderman, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by his Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 135.]

On Tuesday morning, the 4th March, Present, A. Van Hattem, Paulus Leendersen van der Grist, M. van Gheel, Willem Beeckman, and Pieter Wolfertsen.

GYSBERT VANDER DONCK* having been heard

³ N. B. My travelling expences since I left Fort Schuler thro' my whole Journey amounts to ten dollars, exclusive of my horse which is eight dollars.

thirteen Oneidas and Tuscaroras and five Caghnawagas, who, accompanied by Mr. Dean, arrived on the twenty-ninth day of August at Newport, where they were received with much attention and ceremony. At the close of the war, the Oneidas, granted him a tract of land, two miles square, on Wood Creek, west of Rome, whither he removed in 1784. He resided here two years, when he exchanged his property for a tract in Westmoreland, known as Dean's Patent, to which he removed in 1786. In 1791, Mr. Dean was appointed Judge of the County of Herkimer, and filled that office until the erection of Oneida into a separate County, where he was appointed to a similar office in the latter. He also represented the County in the Legislature, in 1808 and in 1809. In 1813, he retired altogether from public life, and died full of years and honors, in September, 1823.

Judge Dean's daughter, Electa, married the Hon. Joshua A. Spencer, of Utica, N. Y.

Some interesting particulars of his life will be found in *Tracy's Men and Events of Oneida County*.—O'C.

* GYSBERT VAN DER DONCK. Vide Minutes of the Sessions of Burgomasters and Schepens, of February 10, A. M., and 17, and March 3, 1653, ante.—H. B. D.

agreeably to the Order of the third of March, answers that it is his full determination not to affirm by oath whether or not he has heard the injurious language, nor that he has no public knowledge of it since, for the reason that it is a matter of doubtful character, and there has been much foolish talking about it, whereof no categorical answers can be given.

JAN VINJE†, absent.

ANTONY VAN HARDENBERGH‡, pursuant to the Order of the third of March, being closely examined, resolves nevertheless not to testify, under oath, whether or not he has heard the injurious words uttered and that he has no public knowledge of it.

HARMANUS HARTOOGH§ answers, as before, that he is determined not to give his testimony under oath.

The before-mentioned persons appearing together, before the Court, persist in their former declarations.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 136-138.]

In the afternoon of the 4th March, at the City Hall, Present, P. L. van der Grist, Pieter Wolfertsen, M. van Gheel, land the Schout, C. Van Tienhoven.

WHEREAS, at the Session of the Burgomasters and Schepens of this city of New Amsterdam, a complaint has been made by Joost Goderis, as it may be seen in its length and breadth in the proceedings of said Session on the tenth of February last, to wit: that he, Goderis, had been called hard names—a cuckold and a hornbeast—and by inspecting said Minutes more minutely, that certain persons had asked and required of him *Lettres represailles* to sleep with his wife, for the reason, as the requirants said, that Allard Antony did the same, and used other unbecoming language besides, whereupon it was then ordered that the Complainant should institute his suit, which he did on the seventeenth of February last: his opponents denying the opprobrious terms, he requested that his witnesses might be examined on certain points of interrogation, who being justly exposed to suspicion in the matter, appeared, and giving no satisfactory or categorical answers, time was given them for consideration, and they were ordered to be further examined in

† JAN VINJE. Vide *Minutes of the Sessions of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, of February 10, A. M., and 17, and March 3, 1653. A sketch of his life may be found in *Hist. Mag.* I., x., 361, ante.—H. B. D.

‡ ANTHONY VAN HARDENBURGH. Vide *Minutes of the Sessions of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, of February 17, and March 3, 1653, ante.—H. B. D.

§ HARMANUS HARTOOGH. Vide *Minutes of the Sessions of the Burgomasters and Schepens* of February 10, A. M., and 17, and March 3, 1653.—H. B. D.

JACOB GERRITSEN STRYCKER,* Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN GERRITSEN METSELAER,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Four and a half Beavers, and Eighteen Stuyvers, for goods had of him in the year 1651, delivered agreeably to his order.

The Defendant admits the debt, but pleads in excuse his inability to procure Beavers according to obligation.

The Burgomasters and Schepens give judgment that the Defendant shall pay according to his obligation, or that he shall tender, within [143] eight days from the date hereof, in lieu thereof, the amount claimed in good Seawant, at the price for which the Plaintiff can purchase the Beavers.

THOMAS GRIDY,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* BORGER JORISSEN,§ Defendant.

The Defendant is charged with having struck the Plaintiff, running after him with an open knife, and with having driven four oxen out of his stable without his permission; which oxen the Plaintiff had hired of the Defendant. This dispute had been committed to an arbitration, which Borger Jorissen had disregarded.

The Defendant brings before the Court the contract made between him and the Plaintiff, and contends that he has been greatly defrauded by the Plaintiff.

By the Burgomasters and Schepens, it is ordered that the parties be served with a copy of the points of the opposite party, so that, at the next Court-day, written answers may be given in and the parties prove their respective declarations.

* JACOB GERRITSEN STRYCKER, was a Great Burgher of the city of New Amsterdam; but we have no further account of him.—H. B. D.

† The Mason, and doubtless the origin of the name of MESSELER.—TRANSLATOR.

For particulars concerning JAN GERRITSEN, the Mason, see the notes to the *Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, or February 10, and March 3, 1653.—H. B. D.

‡ THOMAS GRIDY, an Englishman, from Devonshire, of very questionable character.

In 1646 he was arrested as a Receiver of stolen goods, an enticer of others to steal, and a thief; and his wife, Maria Roberts, testified to his guilt of the first of these charges, which he also confessed, as well as his guilt of the second charge; while he denied the third.

He was subjected to torture, whipped, and "banished the country, for ever;" yet in 1656, he was again arrested in Gravesend, for driving off George Baxter's cattle, then under seizure, and, although seventy years of age, he was again sentenced to pay the costs of the prosecution and to be banished for twelve years.—H. B. D.

§ The son of JORIS or GEORGE.—TRANSLATOR.

BORGER JORISSEN was by trade a Farrier and Horse-shoer, and Director Kieft, in 1639, gave him a lease of the Company's anvil, bellows, and one half the forge, for four years. He subsequently engaged in an illicit Trade to the Northward; and he was also an unlicensed Tavern-keeper. For both of these he was fined.

He married Engeltje Mans, on the eighteenth of December, 1639, by whom he had Cathryn, Maryken, Joris, Janneken, Hermanus, Elsjie, Claes, Lysbeth, Johannes, and Elias.

He was a Small Burgher of the city, of the date of April 17, 1657.—H. B. D.

WILLEM PIETERSEN,* Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES HENDRICKSEN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands that the Defendant shall give him a Deed of the premises purchased of him; and that, according to the oldest Deed in his possession.

The Defendant shows out of his conveyance that [144] it belongs to G. Loockerman,† to give the conveyance and transport, since it is nothing but fetching the transport.

The parties having been heard by the Burgomasters and Schepens, it is ordered that the Plaintiff shall have a copy of the principal Deed; but the Defendant cannot give a sufficient conveyance in his own name.‡

MATEWIS§ Vos, Plaintiff, *vs.* ADRIAEN KEYSER,|| Defendant.

The Plaintiff as the Curator of the Estate of Andries Johan Kristman, demands payment of Twenty-seven Guilders, thirteen Pennings, the amount of a book-account.

The Defendant admits that he received all the articles named, except one mixing measure, one pint measure, and one snuffers, amounting together to Seven Guilders, thirteen Pennings; and he brings in an account of Silver and Gold lace delivered to the deceased, Kristman, on the eighth of May, 1652, amounting to Thirteen Guilders, twelve Pennings, so that he remains in debt only Six Guilders, Eight Pennings: and declares the same to be true, offering, if required, to verify the same by oath.

* WILLEM PIETERSEN, a Mason, and the Company's Overseer in that Department.

Either he, or another of the same name, was subsequently a Tavern-keeper.—H. B. D.

† GOVERT LOOCKERMANS was a Merchant residing on what is now Hanover-square.

He came to New Netherland as Cook's-mate on the yacht *St. Martyn*, and was taken into the Company's service, in a very subordinate capacity. By economy, he saved enough to enter into trade, commanding his own vessel; and, soon after, became the American Agent of Gillis Verbruggen & Co., of Amsterdam. He became one of the wealthiest burghers of New Amsterdam.

He married Marritje Jans, on the eleventh of July, 1649; had Marritje, Jannetje, and Jacob; and died in 1671.

Oloff Stevensen van Courlandt married his sister, Anneken; Jacob Wolfersen van Couwenhoven married his sister, Magdaleentje, and Jacob Leisler was his son-in-law.—H. B. D.

‡ The property in question adjoined the property of Jan Damen, on der Strandt, (*the Strand or North side of Pearl-street, between Whitehall and Broad streets*).

Govert Loockermans conveyed it to Hendricksen, on the twentieth of February, 1659; (*Patents*, Book H H, Part I., 2) and on the twenty-eighth, the latter conveyed it to Pieter- sen, *Ibid.*, 15).—H. B. D.

§ MATHEW.—TRANSLATOR.

MATEWIS Vos.—*Matheus de Vos*, not *Matthew Vos*, as supposed by the translator—the Keeper of the City-hall, and subsequently, Marshall and Notary-public, resided on the North side of Brouwer-street (*Stone-street, between Whitehall and Broad streets*).

He was a soldier, in the Company's service, at the date referred to in the text; and was discharged in December, 1655. He was a Small Burgher of April, 1657, married the widow of Philip Geraerdy; and died in 1663.—H. B. D.

|| ADRIAEN KEYSER. Vide *Minutes of the Governor and Council*, JANUARY 28, 1648.

time mentioned in the contract; and saith that the landlord has not fulfilled his conditions, for which the Plaintiff lays claim to damages, agreeably to specification.*

The parties were heard; and the dispute is referred by the Burgomasters and Schepens, to ELBERT ELBERTSEN† and PETER CLASEN,‡ to be decided by them, as Arbitrators, according to their ability; or, in case of their inability to do so, to report to the College a written account of their views.

MARTIN JANSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* THOMAS SPICER'S WIFE, Defendant.

The Plaintiff states that the Defendant had slandered him in Holland and done him very serious injury, compelling him to remove to this Country.

[141] The Defendant demands the proof of this statement.

The Plaintiff is ordered to prove his declaration.

MARTIN JANSEN and GEERTJE JACOBS,§ Plaintiffs, *vs.* ELBERT ELBERTSEN and WILLIAM GERITSEN,¶ Defendants.

The Defendants in default.

JOEL JANSEN, the Cooper,¶ Plaintiff, *vs.* ADAM ROELANTSEN, Defendant.**

* Vide *Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, of February 24, and March 3, ante.—H. B. D.

† ELBERTSE ELBERTSEN STROTHOFF, came to America while he was a mere lad, and was employed by Wouter van Twiller as a farmer, for some ten or eleven years: when, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1645, he married AELTJE CORNELISEN, the widow of GERRIT WOLPHERTSEN VAN COUWENHOVEN, by whom he had two children.

Soon after, he seems to have engaged in politics, on the popular side; and, in 1649 and 1650, he was one of the Nine Men of New Amsterdam.

In 1653, he resided at Amersfoort (*Flatlands*) and was a Magistrate there in 1654, 1656, 1657, 1660-4, and 1673. He also represented the town in Conventions and Assembly, in 1653 and 1664.—H. B. D.

‡ PETER CLAESSEN, like his associate referee and the Plaintiff in the action, was a resident of Amersfoort, where, in 1655, he was the Superintendent of Director-general Stuyvesant's farm, and a Magistrate, which latter office he also filled in 1658, 1662, and 1663.—H. B. D.

§ GEERTJIS (*Gertrude*) JACOBS, at the period referred to, was the wife of ROELOFF JANSEN HARE, a Norwegian and Receiver of the Excise, to whom she was married on the nineteenth of April, 1645. She was, when thus married, a widow with children by her former husband; and by Roeloff she had, subsequently, Maryken, Jan, Jochem, Albert, Willem, Geertje, and Johanna.—H. B. D.

¶ WILLIAM GERITSEN, alias WILLIAM GILFORD, an Englishman, of very questionable character, resided in the city some years previous to this date; but it is not probable that he was the person referred to in the text.

We find no mention of any other person of this name in the records of that period.—H. B. D.

** "D'CUYPER."—TRANSLATOR.

JAN JANSEN, the Cooper, was a resident of the city in October, 1646; but among the many bearing the same name, at that period, we cannot trace him farther than 1647.—H. B. D.

ADAM ROELANTSEN. Of this name, there were at least two persons at the period referred to; and it is not known which of them was the Defendant in this action.

One was a Timber-hewer, (*Vide Minutes of Burgomasters and Schepens*, February 17, 1658;) the other was a School-master in the Colony as early as October, 1638, and was, subsequently, sentenced to banishment, for an attempt to commit a rape.—H. B. D.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Twenty-three Guilders and Five Stuyvers, for Pork which the Plaintiff had loaned to the Defendant to sell for him.

The Defendant acknowledges to have received the Pork and to have sold it to LUYCAS ELDERSEN,* who refuses to pay for it because it was not good.

The parties having been heard, the Burgomasters and Schepens judge and condemn the Defendant to pay the Plaintiff the aforesaid sum, Provided that the Defendant maintains his claim upon Luycas Eldersen, to whom the Pork was delivered, and that within one month.

JAN CARREMAN,† Plaintiff, *vs.* THOMAS BACKTER,‡ Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests the witness of the truth; and since the witness on the part is absent, it is ordered that the Defendant shall give his [142] testimony before the Secretary or Notary.

Serjeant HUYBERT,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN CARREMAN, Defendant.

Defendant in default.

HENDRICK EGBERTSEN,¶ Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERITSEN,¶ Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Thirty-five Guilders, Sixteen Stuyvers, moneys paid out the last year for the expences of the Defendant in building his house.

The Defendant contends that he does not owe so much.

The Burgomasters and Schepens refer the parties to AUKEN JANS** and CHRISTIAEN BARENTSEN.†† Carpenters, to examine into the matter, whether the Plaintiff has paid out so much, and, if possible, to get the parties to settle: or, otherwise, to give in their verdict to the College.

* LUYCAS ELDERSEN was a Small Burgher of the city, of the date of the fourteenth of April, 1657; but we find no other particulars concerning him which are deserving of notice.—H. B. D.

† CARMAN.—TRANSLATOR.

Beyond the fact that he was a resident of Hempstead, we have no particulars concerning Mr. Carman.—H. B. D.

‡ BAXTER.—TRANSLATOR.

This person seems to have been somewhat of an outlaw, if not a complete Pirate, rendering it necessary to call a Convention of the different Settlements to devise means of defence against his depredations. This Convention was held at New Amsterdam, in November, 1653.—H. B. D.

§ Serjeant HUYBERT, probably one of the garrison, received from the Colonial authorities, on the sixteenth of May, 1647, a lot on the Southern glacia of the Fort, at the extreme point of Manhattan Island; but nothing more is known of him.—H. B. D.

¶ HENDRICK EGBERTSEN. *Vide Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, February 17, 1653.—H. B. D.

¶ HENDRICK GERITSEN. *Vide Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, February 10, 1653.—H. B. D.

** AUKEN JANS. *Vide Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, February 10, 1653.—H. B. D.

†† CHRISTIAEN BARENTSEN, a Carpenter, subsequently residing near the Land-gate, [*Broadway and Wall-street*,] whose wife was Jannetie Jansen. He was appointed a Firewarden in 1656; made a Small Burgher, in April, 1657; and died on the Delaware, about 1658.—H. B. D.

JACOB GERRITSEN STRYCKER,* Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN GERRITSEN METSELAER,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Four and a half Beavers, and Eighteen Stuyvers, for goods had of him in the year 1651, delivered agreeably to his order.

The Defendant admits the debt, but pleads in excuse his inability to procure Beavers according to obligation.

The Burgomasters and Schepens give judgment that the Defendant shall pay according to his obligation, or that he shall tender, within [143] eight days from the date hereof, in lieu thereof, the amount claimed in good Seawant, at the price for which the Plaintiff can purchase the Beavers.

THOMAS GRIDY,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* BORGER JORISSEN,§ Defendant.

The Defendant is charged with having struck the Plaintiff, running after him with an open knife, and with having driven four oxen out of his stable without his permission; which oxen the Plaintiff had hired of the Defendant. This dispute had been committed to an arbitration, which Borger Jorissen had disregarded.

The Defendant brings before the Court the contract made between him and the Plaintiff, and contends that he has been greatly defrauded by the Plaintiff.

By the Burgomasters and Schepens, it is ordered that the parties be served with a copy of the points of the opposite party, so that, at the next Court-day, written answers may be given in and the parties prove their respective declarations.

* JACOB GERRITSEN STRYCKER, was a Great Burgher of the city of New Amsterdam; but we have no further account of him.—H. B. D.

† The Mason, and doubtless the origin of the name of MESSELER.—TRANSLATOR.

For particulars concerning JAN GERRITSEN, the Mason, see the notes to the *Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens*, or February 10, and March 3, 1653.—H. B. D.

‡ THOMAS GRIDY, an Englishman, from Devonshire, of very questionable character.

In 1646 he was arrested as a Receiver of stolen goods, an enticer of others to steal, and a thief; and his wife, Maria Roberts, testified to his guilt of the first of these charges, which he also confessed, as well as his guilt of the second charge; while he denied the third.

He was subjected to torture, whipped, and "banished the country, for ever;" yet in 1656, he was again arrested in Gravesend, for driving off George Baxter's cattle, then under seizure, and, although seventy years of age, he was again sentenced to pay the costs of the prosecution and to be banished for twelve years.—H. B. D.

§ The son of JORIS or GEORGE.—TRANSLATOR.

BORGER JORISSEN was by trade a Farrier and Horse-shoer, and Director Kieft, in 1639, gave him a lease of the Company's anvil, bellows, and one half the forge, for four years. He subsequently engaged in an illicit Trade to the Northward; and he was also an unlicensed Tavern-keeper. For both of these he was fined.

He married Engeltje Mans, on the eighteenth of December, 1639, by whom he had Cathryn, Maryken, Joris, Janneken, Hermanus, Elsjie, Claes, Lysbeth, Johannes, and Elias.

He was a Small Burgher of the city, of the date of April 17, 1657.—H. B. D.

WILLEM PIETERSEN,* Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES HENDRICKSEN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands that the Defendant shall give him a Deed of the premises purchased of him; and that, according to the oldest Deed in his possession.

The Defendant shows out of his conveyance that [144] it belongs to G. Loockerman,† to give the conveyance and transport, since it is nothing but fetching the transport.

The parties having been heard by the Burgomasters and Schepens, it is ordered that the Plaintiff shall have a copy of the principal Deed; but the Defendant cannot give a sufficient conveyance in his own name.‡

MATEWIS§ Vos, Plaintiff, *vs.* ADRIAEN KEYSER,|| Defendant.

The Plaintiff as the Curator of the Estate of Andries Johan Kristman, demands payment of Twenty-seven Guilders, thirteen Pennings, the amount of a book-account.

The Defendant admits that he received all the articles named, except one mixing measure, one pint measure, and one snuffers, amounting together to Seven Guilders, thirteen Pennings; and he brings in an account of Silver and Gold lace delivered to the deceased, Kristman, on the eighth of May, 1652, amounting to Thirteen Guilders, twelve Pennings, so that he remains in debt only Six Guilders, Eight Pennings: and declares the same to be true, offering, if required, to verify the same by oath.

* WILLEM PIETERSEN, a Mason, and the Company's Overseer in that Department.

Either he, or another of the same name, was subsequently a Tavern-keeper.—H. B. D.

† GOVERT LooCKERMANS was a Merchant residing on what is now Hanover-square.

He came to New Netherland as Cook's-mate on the yacht *St. Martyn*, and was taken into the Company's service, in a very subordinate capacity. By economy, he saved enough to enter into trade, commanding his own vessel; and, soon after, became the American Agent of Gillis Verbruggen & Co., of Amsterdam. He became one of the wealthiest burghers of New Amsterdam.

He married Marritje Jans, on the eleventh of July, 1649; had Marritje, Jannetje, and Jacob; and died in 1671.

Oloff Stevensen van Courlandt married his sister, Anneken; Jacob Wolferssen van Couwenhoven married his sister, Magdaleentje, and Jacob Leisler was his son-in-law.—H. B. D.

‡ The property in question adjoined the property of Jan Damen, on der Strandt, (*the Strand or North side of Pearl-street, between Whitehall and Broad streets*).

Govert Loockermans conveyed it to Hendricksen, on the twentieth of February, 1659; (*Patents*, Book H H, Part I, 2) and on the twenty-eighth, the latter conveyed it to Pieteresen, *Ibid.*, 15.)—H. B. D.

§ MATHEW.—TRANSLATOR.

MATEWIS Vos.—*Matheus de Vos*, not *Matthew Vos*, as supposed by the translator—the Keeper of the City-hall, and subsequently, Marshall and Notary-public, resided on the North side of Brouwer-street (*Stone-street, between Whitehall and Broad streets*).

He was a soldier, in the Company's service, at the date referred to in the text; and was discharged in December, 1655. He was a Small Burgher of April, 1657, married the widow of Philip Geraerdy; and died in 1663.—H. B. D.

|| ADRIAEN KEYSER. Vide *Minutes of the Governor and Council*, January 28, 1648.

The Plaintiff demands that since the Estate is insolvent, the Defendant shall come in with other creditors for his claim.

The Burgomasters and Schepens are of opinion that the Defendant may deduct his account [145] and the articles which he has not received from the sum demanded.

MATEWIS VOS, Curator as aforesaid, Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM VES [*]

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Nine Guilders, five Pennings, according to the account of deceased, Kristman.

The Defendant denies the debt; declares upon his honor that he has fully satisfied Andries Kristman; and that he does not owe him any thing whatever.

The Burgomasters and Schepens refuse to admit the Plaintiff's demand.

MATEWIS VOS, as Curator aforesaid, Plaintiff, *vs.* PAULUS HEYMANS, † Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Twenty-eight Guilders, ten Pennings, according to the book of [Andries] Kristman, deceased.

The Defendant does not deny that he had such things, but demands Thirty-eight Guilders, ten Pennings, which the deceased Kristman owes to him.

By the Burgomasters and Schepens, it is ordered that the Defendant prove his demand, by the next Court-day.

MATEWIS VOS, as Curator aforesaid, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANNEKE HENDRIX, wife of Jan Van Bil, ‡ Defendant.

Jan Van Bil appears.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Twenty-four Guilders, eighteen [146] Pennings, according to the book-account.

The Defendant does not recognize the account, for he has paid it.

The Burgomasters and Schepens condemn him to pay the demand within one month from the date hereof, or, otherwise, to prove that he has settled it.

CARL VAN BRUGGE, § as Vendue-master of the

* The other letters illegible from decay.—TRANSLATOR.

† PAULUS HEYMANS, the Company's Negro-driver, from 1647 until 1656, and a Small Burgher of April, 1657, was from Leyden; married the widow Tryntje Barentsen, on the twelfth of February, 1645; and had Paulus, Paulus, and Heyman. He lived on the extreme point of the island, South-west from Fort Amsterdam.—H. B. D.

‡ JAN VAN BIL. Nothing has been found concerning this man.

There was a Jan Aertsen van der Bilt in the Colony; but it is not known that this entry referred to him.—H. B. D.

§ CARL VAN BRUGGE was a Commissary at Fort Orange; a Book-keeper in the Company's service at New Amsterdam; temporarily the Provincial Secretary; from 1654 until 1657, the English Secretary; in 1661, Commissary of Stores, and Clerk of the five towns on Long Island.

He married the widow Sara Cornelis, on the third of November, 1647; and died at Flushing, in 1692.—H. B. D.

Estate of the deceased Kristman, Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM PIETERSEN, Defendant.

Concerning the payment of Thirty-two Guilders, seven Pennings, for the purchase of certain articles belonging to the said Estate.

The Defendant acknowledges that he purchased the articles, and requests that Six Guilders due to him from Kristman be credited.

The Defendant is condemned to pay the Plaintiff for the goods purchased by him; and to bring his demand of Six Guilders in suit against the Curator of the Estate.

FRANCOIS FYN, * Plaintiff, *vs.* CORNELIS JANSEN COELEN, † Defendant.

The Plaintiff declares that he had sent certain goods, by the Defendant, to the South, on these conditions:—that he might traffic them and do therewith as with his own, and what he did not sell he might return; and in respect to what the Defendant might have sold, they consented to leave to arbitrators; that, accordingly, for one piece of Fustian, given [147] out to him (the Defendant) the Plaintiff has received no compensation; and that for this the Plaintiff demands payment.

The Defendant acknowledges that he received the goods; that he delivered the one piece of Fustian, together with some articles of his own cargo, to one Jan Schudt, ‡ who having been murdered by the Indians, he never received any payment for the same; and he contends that he is not bound to pay for it.

The parties having been heard, the Burgomasters and Schepens, after reflecting well on the subject, do judge that Cornelis Jansen shall pay the Plaintiff for the said piece of Fustian, as much as it shall be found he has obtained from the heirs of Jan Schudt; and that the Plaintiff shall make no further claim against the Defendant.

CORNELIS JANSEN COALEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN NAGEL, ¶ Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands from the Defendant, as the husband of the deceased, Jan Schudt, payment according to the account of goods delivered to the deceased, in the South-river of New Netherland, sold to him on condition that he should pay for them on his return, and if not sold he might return them.

The Defendant shows by attestation that the Plaintiff had not absolutely sold the goods to

* FRANCOIS FYN was the Grantee of Hog, now Manning's Island; but we have found little else concerning him.—H. B. D.

† CORNELIS JANSEN COELEN, was Skipper of the Yacht 't *Vliegende Hart*; and he appears to have assumed some authority in Achtet Col, which was contested.

He was engaged in trade with the South-river; and in that connection undoubtedly received the goods referred to.—H. B. D.

‡ SODT.—TRANSLATOR.

§ JAN NAGEL. We have found nothing whatever concerning this person.—H. B. D.

Jan Schudt, deceased, but had delivered the [148] same for their mutual profit, and contends therefore that since Jan Schudt had been intrusted with the goods and had been murdered, that such goods had been sufficiently paid for by his death; and that, for that reason, the Defendant is not obligated to pay for the same.

The Plaintiff, at his request, is entitled to a copy of the Attestation, and was ordered to prove his own Declaration.

CARLL VAN BRUGGE, Plaintiff, *vs.* CORNELIS JANSEN, SENIOR, Defendant.

The Defendant absent.

PIETER KOCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANNEKE VAN VORST, Defendant.

The Defendant appeared personally before the Court with her father-in law, presenting a written answer to the written demand of Pieter Kock, the Plaintiff, which answer having been read before the Plaintiff, he requested a copy of the same that he might reply thereto.

The Plaintiff's request was granted.

SAMICOTIN, THE WIFE OF CASPAR STENNIETS, Plaintiff, *vs.* JUDICKIE VERLERS, Defendant.

This is a dispute concerning wages.

The Burgomasters and Schepens, finding the parties in this action had made no written agreement, and narrowly observing the statements of each party, do decide that the wages shall be collected by the Plaintiff at Amsterdam, upon the arrival of the [149] ship; and, further, having considered the confession of the Plaintiff, it is also adjudged that the freight from Holland shall be deducted in full from the wages; and for the adjustment of the account of the goods received, the following persons are, by these presents, authorized to effect the same, viz.; Jacob van Couwenhoven and Pierre Cornelisen Vanderveen.

On the prayer of GULYAEN JANSEN, Carpenter's apprentice of van der Donck, presented to the Court, wherein he requests that he may be set free, for reasons therein set forth, it is endorsed: "The Burgomasters and Schepens are of the opinion that the Petitioner shall provisionally return to his service; and if he has anything further to offer he has the liberty of presenting the same."

GYSBERT VAN DER DONCK and HARMANUS HARTOOGH appeared, pursuant to the order of the eight of March last, as witnesses in the suit of JOOST GODERIS; and because of the absence of the Schout they were ordered to be detained until they shall be discharged.

GYSBERT VAN DER DONCK presented his exception to the Court, showing that he was not bound to make oath in the matter, and requested that, upon his promise to appear at every citation, he may be relieved, provisionally, from his detention,

in order that he may attend to his necessary business, which, by his petition, he prays may be granted to him.

[Original not paged; Translation, 150, 151.]

At a Joint Session of the Director-general and Councillors of New Netherland, the Burgomasters and Schepens being present, with the exception of Martin Crigier, who is absent.

After reading the Epistle of the Noble Directors, etc. communicating the last intelligence from New England, concerning the preparations there, but whether for defence or offence is unknown to us, it is jointly Resolved and Decreed,

FIRST: That the whole body of the Burghery shall keep watch by night, in such places as shall be particularly designated by the Director-general and Council and Burgomasters aforesaid: in the meantime it shall assemble at the City Tavern, the present Watch-house.

SECOND: It is considered necessary, first of all, to repair the fortress at New Amsterdam, and to make it sufficiently strong.

THIRD: Taking into consideration the fact that the fortress at New Amsterdam is not sufficient to contain all the inhabitants nor to protect the houses and habitations within this City, it is deemed necessary to enclose the greatest part of the City with upright Palisades and small Breastworks, so that in case of necessity all the inhabitants may retire within the inclosure and as far as is practicable to defend themselves and their property against an attack; for the present, it is deemed unnecessary to enclose and protect, in this manner, the outside villages, where the inhabitants live scattered and apart, in conformity with the good intent and directions of their High Mightinesses our Governors; nor is it practicable to protect these against any attack, and it is considered more expedient to concentrate all the New Netherland force in one place, for the sake of better defence.

FOURTH: It is deemed necessary to devise some way to raise money with which to effect and accomplish the foregoing and whatever else may be necessary for the purpose of defence; and on this subject, the Noble Director-general and Councillors and the aforesaid Magistrates, shall, after due deliberation, compare their views, and from them, to-morrow, come to a joint Resolution.

FIFTH: It is ordered that the Skipper, Jan Jansen Vischer,* shall be spoken to privately to fix his sails, to have his piece loaded, and to keep his vessel in readiness on all occasions, whether by day or by night; and if anything else shall be necessary for defence, it shall be sent to him.

* MALVOORE.—TRANSLATOR.

Done, on the thirteenth of March, 1653, in Session as aforesaid, in Fort Amsterdam, and resumed this 14th March.

A. VAN HATTEM, Burgomaster.

Schepens,

P. L. VAN DER GRIET

P. STUYVESANT

WILH. BEEKMAN

LA MONTAGNE

PIETER WOLFFERSEN

The Fiscal TIENHOVEN

M. VAN GHIEL

BRIAN NEWTON

ALLARD ANTONY

Attested by me

CARL VAN BRUGGE, Secretary.

XVII.—EARLY VOYAGES FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA.

1.—NOTICE OF A PASSAGE IN ICELANDIC CHRONICLES MENTIONING A PRE-SCANDINAVIAN VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

BY J. CARSON BREVOORT, PRESIDENT OF THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Many notices of voyages to Continental America, previous to what may be called its formal discovery by Columbus, are now admitted as satisfactorily proving that it was known to the Icelanders, and perhaps also to the Faroese and Irish, before the year 1492. We have the Icelandic narratives of the discoveries of Greenland, by Gunnbjörn, in 877; its settlement by Eric the Red, in 986; Biarne's view, in the same year, of lands to the south-west of it; Leif's explorations, in 1000, of lands which were visited and colonized by Thorfinn Karlsefne, in 1007; and of other visits to the so-called Vineland up to the year 1347; all which are admirably edited by the late Professor Rafn in his *Antiquitates Americanae*, and lead to the irresistible conclusion that North America was really the scene of these adventurous undertakings. But the narratives were not known to other European sailors, and it is not probable that Columbus, on his voyage to Iceland, learned anything from the old Chronicles concerning land to the west. He believed, until his death, in 1506, that he had reached Asiatic lands; and the Spaniards were not fully aware of the full importance of his discoveries, until Nunez de Balboa, in 1513, first saw the vast Pacific, which was crossed by Magellan, in 1517. Even as late as 1540, the King of France, in a grant to Jacques Cartier, calls Canada, "*un des bouts de l'Asie*," one of the points of Asia.¹

If the Spaniards and French were so long in learning that they had a really new World before them, it may well be supposed that the Scandinavian navigators did not dream of having touched

upon a new Continent. They were, besides, not given to writing long or detailed accounts of their explorations, and appear to have made no maps to represent them.

Besides the meagre though credible accounts of the Icelandic discoveries, we have the narrative of the Zeno brothers, Venetians, who resided on the Faroe Islands from 1380 to 1405, or longer, and who mention visits to lands far off to the west called Estotiland and Drogeo. Then Dicuil, an Irish monk, as early as the beginning of the ninth century, and Adam of Bremen, in the second half of the eleventh, have left us traces of navigations to the north. There is the voyage of Madoc from Wales, about 1170, and some fabulous accounts of the Island of Saint Brandan, and of other islands in the Atlantic; Szkolnys voyage, in 1476, &c.; all pointing to explorations westwardly in the Atlantic. There are many traces of a regularly pursued navigation by the Basques, of a very early date, in the Atlantic, which at another time we propose to examine. Humboldt believes, (*Ex. Crit.* ii. 148,*) that the Basque fishermen were the rivals of the Scandinavians and Irish in navigation, and hopes that new researches will be made to clear up the dim light thus far shed upon Atlantic explorations.

From Michel, in his *Pays Basque*, we learn that this seafaring people boast of having, long before Columbus, been in the habit of visiting America; and Mons. Estancelin believes that the lost archives of Dieppe contained records of such voyages. We believe that among the fabulous islands in the Atlantic, on charts previous to 1500, there is one, sometimes named "Isola Verde," and sometimes "Isle de Mai," which from its unvarying position in latitude forty-six north, and from its being represented in one case as surrounded by a bank, was intended to represent a real land, that is Newfoundland. The Green Bank and Isle of May, on the south of Newfoundland, were no doubt, the points thus designated. Should researches be made with this view, they might develop interesting results.

However, leaving these later explorations to be carefully investigated hereafter, we propose at present, simply to draw attention to a remarkable incident mentioned in the *Heimskringla* and in another Icelandic manuscript, which does not seem to have attracted the notice of the learned author of the *Antiquitates Americanae*.

Among the Eddas and Sagas, in verse or prose, the *Heimskringla*, or History of the Kings of Norway, is the only professedly historical chronicle which deals with facts, to the exclusion of all fabulous or traditional incidents. It was written by Snorri Sturluson, who was born in 1178 and died

1. See *Voyage de Jacques Cartier aux Canada en 1534*. Appendice, pp. 18—20. Michelant's Edition. 1866.

* We quote at the end of this article, Humboldt's passage as interesting and appropriate.

in 1241, being a lineal descendant of Gudleif, one of the early Bishops of Greenland.

Professor Rafn in his work above mentioned, published in 1837, quotes passages from eighteen old Manuscripts, in which the visits of the Norsemen to America are mentioned. The *fifth* one in the series is an extract of the *Heimskringla*, and the passage which he gives is copied in *facsimile* from the *Arna Magnean Codex*, and is again given in the text, page 191 of his work, in the original Icelandic, in Danish, and in Latin. We quote the Latin version, probably his own.

"VINLANDIA BONA INVENTA. Leivus, filius "Eiriki Rufi, apud regem Olavum eandem hiemem "(999-1000) transegit, honore habitus, et Christianorum sacra amplexus est. Ea vero ætate, "cum Gizur in Islandiam profectus est, Rex Olavus "Leivum in Grænlandiam misit ad annuntiandam "ibi religionem Christianam; qui et ea ætate in "Grænlandiam profectus est. *Homines in mari "invenit, fractæ navis tabulatis innatantes, eisque "auxiliatus est*; tum quoque invenit Vinlandiam "Bonam, et proximo autumno in Grænlandiam "venit, eo sacerdotem et alios clericos viros adducens, et Brattahlidam ad patrem Eirikum manendi "causa concessit; ex quo tempore Leivus Fortunatus appellatus est. Eirikus vero pater ejus "constare ait Leivo rationem, *qui naufragos "aperto mari servasset*, idemque hominem noxium "(sic sacerdotem appellavit) in Grænlandiam deportasset."

In this passage it seems that Leif found mariners who had been shipwrecked, and helped them; but the fact would have but little significance, for Sturluson does not indicate the precise point at which these men were found. However, the fair conclusion is, that it was while on his way to Vinland, else the occurrence would not have been mentioned. If he had met them while on his way to Vinland, which is generally conceded to be New England, then Leif was not the first discoverer or visitor from the Old World to the New.

This incident is again alluded to in another old manuscript quoted by Professor Rafn. It is a geographical fragment, written in old Danish, and as he thinks (p. 279) near the end of the fourteenth century. We quote a great part of the fragment on account of the curious geographical opinions it puts forth. It is given on pages 290-293 of the work, in the original Danish and in Latin. We give the last only.

" . . . A finibus Bjarmie porriguntur per "hyperboreas regiones varæ terræ, non habitatæ, "ad Grænlandiæ terminos usque. A meridie "Grænlandiæ sita est Hellulandia," (*Newfoundland, according to Rafn*.) "deinde Marklandia, "unde via non longa ad Vinlandiam Bonam, "quam nonnulli putant ab Africa porrigi, quod

"si ita est, oceanus sese inter Vinlandiam et "Marklandiam insinuat. Dicitur Thorfinnus "Karlsefnus cecidisse ligna, scopis domesticis "apta, et posterius iter suscepisse ad querendam "Vinlandiam illam bonam; refertur porro quod "is et socii in eum locum venerint, ubi sitam "esse hanc terram putarent, sed quod ii ab "ulteriore investigatione detinerentur et nullas "bonas terræ fruges inde secum apportarent. "Leifus, Fortunatus dictus, primus Vinlandiam "invenit, *in quo etiam itinere mercatores, oceani "periculis vexatos, reperit, ac eorum vitam Dei "misericordia adjutus servavit*; is insuper Christianismum in Grænlandiam introduxit, qui ibidem adeo increvit, ut sides ibi episcopalis in loco Gardar dicto, fundata esset. Anglia et Scotia unam efficiunt insulam, licet utraque earum regnum sit speciale. Est Irlandia insula magna; Islandia similiter magna est insula, ab Irlandia boream versus sita. Omnes hae terræ sitæ sunt in ea mundi parte, quæ Europa vocatur."

This remarkable passage confirms the story of the shipwreck, and further distinctly states that they were "*mercatores*," merchants. But its great value is in the statement that Leif found the castaways while on his way to the discovery of Vinland from Greenland. If then, the story is to be believed, the shores of continental America were visited by merchants before the year 1000. It would be rash to assert from these slight data that vessels from Europe habitually frequented our coasts at this time, but when it is remembered that the Gulf Stream, which runs from West to East, would prevent the possibility of a ship's drifting so far out of her course to the westward, we may suppose that these mariners, so opportunely rescued by Leif, were visiting these coasts for a special purpose, and that probably they were fishermen in search of whales or cod-fish.

It appears from this passage that Vinland was supposed to be a part of Africa, while Markland, (*Nova Scotia*) Helluland, (*Newfoundland*) and Greenland, were considered a part of Europe. This theory was held by the northern geographers, proving their ignorance of the true form of the South Atlantic; while on the other hand southern geographers always represented the North Atlantic as closed and connected with Europe, thus deferring to the supposed knowledge gained by the Danish navigators.

EXTRACT FROM HUMBOLDT, REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING PAPER.

"There can be no doubt but that the Basques "and the people of Celtic origin in Ireland, carrying on fisheries on distant coasts, were constantly the rivals of the Scandinavians in the "North Atlantic; nor that these last, in the "eighth century, were even preceded in the Faroes

"and in Iceland by Irish navigators. Notwithstanding these proofs of nautical activity, it appears not the less extraordinary that this 'Prince Madoc, 'leaving Ireland to the North,' 'avoiding therefore the intermediate stations 'which had favored the Scandinavian discoveries, 'should have carried his adventurous voyage to 'the coasts of the United States, and that he 'should have returned to Wales to procure new colonists. It is to be hoped that at the present time, when criticism is severe without being 'disdainful, new researches may be made on the 'ground itself, and all that relates to the disappearance of Madoc ap Owen Gwineth be collected from traditions and the old Welsh chroniclers. I do not agree in looking with contempt 'at these national traditions, as is too often done; 'on the contrary, I am firmly persuaded that with 'greater assiduity, the discovery of facts, now 'entirely unknown, will throw great light on 'those historical problems relating to navigation 'in the middle ages. They will explain the 'striking analogies presented between the religious traditions, the divisions of time and works 'of art of America and the east of Asia, and 'the migrations of the Mexicans, etc." *Examen Critique, etc.*, ii, 148.

XVIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*]

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE.

SIR: In the interesting letter of your special correspondent from Guilford, Conn., containing an account of the funeral of Fitz-Greene Halleck, published in THE TRIBUNE of to-day, it is stated that the old stone house was "built by the first settlers of Guilford, in 1639, and occupied more than two hundred years ago by Halleck's ancestor, the Reverend John Eliot, the well-known missionary, whose labors among the red men earned for him the title of 'Apostle of the 'Indians.' It was also the home of that godly man, Henry Whitfield, who built the mansion," &c.

The Reverend John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians" (correct title) did not reside in Guilford. His home was in Roxbury, Mass., where he died and was buried. Your correspondent evidently refers to the son of the Apostle, the Rev. Joseph Eliot, who was the settled Pastor of the Church in Guilford, from 1664 to 1694, the date of his death.

In regard to Mr. Halleck's ancestry, it may interest your readers to know that the Reverend Joseph Eliot had a son, Abial, from whom sprung Nathaniel, the father of Mary Eliot, who was married to Israel Halleck, Esq., of Dutchess County, N.Y., on the thirtieth of September, 1787. The poet was one of their family of three children. Mr. Halleck, the father, died on the seventh of November, 1839, aged eighty-four years.

It will seen from the above, that the distinguished poet was of the sixth generation from the "Apostle to the Indians," the order being as follows:

I. The Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury, Mass.

II. The Reverend Joseph Eliot of Guilford, Connecticut.

III. Abial Eliot, a farmer in Guilford, Connecticut.

IV. Nathaniel Eliot, also a farmer in Guilford, Connecticut.

V. Mary Eliot, who married the father of VI. Fitz-Greene Halleck.

The Apostle "appears sometimes to have indulged the rhyming vein for his own amusement. A few specimens of this sort, with the anagrams so common in that age, are found in the ancient book of Records belonging to the church in Roxbury."

The *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book printed in America, was the joint work of "the Reverend Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Weld, and the Reverend Mr. John Eliot of Roxbury."

The Reverend Dr. Bennett (not Burnett, as the printer has it) is the Rector of Christ Church in Guilford, and the East Burying Ground is now known as the "Alderbrook Cemetery."

NEW YORK, November 23, 1867.

E.

A PORTRAIT OF JEFFERSON.—A letter-writer at Frankfort, Ky., says: "I was shown yesterday by its present possessor a half-length portrait of Thomas Jefferson, by Stuart, taken from life, as the saying goes, by that celebrated artist, at Jefferson's Monticello residence. Only two original portraits were ever obtained of the 'great departed,' one of which was presented to Stuart by Mr. Jefferson, as a mark of esteem and appreciation of his talents as an artist. This subsequently came into the possession of the descendants of General Washington,* from whom it was purchased by Congress, and placed in the National Capitol. But it was unfortunately destroyed, with many other of the Nation's treasures, in the fire that burnt a portion of this building, some fifteen years ago. The

* It is a pity that we are not told which of the "descendants of General Washington" are referred to.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*

"one in question is a family heir-loom, and is the only original painting of the great statesman now extant; all others being copies thereof. The colors appear as fresh as if they had been placed there only a few months ago; the likeness is known to be excellent; and Mr. Beard, the well-known artist of Cincinnati, pronounces it to be one of the finest and most valuable paintings now in the United States."

CLOSE OF CONNECTICUT RIVER NAVIGATION.—The ice is now pretty solid from shore to shore at Rocky Hill, and for some distance this side. Since 1860, steamboat navigation has closed as follows:

1860.....	December 10.
1861.....	" 21
1862.....	" 6
1863.....	" 9
1864.....	" 12
1865.....	" 17
1866.....	" 14
1867.....	" 8

In 1865 the *Granite State* was "caught" here, on the seventeenth, but, owing to a thaw, managed to get out of the river on the twenty-eighth. The average date of the closing of navigation during the eight years given above, is the twelfth. —*Hartford Times*, December 10.

A TOWN FULL OF CHURCHES.—A German paper is publishing historical sketches of the churches in Upper Hanover Township. From a translation by the *Reformed Church Messenger*, we take the following:—

This township, in 1850, had a population of one thousand, seven hundred, and forty-one; and now contains seven houses of worship:

1. The New Goshenhoppen German Reformed Church.
2. The Goshenhoppen Lutheran Church, called also the Six Cornered Church.
3. The Pennsburch Church—a Union Lutheran and Reformed Church.
4. The old Methodist Meeting House.
5. The new Methodist Church.
6. The old Swenkfelder Meeting House.
7. The new Swenkfelder Meeting House.

The oldest congregation in Upper Hanover Township, is the new Goshenhoppen German Reformed.

The first mentioned and oldest church was erected in 1716, and has been twice rebuilt, in 1796 and in 1857. It was originally put up on a plot of six acres by the Reformed, the Lutherans, and the Mennonites, to whom the land had been given for a grave yard, by John H. Sproegel, as early as 1705. The first preacher of whom we have an intelligent account, was a Swiss, named John Henry Goetschy. He preached at Skippack, Old

Goshenhoppen, Egypt, Maxatawny, Massillon, Gley, Bern, Tulpehocken, Great Swamp, Saucon, and at New Goshenhoppen. He resided near Greenlane, and his pastorate closed in 1740. His successors were Weiss, Weiler, Dalliker, Vondersloot, father and son, Faber, father and son, and Weiser, father and son. This last-named, Rev. C. Z. Weiser, is now pastor of the church.

A CHAPTER OF FIRST THINGS.—The first schooner ever launched in this country is said to have been built at Cape Ann, in 1714.

The first lime made in New England was burned in Newbury, Mass., by James Noyes.

The first cotton factory in the United States, was established at Beverly, Mass., 1787. It continued in operation until 1802, and then stopped, ninety per cent of the capital having been sunk in the enterprise.

The first cast iron edifice erected in America stood upon the corner of Centre and Duane streets, New York.

Samuel F. B. Morse, of telegraphic fame, studied painting in England, and was the first person to deliver a course of public lectures upon art, in America.

The first successful experiment of burning anthracite coal in an open grate, was by Judge Jesse Fell, of Pennsylvania, on the eleventh of February, 1808.

Inflammable gas was first evolved from coal, in 1736 to 1739. A use of the gas was first attempted at Cornwall, in 1792. The first display of gas lights was made at Boulton & Watt's foundry, at Birmingham, on the occasion of rejoicings for peace in England, in 1802. Gas was permanently used at the cotton mills in Manchester, where one thousand burners were lighted, in 1805. Gas lights were first introduced in London, on the sixteenth of August, 1807. Pall Mall was lighted, in 1809; London generally, in 1814. Gas was first introduced at Baltimore, in 1821; at New York, in 1823.

The first Methodist meeting-house built in New England, was erected in Stratfield parish, town of Stratford, now Trumbull, New Haven County, Conn., in September, 1789, and was called "Lee's Chapel," from Rev. Jesse Lee, the apostle of New England Methodism. The next was in Lynn, Mass., 1791, a few months after Mr. Wesley's death. It was begun on the fourteenth of June, raised on the twenty-first, and dedicated on the twenty-sixth, the frescoing, carpeting, cushioning, and the putting in of gas, and other dainty "fixings" being, of course, omitted. The first Annual Conference of the Methodists in New England was held in this house by Bishop Asbury, on the first of August, 1792, the precursor of a great number on the same spot. The

first Methodist Conference in America was held at Philadelphia in 1773. It consisted of ten preachers.

The first locomotives in the United States, says the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, were brought over from England by Horatio Allen of New York, in the fall of 1829, or the spring of 1830; and one of them was set up on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, at Carbondale, Penn., but being found too heavy for the track its use was abandoned.

The first locomotive constructed in this country was built by the West Point foundry, at New York, in 1830, for the South Carolina Railroad, and named the "PHOENIX;" a second engine was built the same year, by the same establishment, and for the same road, and named the "WEST POINT." In the spring of 1831, a third engine was built by the same establishment, for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad, from Albany to Schenectady, and called the "DE WITT CLINTON;" this was the first locomotive run in the State of New York. This engine was put on the road by David Matthews, who now resides in this city, and has been connected with railroads since that time. The first Stephenson locomotive ever imported into this country was the "ROBERT FULTON." This engine was brought out in the summer of 1831, for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad; it was subsequently rebuilt and named the "JOHN BULL."—*Boston Transcript*.

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.—In a recent report of the proceedings of the Essex Institute, we find stated that, the house of Sir William Pepperrell is four miles distant, from Kittery Point.

It is an old fashioned gable-end house, rather out of proportion to the wealth of its former owner, who was an immense land-holder. Sir William was born in 1696 and died in 1759. The property has now passed out of the family. His heirs were Tories during the Revolution, and the estate was confiscated and cut up. The house was built by Sir William's father, in 1680, and remodelled by the son, in 1720.

At a short distance from the house, but across the street, is the Pepperrell tomb, on which there is a marble table with this inscription:

"Here lyes the Body of the Honourable William Pepperrell, esq., who departed this life the 15th of Feb., Anno Domini 1733. In the 87th year of his Age. With the remains of great part of his Family."

Sir William ordered this tablet from London to commemorate his father's death. But the tomb probably contains his own remains and that of many of his servants.

the fifteenth instant, devotes its leader of over a column to us. Some time ago we had an article on "New Englandisms," which was much more laudatory than otherwise of the famous subnationality referred to, though exceptions were taken to some things. But New England submits to nothing short of praise, pure and not faint, and hence we are called to account, much as school-boys used to be. But the head and front of our offending seems to be, not so much in our own utterances, as in the favorable notices of them made by the *New York Herald* and the *Baltimore Episcopal Methodist*, neither of which has come under our eye. From this state of the case, Brother Haven reads us an edifying lecture on the evils of bad company, and intimates that our inspiring motives were not above suspicion. All we ask, by way of recompense for the injustice done us in the whole tone and drift of his article is, that he will allow his readers to see the *Advocate's* article upon which he animadverted. *Christian Advocate*, August 22.

SCRAPS.—The *Worcester Spy* says a descendant of one of the old families of Leicester is in possession of a clock, which has been in the family ever since the first settlement of the town, in 1717. It being still in its prime, as a time-keeper, and an elegant piece of furniture, it is not strange that it should be in demand by other members of the family. A few days since, a wealthy relative offered the owner one hundred dollars for it, which was its original cost in London. He was told that if he would add six per cent. compound interest, since its purchase, he might have it. On computing the sum it was found to be over eight hundred thousand dollars.

—The *New Haven Register* relates that towards the close of the Revolution, the owners of the North Church, in that city, sent to Boston for nails to make repairs with, when one of the kegs sent in return for the order were found to contain Spanish dollars. The sly Deacons wrote to the Boston merchant that there was "an error in shipping the goods," but he answered that the nails were sold as he bought them of a privateersman, and he couldn't rectify mistakes. So the silver was melted up and made into a service of plate for the church, and is in use at the present day.

—In Felt's *Annals of Salem*, there is a note which says, under date of "1802, Oct. 12—Mr. Corne is endeavoring to introduce the Tomatoes. He finds it difficult to persuade us even to taste of them after all his praise." Felt also says the tomato, "being a native of South America, was carried to Europe and raised in England, before 1600. Still, for a long period, it was no favorite in our Northern States."

—John Schroeder, a veteran of the war of 1812, who served under Perry, on Lake Erie, died a short time since at Albany. He was born in Holland, and had been impressed by the British. He was a gunner on the flagship of the American fleet at the time of the victory on Lake Erie, and there lost his right arm. He was very aged, but retained his mental faculties almost to the last.

—In the library of the American Institute, New York, there is a brochure from the pen of Samuel L. Mitchell ending thus: "Query—War in 'Heaven? If the angels were *rational*, they 'would not have attempted to resist infinite 'power with their limited power. If they were 'not *rational*, they could not have planned war. 'Ergo: war never existed there."

—Mr. Andrew Boyd of New York is making a collection of "Lincolnia." This collection now contains two hundred books, about one hundred and twenty-five portraits, and fifty medals, besides badges, mourning cards, autographs, and manuscripts.

—King's Chapel was the first large edifice in Boston built of Quincy granite. The stones were taken from the surface; and when the church was half finished it was feared that there would not be material enough to complete it.

—A barn, one hundred and four years old, was torn down in Gilmanton, N. H., the other day. When erected, there were but seventeen families residing in the town, all the members of which were present at the raising.

—There is now residing in Spencer township, Allen county, Ohio, a revolutionary soldier who is one hundred and seven years old. His name is William Taylor.

—The British Custom House in Boston, stood in King Street, on the east corner of Royal Exchange lane. The site is now occupied by the Union building.

—At the funeral of Channing, twenty-five years ago, the bell of the Catholic Cathedral was tolled by order of Bishop Fenwick.

—The first house in Rochester was built in 1810, by Colonel Enos Stone, who died in the same, on the twenty-third of October, 1851.

XIX.—NOTES.

NEW YORK FASHIONS IN 1711-12.—I have before me a bill of things ordered to be sent to New York, from London, to Mrs. Hyde, wife, I believe, of the Governor of North Carolina, from which I extract these items:

"1 doz. laced Shoes, pretty small, high and
"full in Heel & high in the Instep."

"Six pair Womens silk hose, three pair whereof
"Green."

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

A VESTIGE OF ARNOLD'S MARCH TO QUEBEC.—The *Augusta (Maine) Journal* states that a singular discovery was recently made at a mill in that city. In sawing a maple log from a very old tree, the workmen observed that the saw cut through a pine plug, which was carefully drawn out, and with it a small piece of paper bearing the marks of age, having on it this writing:

"1775, J. B. Dunkirk, with Arnold."

The writing appears to be in pencil. The paper is the usual make of the last century, and is undoubtedly genuine. In the lapse of time since it was deposited, the tree had grown so as to cover the spot completely.

BELFAST, ME.

J. W.

WAGES.—It appears by a paper signed by the Mayor and Aldermen of New York, that the wages of a laboring man in the City of New York, in 1702, were three shillings (thirty-seven and a half cents) a day.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

AN ANCIENT TOWN IN THE WEST.

[MR. EDITOR.—The *Albany Gazette*, for March 6, 1788, at the State Library, has the following which I copy for your readers.

MANSFIELD TRACY WALWORTH.]

Account of an Ancient Town in the Western Country by a Gentleman residing in those Parts.

We have discovered the ruins of a very ancient town; it is ninety rods square, surrounded with a wall, which is at this time two rods thick, and five or six feet high, and from the appearance of soil two or three growths have already added to the manure; and the present timber affords trees seven feet in diameter on the walls. I cannot give a minute description without delineating it; for which I have not time at present. It is four square, with twelve gates, three on each side, and very regular: between the town and the Ohio are regular fortifications with turrets of observation, lines of defense, out-works, etc. In the town, are a number of raised grounds with regular ascent to them, probably places of worship, and a canal to lead the water from the town, eight rods wide—a wall on each side which is still thirty feet high in some places—burying grounds, &c., &c. We made every enquiry of the inhabitants and Indians; they can give no satisfactory accounts; the Indians say their fathers do not know who made them; then it would be mere conjecture in

me to unravel the secret. That they are not works of nature is certain, and that the Indians, *in their present state*, have not made them is as certain. Then it follows, that the present Indians are descendants of nations once acquainted with the arts, or this continent was inhabited by a nation unknown, who are lost in the revolutions of time, and entirely extinct. For many reasons I am apt to embrace the latter, but let either be true it convinces me that we know very little respecting the first people of America.

DEATH OF A CENTENARIAN.—Mrs. Rachel Heath, of Brownville, Piscataquis County, Maine, died the twenty-third day of November last, at the advanced age of one hundred and two years and three months. She was the oldest inhabitant of that section of the State. Her descendants are numerous, and she left nine living children, the oldest of whom is eighty-two years of age, and the youngest fifty-seven.

BELFAST, ME.

J. W.

XX.—QUERIES.

PICTURE OF GEORGE I.—Thirty-two ounces, twelve penny and a half weight of Plate were appropriated in 1714, by the Legislature of New York, to pay the account of Captain Partridge, "in full discharge for his Majesty King George "his Picture." Where is this picture?

ALBANY.

O'C.

JOHN PAUL JONES.—An old newspaper in my possession states that "a resolution has passed "Congress allowing him to receive from the "Court of Versailles, the cross of military honor "and the title of Chevalier." (Knight).

What other American officer has been permitted to receive a title from a foreign power?

BELFAST, ME.

J. W.

RENSSELAERSWYCK.—In the Journal (kept by a Dutchman) two hundred years ago, lately published by the Long Island Historical Society, at pp. 273, 318, reference is made to an island, which with an embankment, near Albany, was first occupied by Spaniards or Portuguese.

What is the origin and history of such mound or settlement?

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.

B. S.

MEMORIAL OF THE PROPRIETORS OF EAST JERSEY.—During the controversy between New York and New Jersey, respecting the boundary

line, in 1756, a Memorial of the Proprietors of East Jersey, with papers annexed, was printed, and a copy furnished to each of the Members of the Council of New York. How many pages it contained I am unable to say, but I notice a reference to p. 50. Was William Alexander the Author?

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

SCOTT.—In 1772, Cosby's Manor (Oneida County,) was sold at public sale for Quit Rents, by the Sheriff of Albany County, to Philip Schuyler, for the joint account of himself, John Bradstreet, Rutger Bleecker, and John Morin Scott, who was a candidate for Lieutenant-governor of New York, in 1777. What is known of the history and lineage of John Morin Scott?

Thompson, in his *History of Long Island*, ii., 320, has a notice of John Scott, who, it is said, fled to Barbadoes, and probably from thence to England, about 1665.

The writer has a genealogical Chart, copied from one formerly belonging to said John Scott, in which he is recorded as "John Scott of Ash-ford on Long Island married Deborah, dau. of "Thurston Raynor of Suffolk" who had a Son "John Scott of Newtown, L. I.," as per Chart.

What is known of the last named John Scott

M. B. S.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 25, 1867.

COMMODORE TUCKER.—Why has the character of this distinguished naval commander, who never lost a battle, been so much neglected by American historians? He is hardly mentioned by Cooper, and the remarkable incidents of his career are reduced to a space of thirteen lines, in Allen's *American Biographical Dictionary*. Yet President John Adams, in 1816, said "His "biography would make a conspicuous figure, "even at this day, in the naval annals of the "United States."

BELFAST, ME.

J. W.

MATTHEW CLARKSON.—Doctor H. R. Stiles, in his recently published *History of Brooklyn*, attributes to Secretary Matthew Clarkson the writing of *A letter from A Gentleman of the City of New York to Another*, which was first printed by Bradford, in 1698, and afterwards reprinted in *New York Documentary History*, ii, 425—435, (octavo,) 243—249 (quarto.) I should be grateful if Doctor Stiles would give his authority for this statement. He does not seem to have known that the "Clerk of the Council," who laid this "Letter" before that body, for its approval, in March, 1698, was David Jamison; see *New York Colonial Documents*, iv., 400, 428, 429, v., 478.

The "Letter" is anonymous; but it looks much more like the work of Counsellors Bayard, Nicoll, and Brooke, than of the "weak" and "incapable" Provincial Secretary, Clarkson; see *New York Colonial Documents*, iv., 315, 399, 523, 536.

NEW YORK CITY.

INQUIRER.

BLACKBURN, AN EARLY ARTIST.—Who was the very skilful artist of this name, who painted portraits prior to the Revolution? I cannot learn his Christian name, and I am sure he was not a resident of Boston. His portraits are painted more timidly than Copley's, but seem superior to any of Smibert's. As Cooper mentions him in connection with Vanderlyn and Stuart, it is very probable that he lived in New York. Any information about him will be acceptable.

BOSTON, Nov. 1867. W. H. WHITMORE.

THE QUEEN'S PICTURE.—It appears by a Minute of Council, dated 10th June, 1736, that the Honorable Mrs. Cosby, made the government a present of the picture of Queen Caroline, consort of George II. Where is it?

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

AN OLD PAMPHLET.—I have eight pages of an old satirical pamphlet, the first page of which, the twenty-fifth of the work, is headed *The first Book of the American Chronicle of the Times*. Chap. IV. Then follow twenty-eight verses touching upon the politics of the day, and closing as follows:

"And Whereas, it is highly expedient, to the intent thereof, that the perpetrator of such unheard of and unparalleled piece of effrontery and misdemeanors, should be apprehended and brought to condign punishment, and that it may be a caution to all and every one, not to commit the like trespass, I do hereby further, by the advice and consent of the Council aforesaid, promise, that if any person or persons shall apprehend and deliver, or cause to be delivered, over to the Selectmen of Boston, or to Colonel John H—k, Moderator and Chairman of the Provincial Congress, the said Thomas, surnamed the Gageite, otherwise named the Usurper, such person or persons shall thereupon have, and receive, out of the profits arising from the sale of Tea, a reward of One Shilling, Old Tenor, over and above what the Charter of the Province allows in such cases made and provided.

"Given under my hand, and the great and Imperial signet of the Commonwealth of the Province of New England, at Boston, the 27th day of October, in the year of our Lord one

"thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-four, and in or about the tenth year of our Sovereign Lord, Persecution, by the Grace of Satan, King of Tyranny, Confusion and Popery, Defender of the Romish Faith, &c.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"By his Highness's Command.

"BRADSHAW, Secretary.

"GRACE BE UNTO YOU.

"[To be continued]

"Sold opposite the Court House, in Queen Street."

Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give me any information in relation to this pamphlet, its title, author, &c?

WORCESTER.

COLUMBUS.—Where did Columbus die? What is the correct form of his epitaph? I submit these queries, because Mr. Irving does not seem very clear on either subject; and Valladolid and Segovia appear to have claims of about equal merit concerning his death-place.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WAAL BOGT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DUTCH LITERATURE.—Can you inform me if there is any work on Dutch bibliography, or any published list of books printed in Holland or her colonies?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XXI.—REPLIES.

HESSIAN MUSIC BOOK, (*H. M.*, II, ii, 119.)—We cannot answer "where the paper of this" (music) "book was manufactured," but having recently seen in the Court house, Wilmington, N. C., the Record-book of the Freeholder's Court, in which the entries go back as far as 1735, and which is made of folio post, laid paper, the water-mark in which corresponds exactly with that described by I. J. G., we may infer only that it was not uncommon.

T. H. W.

RICHMOND, VA.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LAST SICKNESS, (*H. M.*, II, ii, 181.)—In a recent number of *The Medical Gazette*, a very ably conducted weekly, published in the city of New York, the learned editor noticed the article on this subject, in our September number, as follows:

"In the September number of the *Historical Magazine*, is a note upon two conflicting versions of the treatment to which General Washington was subjected during his last illness,

"which was probably acute laryngitis. The versions differ in this point: the one claims that he experienced *three* and the other *four* bleedings of thirty-two ounces each. Whichever may be historically correct, we think the death of our first President was ensured by the first three bleedings: the fourth was simply a work of "supererogation."

H. B. D.

MARKET-HOUSES IN BOSTON.—(*H. M. II. ii. 178*). The opposition to *Market-houses* and *Market-days* was so strong in Boston, up to the year 1740, that, when a gentleman offered to erect one, at his own expense, for the use of the town, it was accepted in a town-meeting only by *seven* majority; the votes standing, for its acceptance, three hundred and sixty seven, against it, three hundred and sixty. Nevertheless, PETER FANEUIL, Esq., proceeded and erected a market. The building was of two stories. The second story was a Hall for the transaction of town business, and hence FANEUIL HALL. It was commenced on the eighth of September, 1740, and finished on the tenth of September, 1742. Its walls were brick. Yet, so strong was the prejudice against a regular market, that its opponents, by 1747, got a majority for closing it. This was in September. However, in the following March, a vote was obtained for keeping it open three days in each week, and, soon after, for keeping it open every week day. But, in 1752, it was closed indefinitely. In the following year, it was again opened.

Its ground dimensions were one hundred by forty feet. It was burnt down in 1761; but in two years afterwards (1763) the town rebuilt it.

BOSTON, MASS.

S. G. D.

THE COUNCIL THAT DISMISSED JONATHAN EDWARDS FROM NORTHAMPTON, (*H. M. II. ii. 183*.) Several Councils were held in connection with the matter of the dismissal of Jonathan Edwards from his church at Northampton, and undoubtedly were differently composed. The one by which he was actually dismissed, met on the nineteenth of June, 1750, and after three day's discussion reached a decision. It was composed of the Pastors and Delegates of the nine churches, together with Edward Billings, the Pastor of Cold Spring (Belchertown.) The names of the Pastors were Peter Reynolds, of Enfield; Jonathan Hubbard, of Sheffield; David Hall, of Sutton; William Hobley, of Reading; Robert Breck, of Springfield; Joseph Ashley, of Sunderland; Timothy Woodbridge, of Hatfield; Chester Williams, of Hadley; and Robert Abercrombie, of Pelham.

Of the ministerial members, Billings, Hobley, and Hall are known to be Edward's friends;

while Breck, Ashley, Woodbridge and Williams signed the *Letter to Mr. Hobley in answer to his Vindication of the Protest* against the Council. Hubbard, Reynolds, and Abercrombie were the other members; but we have no sufficient evidence of their sympathies, and cannot say which of the three was on the side of the Church against Edwards. As Reynolds is stated to have unexpectedly appeared, and being in town was called to take his place in the Council, it may be surmised that Edwards at least had not depended on him; and that he must be classed with the four signers of the letter, as opposed to Edwards. If so, the Pastors of the Council—equally divided—stood Billings, Hobley, Hall, Hubbard, Abercrombie, for Edwards, and Ashley, Williams, Woodbridge, Breck, and Reynolds, for the Church.

HARLEM, N. Y.

G.

JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, (*H. M., II. ii. 119*.)—SWAMP is very much mistaken in supposing that the "*last man*" was on Jamestown island in "1831." When I visited it for the first time, in 1835, there was a large store and many houses in it, occupied. When the two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing was celebrated, in May, 1857, there were several large houses and many people living on it; and Mr. William Allen, the owner, informs us that it has never been without one or more families of white people living upon it, and farming the land, until 1866, since which time, all the buildings having been destroyed, either during the war by soldiers, or since the cessation of hostilities in the field, by the "nation's wards," who render the tenure of property there very insecure, it has been uncultivated and unoccupied.

It may not be amiss to add, that the turning up of the earth in the erection of fortifications by the Confederates, exhumed many relics of the ancient city. The writer has in his possession two pieces of armor for the arms, sword hilts, a calthorp, and several coins of gold, silver, and copper, all of them showing the evidences of having passed through the fire of 1676, when the *rebel* Bacon burned the city.

The traveler who passes it now, in one of the river steamers, will see there, as at many other places along the banks of the ancient "Powhatan," renowned for historic associations, instead of waving fields of grain and beautiful gardens, surrounding elegant edifices, only desolated fields and the blackened walls of ruins, with no sign of life, save listless groups of newly-made citizens, exercising the liberty of starving in the midst of plenty.

T. H. W.

RICHMOND, VA.

CORNHILL, BOSTON, (*H. M. II. ii. 178*.)—

CORNHILL was a section of what is now WASHINGTON STREET. In 1708, it extended from School Street to Dock Square. It ceased to be called Cornhill in 1828, and the name was transferred to what is at present Cornhill. How long Fort Hill bore the name is not known.

The City Fathers (?) have had such a ridiculous propensity to alter the names of thoroughfares, that there is no telling what name a place will bear in future. They seem to have been governed, in many instances, by some (to them) aristocratic, or high-sounding, name. Already, the Roman Calendar is laid under contribution, and the citizens should not be surprised, if in some morning walk, they find themselves in Saint Peter or Saint Paul Street. They began with British Lords some years back.

BOSTON, MASS.

S. G. D.

LOTTERY TICKET, SIGNED BY WASHINGTON.—(H. M. II. ii. 179, 180.) Among the autographic treasures in the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, is one of the tickets to which we alluded in the "Scrap" referred to above. It is in the following words:

1768
Numb 176 THIS TICKET [N^o 176] shaf[]
176 entit[]e the Possessor to whatever PRIZE may happen to be drawn against it's Number in the Mountain Road LOTTERY.

Go WASHINGTON

It will be seen that Washington is not named as Treasurer of the enterprise.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XXII.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 664 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De La Warre, Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in VIRGINIA.* London: Printed by William Hall, for William Welbie, dwelling in Paul's Church-yard at the Signe of the Swan. 1611. Quarto, pp. 17, unpagged.

Lord Delaware, "distinguished for his virtues, "as well as rank," was appointed Governor for life of the new Colony of Virginia, under the second Charter granted to the Proprietors; and in June, 1610, he arrived at Jamestown. He found those who had preceded him in a state of

insubordination; and, in addition to the evil of discord among the settlers, he was soon after attacked with the fever and ague, from which he suffered severely. This was followed by a Dysentery, accompanied with Cramps; and Gout succeeded, "making [his] body through weaknesse "vnable to stirre, or to vse any manner of exercise, [drawing] vpon [him] the disease called the "Scuruy; which though in others it be a sickness of slothfulness, yet was in [him] an effect "of weaknesse, which neuer left [him.] till [he] "was vpon the point to leaue the world."

Thus, troubled with business anxieties and physical ailments, Lord Delaware, very soon sought refuge in England, where he was received with less kindness than he merited; and his return was used as a pretext by many for a repudiation of their obligations to the Company under whose control the settlement had been made. Conscious of his own integrity and the merits of the new country, however, he felt called upon to make answer to the adverse statements of these disaffected ones in England; and for that purpose he addressed the Council of the Proprietors in the *Relation* which is before us, which, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1611, was also laid before "the "general Assembly of the said Company," as the body of Proprietors was called.

His Lordship opened with a minute statement of the causes which led to his temporary withdrawal from the Colony, first toward Nevis, then to the Western Isles, and then to England; and his justification was complete. He expressed his entire conviction of the importance and value of the undertaking; his readiness to invest therein all that he possessed; his personal knowledge that the climate and soil of Virginia had not been misrepresented to the Proprietors; and his intention to return as soon as his health should permit.

The importance of this *Relation* will be seen from this synopsis of its contents and the circumstances which produced it; and it was printed by "authority of the said Counsell," evidently for the information of the stockholders and to stay the progress of the rising discontent. It is, therefore, a pamphlet of extreme rarity; and a copy having been purchased by Almon W. Griswold, Esq., of New York, whose collection of such works is among the most valuable in the country, that gentleman employed the Heliotype Company to re-produce it, in exact *fac-simile*, expressly for private circulation. It is a beautiful volume, and the very few collectors who shall be favored with the copies which were thus re-produced, will be able to point to very few, if any, works of modern book-makers which, as *fac-similes*, will equal it in fidelity to the originals; although a comparison which we have made with the latter, in the instance before us, proves that it is not altogether perfect in all its parts.

The edition numbered only twenty copies; and its circulation is confined exclusively to the personal friends of Mr. Griswold.

2.—*Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop Mary, from Quebec, together with an Account of her Wreck off Montauk Point, L. I., Anno 1701.* With Introduction and Notes by E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, N. Y.: J. Munsell, 1866. Small quarto, pp. xvii. (2) 50. Price \$2.00.

This volume is the first of the series of "New York Colonial Tracts," which the learned historian of New Netherland has prepared for the Press; and although we do not see why so distinguished a compliment has been paid to what is of so very little importance, as materials for History, we receive it as an earnest of what is intended to be sent after it.

As illustrative of the history of a direct trade, by sea, between New York and Canada, this tract may possess some interest; but the setting of the jewel, to us, is by far the most valuable, since Doctor O'Callaghan never adds his name to anything which is not entitled to respect, both for its own sake, as a contribution to the literature of History, and for its stern fidelity to the Truth.

This volume is handsomely printed, at the Munsell Press; and the edition numbered a hundred copies only.

3.—*Voyage of George Clarke, Esq. to America.* With Introduction and Notes, by E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell, 1867. Small quarto, pp. lxxxi, 126. Price \$3.50.

The second of the series of "New York Colonial Tracts." This volume, like the first, is composed mainly of Doctor O'Callaghan's setting to a very small jewel—the former being an exhaustive history of the Clarke family—or rather of the old New York branch of it—in all its parts; and he seems to have left no corner unexamined, in his search for materials.

Like that which preceded it in this series, this volume is very neatly printed with old-style type; and will find favor in the eyes of the most fastidious.

The edition numbered one hundred copies only.

4.—*Memorial Volume of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of Hartwick Seminary, held August 21, 1866.* Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. (4.) Price \$3.

About five miles south of Cooperstown, in this State, stands an institution, named after its founder, *Hartwick Seminary*.

Mr. Hartwick, John Christopher by name, was a native of Saxe-Gotha, where he was born in 1714; and he died in peace, in July, 1796. He was the son of a Lutheran clergyman, and he, was, also, a minister of the gospel,—a missionary sent to America for the instruction of the Pala-

tines who had settled, more than a century since, in the counties of Albany and Dutchess. He preached also in Virginia, New Jersey, Maryland, Boston, and New York, without salary or compensation of any kind; and his many eccentricities served very much to increase his troubles and change his places of abode. He was, indeed, a restless, selfish man, having few, if any, of the virtues which belong to a meek and humble Christian; and while he seems to have been tenacious of his purpose in becoming an extensive landed proprietor, there was little else in his character, as seen in his conduct, which is peculiarly interesting or worthy of notice.

He secured sixteen thousand acres of land, in the vicinity of Otsego Lake, with the design of building a city; but with as little good judgment as he had elsewhere shown, thirteen thousand acres were allowed to be literally stolen from him by William Cooper, his agent, and the remaining three thousand were devoted to the establishment of a seminary for the instruction of young men for the ministry. This seminary after much delay, was instituted in December, 1815,—Doctor Hazelus being the first Principal, and John A. Quitman, subsequently better known as a soldier and statesman, his assistant. In April, 1816, a charter was received from the State; and from that day the seminary has been active in its usefulness.

In April, 1866, a semi-centennial celebration of the legal foundation of the institution was celebrated; and the volume before us is the record of that event. An historical address by Doctor Pohlman, of Albany, is the leading feature; but there is also a great variety of other articles, concerning the seminary and its founders, which makes this peculiarly a Memorial Volume, and as such, peculiarly acceptable to the friends of the seminary.

As a whole, Doctor Pohlman's address is an able one; but we protest against the unpardonable insult which, without any provocation, he offered to the Baptists throughout the world, and thrust into page twelve of this volume. "A Baptist meeting-house" was entitled to as much respect from him, in his *voluntary* allusion to it, as was a Lutheran "church;" and the Baptists care quite as much "for the nutriment of children," their own as well as their neighbors', as do any of the *National* churchmen, whether those of Germany or Holland, of Scotland or England, of Italy or Russia, notwithstanding Doctor Pohlman seems to be as ignorant of that patent fact as he was of the courtesy which is due to those who are not Lutherans and of the decency which was due to the occasion.

There is also a serious error on page eighty-three, which makes the expedition of General Sullivan in 1799, instead of 1779; but it is pro-

bable that our good friend Munsell is the author of this typographical blunder.

It is a very handsomely printed volume; and worthy of the object to which it is devoted.

6.—*Chemical Change in the Eucharist.* In four letters, shewing the relations of faith to sense, from the French of Jaques Abbadie, by John W. Hamersley, A.M. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. Published for the Editor. Sixe Anno. Octavo, pp. 164.

We have received from our respected friend, the Translator and Editor, a copy of this beautiful volume, which has been printed at his own expense, principally for private circulation; and although not strictly within the range of our subjects, we take pleasure in noticing it.

Of Abbadie, the learned Dean of Killaloe, in Ireland, we need give no detailed biography, since his great ability is known and recognized throughout the length and breadth of Christendom; and when we state that the volume before us is the contribution from his pen, in the great controversy which originated with Claude's attack on the Port Royalists, and was conducted, subsequently, by Arnauld and Nicole, Claude in a reply, Arnauld in a rejoinder, Nouet, S. J., in support of the latter, Claude in reply to Nouet, Arnauld, in support of the latter, Claude in rejoinder to Nouet and Arnauld, and the Jansenists, with Claude in reply to their *Just prejudices* in his *Defense de la Reformation*, our readers will understand that it is a work of great ability and a standard among the polemics of the day.

These *Letters*, it will be perceived, are devoted to an examination and refutation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as it is now understood in the Roman Catholic Church; and no one can read them without acknowledging the masterly ability of the writer, as well as the dignity with which he has carried on the discussion of a leading article of Faith in a Church with which he had no sympathy.

The Translator, a gentleman of fortune, has occupied his leisure with the task of rendering the French of Abbadie into English, and that of illustrating and enforcing the arguments of his great master with an elaborate *Preface* and *Notes*.

In discharging that grateful duty, Mr. Hamersley has entered, with great warmth and plainness of speech, into the Controversy which Abbadie seems to have closed nearly two hundred years ago; and it is quite refreshing to witness the earnestness and courage with which he sets forth what he believes to be the Truth of the matter under examination. His nervous style gives life to the measured precision of his language; and what, but for that, would have worn an air of formal coldness, now sparkles with the boldness of his denunciations, the aptness of his illustrations, and

the studied precision with which he defines his meaning and enforces his opposition.

The *Preface*, in which the Editor reviews the history and character of this Article of the Roman Faith, is sustained by a series of elaborate *Notes*, in which, mainly from Roman Catholic authorities, the facts related by him are abundantly supplied; but we have found some difficulty in connecting these *Notes* with the particular part of the *Preface* to which they belong, in consequence of the very unusual omission of references, either by figures, characters, or numbers of pages.

As a specimen of typography, this volume is quite noteworthy, even in this age of sumptuous "privately printed" rarities. It is from the celebrated Chiswick Press, in the most approved Mediæval style, and of rare beauty of execution. The text of the work and the internal ornaments are strictly in accordance with the highest demands of Ritualistic taste; while the vellum binding, with carefully rubricated inscriptions, in the most orthodox ecclesiastical letters, and curtains concealing the rubricated edges of the volume, leave nothing to be wished for by the most fastidious connoisseur of Mediæval art. It is, indeed, a gem of book-making; and even the most ardent of Mr. Hamersley's opponents must concede to him a fine taste in the not easily acquired art of making "fine books."

As we have said, the volume was printed for the Editor and is distributed privately.

6.—*Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from several of the New England States*, held at Boston, August 2-9, 1780, to advise on affairs necessary to promote the most vigorous prosecution of the War, and to provide for a generous reception of our French allies. Edited from an original manuscript record in the New York State Library, with an Introduction and Notes, by Franklin B. Hough. Albany: J. Munsell, 1867. Small quarto, pp. 80.

In the Summer of 1780, as is well known, the prospects of the United States were very unpromising; and, notwithstanding the promised assistance of France, the cause of Independence seemed to languish, even among those who were most interested in the issue of the conflict. The currency was debased; enlistments were insufficient in number to keep the several State lines filled; the great body of the Americans seemed to have become listless and indifferent to everything but personal gain; and the expectation of assistance from France seemed to excite very little interest throughout the Country.

The best friends of America were alarmed. General Washington was without sufficient force to secure any important success; and his Commissariat amounted to nothing. The Congress, when it could spare time to do its duty, appealed to the States which it represented; but the States regarded it not; and the individual citizens, with here

and there an exception, afforded no encouragement for a favorable change of feeling.

Under these circumstances, a conference of the New England States was called,—probably by the Government of Connecticut—in order “to consult and advise on all such Business and Affairs as shall be brought under Consideration, relative to the War, and to promote and forward the most vigorous Exertions of the present Campaign, and to cultivate a good Understanding and procure a generous Treatment of the Officers and Men of our great and generous Ally, and make Report thereof accordingly;” and on the third of August, 1780, four gentlemen met in Boston for the purposes referred to.

The four continued to meet “from Day to Day,” for six days, when they recommended “the several States represented in the Convention” to cause their lines in the Army to be immediately filled—but did not tell how they were to secure the men for that purpose;—to secure concert of action in making purchases, by corresponding “as often as once every month;” to do their own carrying; to authorize General Washington to fix an assize of prices to be paid for provisions—the three last to counteract the tendency to extort from their own Armies, which prevailed among the great body of the New Englanders, whom only they represented;—to repeal the inter-State Embargos which had been enacted by several of the States in order to prevent a trade between them and the other States of the Union; to levy taxes enough to allow the withdrawal of their several proportions of “the old Continental Bills,” to form a fund for sinking, annually, one-sixth of “the New Bills,” and to issue no more on their own particular credit; to provide for the care of sick soldiers, *in transitu*; to prevent the improper publication of intelligence, “to the Prejudice of public Measures;” that enlisted men, no matter where enlisted nor by whom, should count as from the States of which they were “Subjects;” that the then uncertain condition of the Union, arising from the non-concurrence of some of the States of the *Articles of Confederation*, should be ascertained and remedied; that the existing rule which required an unanimous assent to the pending *Articles of Confederation* should be rescinded, and those which desired to associate should be allowed to do so; and that other States be invited to “concur in the Measures [thus] agreed upon”—not one of which recommendations, as far as we ever heard, was adopted by the States or any of them.

Out of the equally harmless and profitless conference of these four men, which ended in nothing and was immediately forgotten, Doctor Hough has built another of his pasteboard structures, labelled as *History*, which we are accustomed to see, strengthened with the honored imprint of our

good-natured friend, Joel Munsell, of Albany, without which they would have fallen with their own weight, harming no one as much as their builder.

The Doctor tells his readers, *without the remotest shadow of truth*, that this conference of four men “urged the Adoption of the Articles of Confederation, as essential to the public Good,” in the face of the fact that those *Articles* were not mentioned by the Conference, except to urge a DISREGARD OF THEIR PARTICULAR TERMS; and notwithstanding he also very well knew that these delegates, as other New England Delegates have since done, approved and urged a Confederation of a *portion only* of the States, rather than all of them, as provided in the *Articles*, in order that the rights of those States which differed in opinion from those in New England might be the more readily suppressed and that those States which did not accede to the New English demands might the more readily to be subjected to the control of the would-be usurpers from the East.

The Doctor tells us, also, *equally without foundation in fact*, that “as these Articles did not provide the Supreme Executive Head, which [these four gentlemen] believed to be necessary for the national Welfare, it is evident that they [the Delegates] regarded them [the Articles] as falling short of the Wants of the Government, although probably at the Time the best that could be secured,” in the face of the fact that this Convention was a *State* affair; considered only *State* interests; recommended only *State* action; made no allusion whatever to the *Articles of Confederation*, which were then pending, *except in a proposition to nullify them*; urged only, not a “national” organization, but a *confederacy* of any number of States, no matter how small the number, in order the more readily to “crush out” opposition; and that the supremacy of the New England idea—which was *not* that embodied in “the new Constitution in 1788,” as Doctor Hough very well knows—was proposed to be established by violence and fraud, not by a Constitutional provision.

The truth is, this Conference was not called for any such purpose as that to which the anxious Doctor pretends it committed itself; nor did it, ever so little, approach that subject which, in the *Constitution*, was rejected emphatically by the People of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, when it was presented for their approval, and which received their *nominal* assent, subsequently, only by the most barefaced frauds on the part of some of the popular Delegates, who had been elected because of their pretended opposition to it.

The record of the Convention, *per se*, was worthy of preservation; and it needed no such dressing up as that to which Doctor Hough has

subjected it. The exact Truth is all that such a paper needed for its illustration; and it is all that almost any other Historical writer than Doctor Hough would have added to it.

The edition numbered a hundred copies only.

7.—*Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768-1784. With Historical and Biographical Sketches by John Austin Stevens, Jr.* New York: J. F. Trow & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 404, 173.

The energetic and learned Secretary of the venerable Chamber of Commerce of New York, in the volume before us, has reproduced the ancient Records of that body, extending from the fifth of April, 1768—the date of its first meeting—until the twentieth of January, 1784—the last under its Colonial Charter.

During these sixteen years, the Merchants of New York had taken a most active part in the stirring events of the times; and the *Records* of this Corporation, therefore, are necessarily interesting to every student of the History of that period. The Secretary, for this reason, has done good service in thus presenting them to the reading public; and for the unwearied labor which he has bestowed on their illustration, in elaborate Notes and carefully-prepared Biographies, he is entitled to the warmest thanks of every New Yorker.

The profusion and variety of the Notes to the *Records* themselves, extending over ninety pages of fine type, exceed those of any similar work with which we are acquainted; and when we remember the labor which was necessary in order to produce them, we are astonished at their completeness and their accuracy. The same may be said of the one hundred and seventy-two pages of Biographies of old New York Merchants which form the second part of the volume; and the work, as a whole, is a monument to the steady, untiring industry, as well as to the good taste and good judgment, of the Editor.

The work was published only for Subscribers; and is not sold by the Trade.

8.—*The Twelve Decisive Battles of the War: a History of the Eastern and Western Campaigns, in relation to the actions that decided their issue.* By William Swinton. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1867. Octavo, pp. 520.

In this volume, designed for general circulation, our friend and contributor, the distinguished author of the *History of the Army of the Potomac*, has concentrated the leading events of the War—the twelve Battles which, in their consequences, “decided” the contest—Bull Run, Donelson, Shiloh, Antietam, Murfreesboro’, the Monitor and Merrimac, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Atlanta, Nashville, and Five Forks.

In each of these, the “Prelude,” the Battle itself, and the “Result” are separately considered;

and in the methodical arrangement of his material and in the remarkable clearness and precision of his narrative, there is little to be desired by any careful reader. Indeed, we know of no living writer of military history, who can be compared with Mr. Swinton for the ease and gracefulness with which he can convey to an uneducated mind, in an ordinary, familiar description, a precise and correct knowledge of the details of a complicated military movement and its results on the respective armies; and it is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that his writings in the particular department to which we have referred, have commanded so general and unqualified a respect.

9.—*The Life of Timothy Pickering.* By his Son, Octavius Pickering. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. xix. 549.

Among the fathers of the Republic, occupying posts of both honor and profit, was Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts. He was identified, at an early age, with the friends of the Colonies; entered into the military service of the Colony and the Continent; succeeded Colonel Reed as Adjutant-general of the army, and was General Greene's successor in the Quartermaster-generalship; became a member of the Continental Board of War; a Representative and Senator in Congress; Postmaster-general, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State under President Washington; one of the most influential members of the Hamiltonian wing of the Federal party; and by no means an insignificant opponent of John Adams and his policy.

In the volume now under consideration, his son has commenced to narrate the life and services of this very celebrated man; and we have found in it very much that is new to us, and of the utmost importance. Among the interesting material to which we have referred, is Colonel Pickering's accounts of the march of his regiment against the enemy, when “the news from Lexington” were received in Salem; his account of the battles of Brandywine and Germantown; his narratives of different movements in this County—in the towns of North Castle, White Plains, Greenburgh, Yonkers, West Farms, Morrisania, and East Chester, especially;—that of the operations near Yorktown; his statement of the early disregard of the rights of property by officers of the Federal army; and his elaborate narrative of the circumstances which attended the “Newburgh Addresses;”—concerning the latter subject, especially, he is very communicative, and exceedingly interesting.

Whether the character of the new material which the forthcoming volumes of this work will undoubtedly bring before the world, or the dignity of the narrative of the biographer, or the beauty of the typography, shall be considered, the series

of volumes of which this is only the first, will be found to possess unusual interest and necessarily take its place among the most standard publications concerning the History of the United States. Indeed, we know of no one, whose papers are yet withheld from the public, around whose memory there clusters a deeper interest than that of Timothy Pickering; and we assure ourselves that in the hands of his son, the mass of papers which has descended to him will be carefully and judiciously employed.

10.—*A History of the City of Brooklyn.* Including the old town and village of Brooklyn, the town of Bushwick, and the village and city of Williamsburgh. By Henry R. Stiles. In two volumes. Vol. I. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by subscription, 1867. Octavo, pp. viii. 464.

Our friend and predecessor in the editorial chair of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, after many years of anxious toil, has been permitted to see the first portion of his work in print; and we most earnestly congratulate him on this promising event.

Furman and Bailey, Thompson and Prime, Teale, Reynolds, and Schroeder, have each successively labored, more or less, in the same field; but it has been reserved for the patient annalist of Windsor to write the first creditable History of the thrifty city of Brooklyn,—we earnestly hope that the pretensions to superior intelligence which Brooklyn is accustomed to make for herself, will be seen in her readiness to lend a helping hand to one who has so admirably earned a full title to her respect and support.

That portion of Brooklyn's History which is found in this volume, extends from the discovery of the country until the close of the War of 18:2; and fifty pages of Appendix and Index close the installment.

Of the manner in which the Doctor has performed his self-imposed task, we need say nothing more than that every page indicates that no prentice hand controlled it. It is evidently the work of one who is accustomed to see work done properly and who knows how to do it; and it is refreshing to turn from the *Early History of Cleveland*, referred to on another page, to this volume, and to notice the superiority, as a mere piece of workmanship, of the latter.

We do not pretend to say, nor do we say, that Doctor Stiles has made no mistakes; that his Narrative is exactly true, in all its parts; that his misinformed judgment has not, sometimes, misguided his pen. We do say, however, that he has evidently worked hard to ascertain the truth; that he has fairly stated what he has been led to suppose is true; that he has presented his summary of the evidence with clearness, great impartiality, and commendable want of confusion; and that he has not hesitated to present to his readers,

at the foot of his pages, very many of the authorities on which he has relied. In all this, he has done unusually well; and in his selection of illustrations, maps and pictures, he has also exhibited the same excellent judgment.

We do not concur with the Doctor in all that he says, or abstains from saying, of the Prisonships and the Battle of Long Island; but we must not now occupy the space which would be necessary to enforce our objections, by presenting what we believe to be the Truth. We shall endeavor to return to these portions of the subject, for that purpose, at a more convenient season,

The volume was stereotyped by Shea and printed by Munsell. Its illustrations are composed of views of ancient houses and localities, now no longer existing in that form, and of ancient maps, with here-and-there a portrait and *fac-simile*. The typography is good, although the paper is inferior; and the binding is exceedingly neat and appropriate. Taken as a whole, it is creditable to the mechanics who made the book; and worthy of the city of which it treats.

11.—*The History of the Church of God during the period of Revelation.* By Rev. Charles Colcock Jones, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 8, 668.

This volume forms Part I. of what professes to be a new Church History, by the late Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity in the Theological Seminary of the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia,—evidently from the Presbyterian standpoint—and it embraces only a sketch of that History of the Church, or what its author called a "History," as it was, during the Old Testament dispensation.

It treats of Creation and the primitive state of man, of the institution of marriage, of Eden and the Covenant of Works, of the institution of the Sabbath, of the existence and agency of Angels, of the fall of our first parents and its consequences, of Salvation provided, of temporal judgments, of the common origin of all mankind, of the Covenant of Grace, etc; and, as these captions will indicate, if we understand the meaning of the term "History," correctly, it is far less a *History* of the Church of God, than an *Apology* for the Creed and Practices of the Presbyterian Church in America, as Doctor Jones understood them.

We have no doubt that it would have been just as useful if it had been called, more properly, a *Body of Divinity*, or an *Apology* for the Westminster Catechism, or a *System of Theology*, instead of a *History*; and we are quite sure it would have been much more creditable to the good judgment of the Author. As it is, its title will mislead many, without affording any additional good, to any one; and we are sorry to see so improper a use of words, where no such impropriety was necessary.

If, however, the work is to be considered as a *History*, we object to some portions of it. For instance: the Author says, (pp. 84,85) that Adam was "placed on trial," in Eden, but he gives no evidence of it. He tells of the Divine institution of the Sabbath, as on "the seventh day," and he tells also of "the Lord, in his sovereignty and wisdom, transferring the ordained rest of the "seventh day to another day of the week;" but his unimpeachable evidence concerning the first of these is not followed by *any* evidence concerning the last, except what has been found in *human enactments*. He talks learnedly, after the manner of men, concerning Works and Grace, Circumcision and Baptism, Job and Melchisedek, and other controverted points of Theology; but he talks more after the fashion of a sectarian polemic than that of a grave and impartial writer of *History*; and he evidently has never looked at the subjects of which he treats, in any other light than as received Articles of Faith, sanctioned by the Westminster Assembly, and assented to, as a matter of course, by his Church and himself.

We leave the matter, therefore, where it more properly belongs—with our brethren of the Religious Press of the Country.

12.—*Early History of Cleveland, Ohio*, including original papers and other matter relating to the adjacent country. With Biographical Notices of the Pioneers and Surveyors. By Colonel Charles Whittlesey. Cleveland, Ohio: 1867. Octavo, pp. 487.

We have here a fine, large, local history from the mighty West; and, although it shows very little ability in the Author, and very limited professional knowledge in the Printer, it is, nevertheless, an interesting addition to the Historical literature of that portion of the Union.

The Author, with questionable industry, has gathered the "pre-adamite history" of Cleveland, devoting to that subject an entire chapter; and the second and third are appropriated, respectively, to the "pre-historic inhabitants" of Cleveland, etc., and the "white men not recognized in history"—the "white trash," we presume, of that period, in Ohio. Next in order is the "Race of Red Men:" and thence the Author tells his readers of matters which have more the appearance of History than of Romance.

As the Author evidently failed to receive that generous local support which was justly his due, the History seems to have been carried very little on this side of 1812; and to some future historian; the task of completing the work has been necessarily transferred.

As must be expected, there is very much in the work which has no foundation but tradition, notwithstanding the author seems to have taken

considerable trouble in appealing to the written official records of the past, as authority for his statements. It is, however, worthy of the attention of both students and collectors; and to these we commend the work.

13.—*Slave Songs of the United States*. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. (2) xlv. (6) 115. Price \$1.50.

This is a volume which will commend itself to different classes of readers; but to none is it more important than to the Ethnologist and student of American History.

Preceded by an elaborate introduction, we have one hundred and thirty-six of the strange songs with which the Southern negroes have been accustomed to worship God and discharge their every-day duties to their masters. Many of these appear in different forms, in different States: all of them are accompanied with the music, as nearly as the notes can be written; and often they are illustrated with Notes by the Editors.

Apart from the merely superficial curiosity of the collection, it merits the attention of the Ethnologist and the Historian—of the former because of the traces which everywhere abound, among the songs as well as in the music, of their foreign origin; of the latter, because of the evidence they afford of the peculiar traits of character and peculiar unfitness to discharge the grave duties of citizenship, of those who are now controlling the destinies of nearly one third of the United States, if not of all of them.

For these reasons, to say nothing of the interest which attaches to it as a "Southern local," we cannot regard it in any other light than as a most important contribution to the Historical literature of the country.

14.—*A Defence of Virginia* [and through her, of the South,] in recent and pending contests against the Sectional Party. By Professor Robert S. Dabney, D.D., of Virginia. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 856. Price \$1.50.

The father-in-law of General "Stonewall" Jackson, in the volume before us, presents himself as the defender of his State against what he conceives to be the aggressions of the dominant political party, which has controlled the affairs of the Union during nearly seven years.

The Professor opens his "Defence" with an elaborate "Introduction," from which we infer that the work was written during the recent war, since he speaks of "the late United States," "our "late very amiable and equitable partners, the "Yankee people," etc.; and we gather from it, also, his views concerning the old-time treatment of the question of Slavery, and his opinion that that institution was both "righteous" and useful; that the localization of Slavery was unjust and

illegal; that it had not been adequately defended by Southern writers and statesmen; etc.

He then treats of "the iniquitous traffic," the African Slave-trade, in which he traces its rise and progress, relatively, in New England and Virginia—in the former of which Mr. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* are largely and very frequently referred to—the leading part taken by the New England States to perpetuate it; and the constant but unsuccessful opposition to it which was presented by Virginia.

The legal status of Slavery in the United States, the History of Emancipation, an elaborate defence of Slavery, in the abstract, and a review of the Economical Effects of Slavery, follow; and the whole is closed by a brief summary of the preceding chapters.

In this volume, the exact object of which is not quite apparent, the Professor has displayed very considerable ability and great clearness in the mode of "putting" his argument before his readers. He is well-read in the History of Slavery in America; and he has also not failed to enforce his argument, where it was necessary to do so, by ample references to the annals of the past; but we have every where observed, that while he assumes to be the defender of Virginia and the South, against what he considers to be the misrepresentations of their Northern neighbors, he has, himself, become guilty of the same crime of misrepresentation.

Thus, the Professor classes *all* who have opposed the Southern ideas as "Abolitionists;" although he should have known, if he did not, that that Political Party was a mere shadow, without numbers and without influence, until the South had so far forgotten itself as to disregard its inter-State obligations and aroused the indignation of the North. Then, and only then, like the magpie on the back of the sheep, the "Abolitionists" succeeded, by sheer impudence and glibness of tongue, in securing and maintaining a position which brought them most prominently before the world; yet Professor Dabney must have known that those whose leaders they assumed to be, and whose mouthpieces they pretended they were, were mainly, neither "Abolitionists" nor "Yankees." The latter were not Slave-holders, it is true, nor were they slaves; but they were willing to allow to Virginia what they claimed for themselves—the right to *judge* for herself concerning Slavery, and the right to *act* for herself concerning it, within her own Territory. If, therefore, New York denied to Lemon the right to hold a slave in her territory, it was no more than she had long before denied to her own subjects, as was her right; and when Lemon attempted to nullify her laws and to seize privileges which no New Yorker could enjoy within his own State, that arrogance was justly rebuked

when the Virginian and the New Yorker, by the Judiciary of New York, were made "equal before the law" of the Commonwealth. But that was not "Abolition;" nor can "the People of the State of New York," because of its action in that case, be justly or truly stigmatised as "Abolition" in character.

The Professor considers that those whose "party cry" was "Freedom is National; Slavery is Sectional," were also "Abolitionists;" but in this also he is laboring under a mistake, as we happen to know.

This "party cry" was the motto of "The Free Democratic League," a local organization in the city of New York, whose records and papers are in our possession—as are, also, those of the celebrated "Free-soil" General Committee of 1849—and we have the very best of authority for saying that so far from being "Abolitionists," or favoring any interference with Slavery within the several States, that "League" expressly disclaimed any such intention or desire, recognized fully the sole right of each State either to permit Slavery within its boundaries or to reject it, and steadily denied the legality of any action by the Federal authorities on that subject, because that was one of the "reserved rights" of the States themselves.

Neither the "Free-soilers" of 1848-9 nor the members of "The League" were "Abolitionists;" unless in a very few instances, they wore two faces—which, in some few individual cases, it may be, was not impossible—and when Professor Dabney considers the aggregate as such and calls *all* of them by that name, he simply forfeits the respect, as a careful, intelligent, and truthful writer, which we should be glad to extend to him.

We notice also, a very serious omission in this volume; an omission which is the more notable because of the high character and great attainments of the writer and of the professed object of his labors.

He does not tell his readers just what *Slavery* was, in the eye of American law, although he nominally devotes a chapter to that particular subject; nor does he tell them just how nearly the *legal* status of Slavery was recognized or respected in practice.

Now, a man, *per se*, and the services which that man can afford to his employer or master, are two entirely different matters; yet these are used indiscriminately by Professor Dabney in this work.

That every slave, so called, was considered, even in Virginia, as a *man*, is evident from both the statutes of Virginia and the Constitution for the United States, to both of which Virginia herself was a party: that, both justly and legally, "services were due" from that slave to his master,

no one will deny, until the obligations, similar in character, which are due from a child to his parent, from an apprentice to his master, and from the hireling to his employer, shall have been denied. It was not the *man*, therefore, which was legally the "chattel," but his "*services*:" it was not the *person* of the slave—his manhood, his taxable, constituent character in the State—but the productive qualities and capabilities of his head and his hands—what, in short, are termed in the Federal Constitution, his "*services due*;"—and therein, we conceive, Professor Dabney has failed, in a formal defence of Virginia and the South, to render exact justice, either to the States which he represents or to himself.

Professor Dabney also recognizes (pages 62-63,) "the exclusion of Slavery from any State," by the State itself, as legal, because of the validity of *lex loci* and "the recognized sovereignty of" the States over their own local affairs;" yet he not only fails to show just why the same *lex loci* and State sovereignty might not have forbidden the introduction of a slave into New York by a Virginian, as legally and justly as it had forbidden a similar introduction by one of its own subjects—indeed, with singular weakness, if we understand it correctly, he has admitted, on page 62, the general right of a State, as a sovereign, to do, what on page 61 he had condemned as an infraction of the rights of any foreign slaveholder who might see fit to thrust himself and his slave into her territory; and thus, as we hope, without intent to do so, as has been done too often and too disastrously by other Virginians, he has elevated the right of one Virginian to the "*services*" of another Virginian, under the local laws of Virginia, above both the local law of New York and her sovereignty within her own territory, and assumed an importance for the former, even as a stranger, which he must never expect to realize.

Professor Dabney professes to find, also, in the Treaties of 1783, 1788, and 1815, a recognition of American Slavery by "international law;" yet he fails to show that the mere recognition, by the parties to those Treaties, of slavery in America, afforded either a legal or a moral justification of that Slavery, as it was then understood, or a limitation of the paramount right of either of the States to "exclude" it from its territory, or a warrant to any other State to thrust it upon a sister State after the latter had thus "excluded" it.

These Treaties, it is true, contained provisions for the protection of those, in the United States, to whom "*services*" were "*due*" under the provisions of *lex loci*, just as the Treaties with Tunis and Tripoli provided for the protection of our commerce against the corsairs of those pirates; but we should be as sorry to consider that, by making those provisions, the United States, as

such, in either case, became a party either to the Slavery which Virginia had not condemned or the piracy which Tripolitan *lex loci* had not only not "excluded," but made honorable.

The Professor claims, also, that as the thirteen Colonies were the legal successors of the Mother Country, within their respective territories, they severally "inherited the legal condition of their" "mother, in this particular;" and he claims, for that reason, that Slavery was legally established where it had not, by local legislation, been subsequently "excluded." He forgets, however, that it existed in the Colonies only by the sovereign will of the Mother Country; that the sovereignty which each Colony "inherited" was limited in its authority by the boundaries of that Colony; and that Virginia ceased to be sovereign when she crossed the lines into North Carolina, Maryland, or Pennsylvania.

When Pennsylvania, the peer of Virginia and as much a sovereign within her own territory as Virginia was in her territory, was pleased to exercise her prerogative and "exclude" Slavery from her territory, she was not accountable to any earthly power for that act,—her action was the act of a sovereign; and Virginia was bound, even by International Law, to honor and respect it.

When New York and Virginia ceded their Western territories to the Confederacy, the sovereignty of those territories was transferred to the several States of which that Confederacy was composed, with the limitations imposed by the *Articles of Confederation*. What that Confederacy, acting through the Congress, did in the premises, need not betold to Professor Dabney, although his readers have learned nothing from him of the Ordinance of 1787, which formally and legally "excluded" Slavery from all those Territories—a fact which was recognized as lately as 1802, when what is now Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, formally petitioned the Congress to suspend the operation of that Ordinance, within that portion of the Territory, during the succeeding ten years;—and if the Professor can find any comfort or support, either in the transfer of sovereignty, by New York and Virginia, to "the thirteen United States," or in the subsequent exercise of that sovereignty by the thirteen, through their several Delegates, in their "exclusion" of Slavery from the Northwestern Territories, we certainly do not envy him.

The Professor refers, also, to the Treaty with Napoleon, in which the right of the inhabitants of Louisiana to the "*services*" of their bondmen was recognized; but who has ever denied the existence of that right?

That Treaty was supreme: the transferred Colonists were protected by it in the enjoyment of their rights: and they were not disturbed. But

Professor Dabney begs the question when he tells us, that because the State Courts of Louisiana, *after the organization of that State*, in the exercise of their legal authority, have determined that all emigrants *into that State* may carry their slaves with them and hold them there, similar emigrants into the yet unorganized Territory of the United States may do the same, and that the sovereign power—the States assembled constitutionally in Congress—might not legally forbid it.

The very fact that by the sovereign authority of France, Slavery was legalized among its subjects in that vast territory, and protected therein by Treaty, shows that the sole control of the subject, with the limitation contained in that Treaty, was transferred with the territory; and Doctor Dabney's argument would have carried more weight had he squarely recognized that stubborn fact and its necessary consequences, among which were the right to forbid emigrants from carrying any slaves thither, the right of transferring any slaves who were there when the Treaty was signed, etc., while the inhabitants remained mere subjects of the Confederacy and not organized as States.

He would have reflected more honor on his subject, also, had he told his readers that that authority over Slavery, thus transferred, was recognized by the United States, in the several Enabling Acts which expressly permitted the formation of States within the bounds of the transferred Territory, in each of which Slavery should be permitted; and the impartiality of the Professor would have been admirably displayed in an exposition of the exact reason for denying to the sovereign power—the legal authority to "exclude" slavery from a State as a condition precedent to its admission as a member of the Confederacy, while Louisiana itself held slaves only because she had received permission to do so in the Enabling Act.

Professor Dabney also alludes to the protection of "property in slaves" by the Federal Constitution, as a support to his theory; but the Professor, as we have already stated, has, in this instance, confounded the *man* with the *service*, and transformed a recognized constituent of Virginia's Delegation in Congress into *property*, a mere chattle to be placed on the list of soap-kettles, and ox-yokes, and pig-troughs.

Finally, Professor Dabney appeals to the Dred Scott decision—the *decision*, reader, not the extrajudicial *hinter dictum* of one of the Justices—and to Mr. Madison's private letter to Robert Walsh. We will not insult our readers by discussing these nor by exposing the worthlessness, *as authorities*, for the Professor's purpose, of these.

He next denies that the term, "all men," as used in the Declaration of Independence, can be

used as an authority, in law, to establish universal freedom and release all who owe services from their obligations, in which we entirely agree with him, else every child had been released from its obligation to his parent, every wife separated from her husband, every apprentice from his master, every soldier from his colors, etc.

He then denies the present validity of that part of the Ordinance of 1787, which "excluded" Slavery from the Northwest; on the ground that "the Confederation was *superseded* by the general Government organized under the new Constitution of 1787;" that the Congress had no authority, originally, to pass the Ordinance, and still less to re-enact it in 1789; and that only by the act of Virginia herself, in her confirmation of the Ordinance, is there any force in the prohibition.

This is all very nicely written, yet Virginia, as the sovereign of the territory, possessed the unquestionable right to transfer that territory; and she did transfer it, legally. The thirteen States to whom, jointly, it was thus transferred, were each sovereign and unquestionably capable of taking title to the territory thus transferred, either individually or jointly; and they did so take it, each for itself, as joint proprietors and joint sovereigns. As joint sovereigns, some time after they came into possession, they jointly ordained that Slavery should not exist therein; and no one had any right to forbid that "exclusion" of Slavery, and no one did forbid it—Virginia, whose champion the Professor is, particularly estopped herself and him, by formally ratifying that "exclusion," by particular statute. These thirteen joint sovereigns continued to own and to govern that Territory, through their Delegates assembled in a "Congress," until from time to time, with their joint consent, States were formed within that Territory, when the sovereignty of those portions, respectively, was transferred to the Commonwealths, or Peoples, or States—by whatever name or names, each an equivalent of the others, they were known—and the new sovereigns admitted into the Union, as the peers of the original thirteen.

The Virginia for which Professor Dabney pleads in this volume, is the same, *in law*, as that which transferred this mighty Empire: the New York which, to-day, denies that Virginia is her superior in the Confederation, is that which received, as a joint sovereign, the transfer of that Empire. It follows, therefore—whether Virginia, and New York, and the United States have been or are controlled by *Articles of Confederation* or a *Constitution*, it matters not—they are exactly the same, individually, in 1867, as they were in 1781 and 1784; and they have known no change, as a Confederacy, except that, "*with their consent*," the Constitution of the Confederacy has

been amended and other Governmental Agents than the Federal Congress and the several State Legislatures have been Constitutionally called into being, and other modifications of the Compact have been adopted.

Tell us not, then, that the cession of the Northwest, by Virginia, eighty years ago, is not now binding on her; that the "exclusion" of Slavery therefrom, by the sovereign power, in 1787, is no longer in force, legally; that a condition precedent to admission into the Union is not now an obligation resting on the several parties thereto with all the weight of a Treaty stipulation; that a mere amendment of the *Article of Confederation* worked a dissolution of the old Union and the formation of a new one; and that "The United States of America" of 1786-87 are not "The United States of America," of 1787-1867.

We have thus followed the Professor, very briefly, through a small portion of his work;—and our readers may judge from our remarks how much we think his volume is either true, or just, or discreet. As a defence of Slavery, naked and unadorned, it seems to be useless, since Slavery is not; as an indictment against the non-slaveholding States, it is not discreet, because it is eminently unjust in many of its parts, and not unfrequently untrue in its statements; as a *Defence of Virginia* and of the South, it is injudicious because it is, very often, incorrect in its method of stating its case, and more frequently combats its own shadow than a living opponent.

15.—*Father Tom and the Pope, or a Night at the Vatican*. New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1861. Octavo, pp. 1—xvi, 9—81.

This clever satire which appeared in *Blackwood*, some twenty or thirty years since, has been reproduced with all the elegance of tinted, laid paper, rubricated title-page and initials, and an elaborate *Preface*, the latter from the pen of one of the most cheerful writers of the day.

It was founded, as our readers will remember, on a discussion on the tenets and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, which was carried on in Dublin, between two Priests of the Roman and the English Churches, in 1827; and although supposed to have been written by Maginn, it is somewhat severe on the Church of which that gentleman was a member.

The edition was a very limited one; and the beauty of the dress in which it appears adds very much to the limited interest which is found in the original work,

16.—*The Old Roman World: The Grandeur and Failure of its Civilization*. By John Lord, LL.D. N. Y.: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 606. Price \$3.

The author of this volume is widely known as a popular, but by no means a profound, lecturer on Historical subjects; and he professes to detail,

in this work, "the Greatness and Misery of the "old Roman world"—subjects which are worthy of the pen of a more accomplished Master.

The treatment to which "the old Roman world" has been subjected by Doctor Lord is not, therefore, very severe; and his volume will undoubtedly find a ready sale among the ladies, old and young, who have been so often delighted with his lectures on the same topic, in different parts of the Country.

17.—*Bible Teachings in Nature*. By Rev. Hugh McMillan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. xx 344.

In this work, the Author has endeavored to show that the teaching of Nature and the teaching of the Bible are directed to the same great end; that the Bible contains the spiritual truths which are necessary to make us wise unto salvation, and that the objects and scenes of Nature are the pictures by which these truths are illustrated.

In this effort, Pleiades and Orion, Icicles, Grass, Trees, Corn, Blasting, and Mildew, a Leaf, the Earth, etc., are made the texts of separate chapters, in which the Author labors, not always without the appearance of effort and a strain, to carry out his purpose; and a very acceptable volume he has made for those who delight in religious literature.

18.—*Kathrina: her life and mine, in a poem*. By J. G. Holland. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 287. Price \$1.50.

In this volume, which has proved to be one of the most popular of "Timothy Titcomb's" works, we have, it is said, a narrative of his own career, and it is therefore the more interesting.

It is marked by the same leading characteristics which made *Bitter Sweet*, not only the most popular of the productions of this favorite author, but the most widely read poem ever issued in America. Its aim is to illustrate the power of a true woman to ennoble and to elevate man; to reveal to him the true end of life, and to lead him to press after it with the same earnestness and determination which have marked his struggles to realize his dreams of ambition. The plot, which is simple and natural, is laid in the Valley of the Connecticut, where the author was born, and where he has spent his life, and the scenery there is described with an affectionate fidelity which make the pictures drawn most graphic and life-like. Although mainly narrative in form, parts of the work are dramatical and lyrical, and, scattered through the poem, are passages unsurpassed for their exquisite and pathetic tenderness. The poem is, in brief, the ripest work of its author, and its merits are sure to secure it the same cordial reception and extraordinary popularity enjoyed by its predecessor, *Bitter Sweet*.

THE

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FEBRUARY, 1868.

[No. 2

I.—A LEAF OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORY.

PURITANS, INDIANS AND DOGS.

“Ἐπὶ θῆραν καὶ κυνηγεσίων ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε.”—
PLUTARCH: *Alexander*.

“*Cry Havock, and let slip the dogs of war.*”—SHAKESPEARE.

IN 1656, John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, appealed to the Commissioners of the United Colonies for the appointment of some agents “in the Massachusetts to promote and forward the worke among the Indians; both in respect of their government & Incurring meet Instruments or their further healp and Instruction.” The Commissioners, conceiving the said Indians to belong to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, referred the matter, with power, to the wisdom and care of that government.

The next topic of consideration is so graphically stated in the Act by which it was disposed of, as to need no further comment by way of introduction. The reader may refer it to any branch of the “Indian worke” of that generation which he may “thinke meete.”

“**W**HERAS it was p^rsented to the Commissioners by M^r hollihock of Springfield that Mastiffe Dogs might bee of good vse against the Indians in case of any desturbance from them which they Reddily apprehending thought meet to comend the same to the seuerall Generall Courts to take care and make prouision thereof accordingly.”—*Plymouth Colony Records*, x., 168; *Hazard*, ii., 359.

A marginal note in the Plymouth Colony Records is—“this to be propounded to our Court.” Doubtless the “seuerall Generall Courts” did act with due promptness and discretion in the premises, but we find no traces in the published records of any separate action at that time. It had been the practice previously for the town au-

thorities to procure hounds for the use and at the expense of the towns. The object was to improve all means for the destruction of wolves; and no dog could be kept without the approbation of the Selectmen, who were also authorized to quarter the town dogs on any of the inhabitants they should choose, excepting Magistrates, who could keep dogs of their own or decline to board the public dogs, at their pleasure.

From the character of the proposition of “Mr. ‘hollihock,’” it is apparent that the use of their hounds against Indians, was a novelty in 1656—at any rate was not a general custom, however successful it might have been previously in private practice. There is no room for doubt, however, that the suggestion was “improved,” or that these four-footed auxiliaries played an important part in the long Indian Wars which fill so much of the Colonial and Provincial history of the Country.

The business was reduced to a system, and an organization is indicated, in subsequent legislation, which employed officers whose jurisdiction appears to have been general in the Frontiers, or at any rate not restricted to the particular towns. Whether the “*Hunt Serjeant*” was the highest in command, when the “hunt was up,” is a question which we are unable to solve, and must refer to those who have access to the original documents in the Archives of the State. We have heard Mr. Bancroft speak of having met with accounts of parties going out against the Indians, “double-dogged.”

We have met with a Law of the Province “concerning dogs,” which is interesting and perhaps unique in the history of American Legislation—although it may have its parallel in later provisions of Southern Codes for improvement of the means of hunting for fugitive slaves. It was passed at the October Session of the Great and General Court, 1706; and appears among the printed Laws of that period.

The first Act of the Session was “*An Act for Maintaining and Propagating of Religion.*” It re-inforced, by suitable enactments, the previous laws for securing to all the towns in the Province, an “able, learned and orthodox” ministry, with a view to rendering the said Laws more effectual,

and "to prevent the growth of Atheism, Irreligion and Prophaneness."

On the next page—barely separated from the foregoing by a brief Act to revive a former Statute to protect her Majesty's soldiers and seamen from Arrest for debt, etc—is the following:

An Act for the Raising & Increase of Dogs, for the better Security of the Frontiers.

WHEREAS upon Tryal lately made of Ranging and Scouring the Woods on the Frontiers, with Hounds and other Dogs used to Hunting, It has proved of great Service to discourage and keep off the Indians,

For Encouragement therefore to Raise and Train up a greater number of Dogs, to be improved.

Be it Enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That such Person and Persons living in any of the Frontiers within this Province, who shall take, keep and raise up any Whelp of the breed of the Hounds, and have them at all times in readiness to attend the Hunt Serjeant, or others improved in that Service, when they shall Come to such Town, and require the same, shall be allowed and paid out of the Publick Treasury the Sum of *Five Shillings Per Annum*, in consideration of their care and charge, for the raising and keeping of every such Dog. A Certificate thereof from year to year to be transmitted to the Commissary General, under the hands of the Commission Military Officers, and the Town Clerk of such Town.

Provided, This Act shall continue in force for the space of three years next coming, if the War with the Indians last long, and not afterwards.

October 1st 1867.

E. Y. E.

II.—GENERAL BUTLER AND THE SEVENTH NEW YORK MILITIA.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM "A SEVENTH REGIMENT MAN" TO A FORMER MEMBER, RESIDING "OUT WEST," IN ANSWER TO AN INQUIRY ABOUT THE ASPERSIONS BUTLER HAD CAST AT THE REGIMENT.

And now commence the circumstances that excited so much of your interest and ire. Butler, a Boston Lawyer, was a General, or Colonel, or something else, from Massachusetts; and had arrived in Philadelphia on the afternoon of the preceding day, on his way, in headlong haste, for Washington, with a Regiment of Massachusetts men; and, "his men being fatigued," (please see Page 70 of that famous "Book of Butler,") he, notwithstanding his eager haste, as he pretended, to get forward on his journey, concluded to *hang up with his command, at one of the Hotels, and wait and see*; and passed away the afternoon and evening "in buying pickaxes, shovels, and tin ware." After a "bountiful entertainment," learning that our Regiment was coming, he concluded that in the morning he would, uninvited, take the charge and direction of us. (P. 71.) "I propose to take the fifteen hundred men," etc., etc., i. e., to "*gobble us up*," without the formality of even a "by your leave."

This determination, as you will note, was on the night *before we arrived*, and what he apparently was laying back for, wasting some *twenty hours* of his precious time, dilly-dallying, in Philadelphia. Butler, as I said, was a Massachusetts General, of some two or three days' appointment, and seemed to swell out with the idea that "the whole boundless Continent" was at his beck; not seeming to know that he had not yet been mustered into service, and was really, out of Massachusetts, just no officer at all.

Colonel Lefferts had matured his own plan of proceeding and reported it to Head Quarters; and he was busied in hurrying forward his preparations, when he was beset, during the forenoon, by Butler, and coolly asked to "come into Chancery," with his neck under Butler's arm; but, somehow, he "didn't see it," as the boys say; he did not comprehend the necessity of his having anything to do with Butler, at all; nor did he see the feasibility of the plan which was urged upon him, of rushing on to Perryville, on the North side of the Susquehanna, opposite Havre de Grace, and *taking the chances* for finding a ferry-boat there, or any other means of crossing the river. Indeed, he rather apprehended that Johnny Secesh would be smart enough to keep all the boats on his own side, with the broad

river between him and the Yankee invaders that he had such a dread of; in which case the "pickaxes and shovels," so heedfully laid in, would have been rather an incumbrance to the latter, aiding but little in getting across; although the *tin ware* might have answered a good purpose, to wile away the time with a little peddling and dickerings—just to keep their hands in.

Still Butler kept dogging, and boring, and whining, after Colonel Lefferts, to come under his command, but the Colonel could not get through his hair, any propriety in his so doing—*therefore all the difficulty.*

When his transport, the steamer *Boston*, that he had taken up in the morning, had completed her coaling and other preparations, Colonel Lefferts embarked the Seventh in good order and good spirits, on board of her, about four in the afternoon, to proceed around, by sea, to Annapolis, if he should find that he could not go up the Potomac, direct to Washington. He had telegraphed the War Department, asking that a boat should be sent to meet him off Fortress Monroe or at the mouth of the Potomac, with information of how things were above those points.

We were very much crowded on board the steamer, and not inaptly compared to sardines in a box; and luckily, we had fine weather.

On Sunday, on our way up the Chesapeake, we hailed every vessel we came near enough to, for information, but could learn nothing satisfactory; the burden of all their reports seemed to be that every thing was in the hands of Secessionists. We found no messenger nor message from the Government, and of course could not know that the passage of the Potomac was not blocked by Artillery on its banks. The Colonel accordingly determined, during Sunday night, to put for Annapolis, according to his original plan; and as we approached the place at early dawn on Monday morning, the most intense anxiety prevailed amongst us to make out the colors flying on the good old frigate, *Constitution*, the Schoolship stationed there; fearing that she might have been seized by the devils; and when the Stars and Stripes were distinguished, "such a shout arose" from the boys as the old sleepy town of Annapolis had not heard in a Century.

It was found that Butler and his Regiment, the Massachusetts Eighth, — who had left Philadelphia a few hours previous to our departure, taking his selected route by Havre de Grace, and had had the good luck, for it was nothing else, except the stupidity of the Secesh, to find the ferry-boat on the North side of the River, which they had seized, and proceeded *with it* to Annapolis,—had arrived there a little after midnight, on Sunday morning; and were now, Monday morning, *fast aground on a sand-bar in the harbor.*

Now, read over again the passages in the fanfare of the occurrences at Annapolis, and lay the "Book of Butler*" open before you, and turn to chapter and verse, as I call them, and note them carefully, and especially the *high toned*, valiant spirit, that actuated the doughty General.

In the first place, the "Book of Butler" very *innocently* remarks, (P. 76,) "there were no telegraphs—how could Annapolis know they were coming?" Sure enough! and a very timely thought, certainly, as it was the valiant intent of the General, (P. 76), "to land quietly while the city slept!" But lo! to his astonished vision, when he arrived there, "there was every appearance of a town in extreme commotion! * * * "the whole town was evidently awake and astir." [*Bad look for the General!*] "Rockets shot up into the sky; swiftly moving lights were seen on the shore; and all the houses were lighted up!"

That was entirely a different state of things from what the gallant General had arranged for, consequently, a change came over the spirit of his dream of glory; and "noting these signs of disturbance," the "Book of Butler" continues, (same Page, 76) "*he cast anchor!*" And then commenced the grand campaign of palaver, and rig-ma-role, for which "the General" is so famous, and which abounds so profusely throughout the whole book. An "order" was early received by him from the Governor of Maryland saying, "*they must not land* (P. 77); and "*the General*" in the exercise of his "valor" and "discretion" concluded therefore—to *not land.*

The Governor, the next day, tried the same thing on Colonel Lefferts, but with decidedly a very different effect;—it was *no go*; and no rig-ma-role about it either; the Colonel merely informed him that he was bound to land and go through, and any meddling with him must be at their peril, and would certainly bring grief to somebody.

But "the General" preferred, under the circumstances, undertaking the towing of the frigate *Constitution* from her mooring at the wharf, out into the harbor. Now, if he had rushed his Regiment on shore, and disincumbered his boat of the load, and first and foremost *secured the town*, he would have been, it appears to me, in a much better position for protecting the vessel from attack; but, no, *she* had big guns; and under them, away from the shore, while "the town was in extreme commotion," was decidedly the *safest* place. Nearly the whole day was consumed, therefore, in the interchange with the

* By "Book of Butler," please understand, I mean Parson's Book about Butler, not a Book by Butler.

authorities, of palaver and rig-ma-role—"probing questions," and "vague replies," and all the varieties of that delectable kind of *bal-der-dash*, that "the General" so boastingly prides himself on.

Decidedly the most, and, in fact, the only gallant demonstration, and most to the point, was the declaration of General Butler, to the Captain or Pilot of his steamer, in reference to his running them aground, whilst towing the frigate out: "*If you do, as God lives, I'll blow your 'brains out!'*" "These be brave words truly," only paralysed by,

"Whoever dares these boots displace
"Shall meet Bombastes face to face!"

Well, in less than half an hour, the vessel was, sure enough, run aground; and equally sure "the General" *did not* blow any body's brains out.

And there they lay, hard aground, all day long, on Sunday, under a broiling sun, without provisions or water, *famishing*; and "the General" negotiating with the Governor and Mayor for permission "to land!" (P. 84.) "I must 'land,' whined he, to Governor Hicks; (P. 88) '*my men are hungry*;' and yet he *did not* land, nor attempt to do so; although, as he says, he had seven hundred men with arms in their hands. Nor did he make even any attempt or movement, after he found the "town in extreme commotion," to take possession of Annapolis at all; although he so loudly trumpets forth that Annapolis was "General Butler's road to Washington," which his toadies as industriously bruit, far and near. It is a wonder that he and they did not claim, too, the railroad route across New Jersey, as "General Butler's road to Washington!" There was as much reason for it. Well, may we all exclaim, with the valiant General, "Great is Buncombe!" and, verily, it is.

Well, on Monday morning, bright and early, the *Boston*, with our Regiment on board, arrived in the harbor of Annapolis, and Colonel Lefferts, finding the gallant Massachusetts men in their distressed and awkward position, determined at once to forego, at the time, his right and the gratification of being *first to land* and secure possession of the place; and rather give all his efforts to dragging off their steamer, and relieving the brave fellows, and let them share in the credit and glory of the enterprise; and to that end he devoted nearly the whole of Monday in the endeavor to get them afloat, but without success. Not deeming it advisable, however, to delay longer the consummation of the object he had determined on, about five o'clock in the afternoon, he put for the shore; and undeterred by the threats, protests, and forbiddings of the Governor and Mayor, which had been so formidable as to keep the gallant Massachusetts "Gene-

"ral" at bay and at palavering distance, the whole day before, even whilst his men were starving, the Colonel effected the landing in good order, on the grounds of the Naval Academy, and without any disturbance.

Colonel Lefferts THEN sent his steamer to the aid of the Massachusetts men, presuming that "the General" with his Regiment would venture ashore, now that the first step was taken, and the way opened. After a hard night's work, she succeeded in getting them afloat, and brought them to the land, about five o'clock *the next, Tuesday, morning*.

Yet the "Book of Butler" man has the cool effrontery to assert (P. 85,) "In the course of the "afternoon, BOTH Regiments were safely landed "in the Academy grounds;"—a specimen of downright—well, veracity; which may be considered as a highly ornamental decoration, over the left, to a Major-general's stars. The falsehood of the statement is apparently of but little importance; yet, in fact, on it depends the whole of the pretension that *Butler took possession of Annapolis* or opened that route to Washington.

And the valorous Bombastes attempts, too, to be witty and sarcastic at Colonel Lefferts having taken precautions against surprise or disturbance. "Alarmed for the safety of his command," (P. 85,) "posted strong guards at the gates—" "probably the exact truth was not known to "Colonel Lefferts' informants;" and other sneering remarks about the wild stories of the force of the Secessionists.

Now take the "Book of Butler's" own story, a few pages back, (P. 77), concerning information of the Secessionists, and the source of it: "The truth was that Captain Blake * * * who was "Commandant of the Post and chief of the "Naval Academy, had been for forty-eight hours "in momentary expectation of an irruption of " 'plug uglies' from Baltimore, either by sea or "by land. He was surrounded by a population "stolidly hostile to the United States * * * "he was in dread of an overwhelming force." Large parties of Secessionists, as the officers of the ship afterwards testified, were around the ship, every day, * * * the Militia of the County were drilled in sight of the ship, in the day time; during the night signals were exchanged along the banks, and across the river." Under these circumstances, Captain Blake, a native of Massachusetts, who had grown gray "in his Country's Service, as loyal and steadfast "a heart as ever beat, was *tortured with anxiety* "for the safety of the trust which his Country "had committed to him." (Pp. 77 and 78.) This is that same "Book of Butler's" own story!—Now, surely Captain Blake, and the officers, and the other gentlemen, of the Naval Academy were quite safe counsellors and likely

to be properly informed of the state of things around them. And, moreover, Butler had treasured up all this information, and it was all potent, while he was there, alone, with his Regiment, and while he had been deterred from attempting to land his "hungry" men, solely by the idle gasconade of the authorities and the appearance of "the town in commotion," preferring, meanwhile, to cling close under the guns of the frigate. When, however, Colonel Lefferts had landed with the Seventh, and taken the ordinary, and if you please, extraordinary precaution against disturbance,*—for who could pretend to foresee, under the tremendous excitements of the time, what an hour might develop—he was sneered at, and ridiculed, by the despicable, egotistical braggart.

The Colonel, immediately after establishing his guards and pickets, had provided for a regular and continued reconnoissance of the town and vicinity, by civilians, and was thoroughly and constantly informed of everything going on around him; and of course, in communication and council with the United States officers of the Academy.

Butler, before he had got ashore with his command, as you will see, (Pp. 83 and 84,) commenced his pompositization and movement to over-ride Colonel Lefferts, by issuing a *rigmarole* "Order of the Day," directing the government of the troops, "and especially cautioning the men, — "Citizen Soldiers of Massachusetts or New York," against "committing any outrage upon private property!!" In other words, telling the gentlemen of the Seventh Regiment, they must not steal from the people—the unmitigated scoundrel! And, moreover, he had the unparalleled effrontery to close by saying, "Colonel Lefferts' command not having been originally included "in this Order, he will be furnished with a copy "FOR HIS INSTRUCTION!!!" (P. 84). Now, Tom, don't swear, although some of us did, some, you may believe, about that time.

The fact of the matter is, Butler was ass and egotist enough, and so entirely ignorant of military concerns, as to suppose that he, simply a General, or whatever he was, of Massachusetts, not mustered into the Government service, ranked and commanded any and every officer, of any other State, whom he might accidentally fall in with; but in this case it was "No go"—hence his grief.

A very natural cause for discord between the two commanders, is given at Page 98 of the "Book of Butler," with a *naïvete* that is truly refreshing—"Colonel Lefferts, as a New York Merchant, has

* The truth is that the most vigilant precautions had been taken by the Naval Officers, at the Academy; and Colonel Lefferts merely relieved with his men the sentinels and guards, who had been posted by them and were worn down and exhausted by the excessive duties, night and day, not having men enough for a relief.

"passed his life among people who generally "speak the truth and keep their word!!" Colonel Lefferts, we all know, is eminently a gentleman, in character, conduct, and manners; and, for a long time, strove to treat Butler with courtesy and politeness, and was disposed to bear with his egotistical assumptions, as merely the result of a total ignorance of the proprieties of his new position; and to gently push back in moderate language his impertinent attempts to embarrass and command him, which completely nonplussed Butler and put him out of humor.

Butler still had the stupid effrontery to issue orders as "The General in Command," directing certain movements of Colonel Lefferts, especially after it was known that the Colonel had determined on the same movement. The thing was becoming insufferable; and the Colonel found it necessary to let the "Commanding General" know that it had gone far enough; and he tore up one of his rig-ma-role Orders before his face, and told him to mind his own business—by the by, therein greatly modifying the more emphatic recommendation of some of his officers, when in counsel, "to tell Butler to go" . . . well, not Dixie, exactly, but the next place to it, and very like it to be in.

Do you remember the story with which Corporal D— used to regale the Boys, and set the table in a roar? something to this effect: A certain politic Indian Chief, who wore a large medal on his bosom, having once on a time, visited the National Capital, and seen how things were done there, amongst the enlightened pale faces; was disposed to profit by what he had learned. He used to have his whole tribe turned out, as at reveille, and then would march out, and pompositize before them, (probably *a la Butler*) and commanding the attention of all, would stretch himself up, and extending his hand towards the East, command the sun to rise; and then he would strut up and down for a few minutes, and when the sun had made its appearance, at his command, he would address it, and waving his hand slowly from the East, over head, to the West, command the Sun to follow that course, and go down at night in the West; whilst all looked on, agape, probably very much as our famous "The General in Command" imagined we did, at his grandiloquent pompositization. "I," said the Sparrow, &c.

Now, my dear fellow, I am vexed that you should have let such a mess of egotistic and malevolent rig-ma-role disturb your equanimity to such a degree, without having scrutinized the ridiculous details, by the test of the character of our glorious Regiment, and the material of its officers and men; and thereby saved me the trouble of wading so minutely through the disgusting string of absurd villification.

As a commentary on the voracious rig-ma-role, about a statement of a *Tribune* reporter, I give a few lines from that reporter; being the first published in New York, from the Regiment:

"The Quarter-master and men had still rations for a day or two, but the inhabitants refused to sell provisions to the Quarter-master, and the only stores that he could procure up to Tuesday night, were a few cakes and apples that the negro peddler-boys brought in.

"On Monday night, after she had disembarked her troops, the *Boston* steamed out to the *Maryland*;* and after a hard night's work succeeded in pulling her off, so that at five o'clock on Tuesday morning the *Massachusetts* boys came ashore.

"The rumors of large forces to be met and overcome, came at last in such authentic shape that there could be no doubt of their truth; and there could also be but little question of their outnumbering us.

"The boys were determined and calm. Occasionally, a face was blanched with anxiety, suspense, and the novelty of their position, but nothing that looked like fear, and not one word of flinching. All were ready for the fight, and every man was determined to sustain the reputation of the Regiment and to prove himself individually a true and loyal man."

This was brought home by the reporter. He left the Regiment on Tuesday night, and published it in the New York *Tribune*, on Thursday or Friday.

Compare that statement with the "Book of Butler's" statement, (P. 85,) that "a *Tribune* reporter who, accompanied by two friends, had strolled all over town, unmolested, and brought back word that no enemy was in sight, and that the shop-keepers were perfectly civil and willing to sell their goods to the Union soldiers," etc.

Now one or the other of them, tells the truth, and of course, *only one*; and I know well, which one, for I saw and heard nearly every thing that was said and done; and the "Book of Butler" itself says, (P. 82,) "They," (*Governor Hicks, and the Mayor of Annapolis*), "declared that no one in Annapolis would sell him anything."—Bah! So much for all that *gan men*.

You have heard and read of the "rattle up" on Tuesday night—that was after the *Tribune* man had left—and the promptitude with which the boys sprang to their places, and the presenting a line of battle, howitzers in position, and all, in the space of seven minutes from the first tap of the drum. The alarm was caused by a steamer entering the harbor, and the rocket of the Con-

stitution, which was, by agreement, the signal to Colonel Lefferts, that a vessel was approaching. The stranger had replied with a gun, to indicate recognition; but that, following the rocket, happened to be the preconcerted signal, (a rocket then a gun) to indicate a hostile vessel—hence the stirring up.

After matters were understood, and the Colonel had learned that the New York Twelfth Militia and several other bodies of troops were on board the approaching vessel and others in her company, he determined to push ahead in the morning; and accordingly, at midnight, he issued orders for his Second and Sixth Companies to advance at daybreak, to scour the country and look out for breakers ahead, to be followed at a short interval by the Regiment in force.

Colonel Lefferts sent a message to Colonel Butterfield, of the Twelfth New York, inviting him to land his force immediately and advance with us and share in the honor and distinction of pushing a road open to the Capitol; but Colonel Butterfield thought it inexpedient to do so, as he could not confer and arrange matters with the other Regiments approaching, in his company; and it was then arranged that he should hold Annapolis whilst Colonel Lefferts drove on with the Seventh.

The *Massachusetts men* fraternized warmly with us, notwithstanding the piggishness of their leader, the redoubtable "General Commanding." They were really a fine set of fellows, and united with ardor and alacrity, in all our measures to force the way through to Washington. They had in their ranks several mechanics who were very efficient in repairing the locomotive and running it; and they also assisted in re-laying the rails for some three or four miles out from Annapolis, which Johnny Secesh had torn up. You have seen of course, in great detail, the events of that march, and the toils and trials that we encountered and surmounted; in all of which we were cordially supported by our new friends, the *Massachusetts Eighth*, as far as they advanced in company with us, which was, however, only a part of the way, when they lagged behind and followed us into Washington, one day after.

III.—ARTICLES AGAINST THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNMENT.

READ BEFORE THE BOARD OF TRADE, JUNE 8, 1877; AND COMMUNICATED TO THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE BY J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., OF BOSTON.

[Extract from a letter, dated October 24, 1867, from J. P. Prendergast, Esq., of Dublin, author of the Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland, to J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., of

* Butler's boat, then aground, with his troops on board.

Boston, enclosing a letter from John Gookin, 1660, and the Articles against the Government of Boston. 1677.

"They" [i. e. following documents] "come from that vast mass of original papers called the Carte MSS, consisting of over two hundred folio volumes in the Bodleian Library, of which two-thirds were brought from Kilkenny Castle, about the year 1736, by Carte, when he was employed by the Duke of Ormond's grandson, the Earl of Arran, to write the Life of his Grandfather. The other third consists of original State and Family papers collected by Carte for his *History of England*, among which is a volume consisting principally of the Montagu Papers. Ormond held offices in both England and Ireland, and was much consulted by the King. This, perhaps, was the way the paper about Boston came into his hands.

"The present in the third year that I have been employed by Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, in England, jointly with the Reverend Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth to select documents for transcription, to be lodged in the Record offices of England and Ireland, respectively."

ARTICLES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF BOSTON.

1st. That the Bostoners haue not Right either to Land or Government in any part of New England but are usurpers the inhabitants yealding obedience upon supposition onely of a Royall Grant from his Late Majesty

2. That they have formed themselves into a common wealth denying any appeales to England & contrary to other Plantations doe not take the Oath of Allegiance.

3. They have protected the murtherers of his Late Majesty in contempt of his Majties Proclamation of the 6th June 1660, & of the Letters of the 28th June 1662.

4. They coyne money with their owne Impresse.

5. They have put his Majties Subjects to death for opinion in matters of Religion.

6. In the year 1665 they did violently oppose his Majties Commissioners in the settlement of New Hampshire. And in 1668 by armed forces turned out his Majties Justice of the Peace in the Province of Maine in opposition to his Majties Authority & Declaration of the 10th of April 1666.

7. The impose an oath of fidelity upon all that inhabit within their Territories to be tru & faithfull to their Gouernment.

8. They violate all the Acts of trade & navigation by which they have ingrossed the greatest part of the West India trade whereby his Majesty is damaged in the Customes above 100.000 £ yearly & this Kingdom much more

The present affaires of New England before the Lords of his Majties Councill are reduced to two heads, matter of Law & matter of fact.

Matter of Law ariseth from Titles of Land belonging to Mr Mason & Mr Gorges & what title the Massachusetts Governmt hath to any land, the Examination whereof is before the Lords Chief Justices to give their opinion therein

Matter of fact immediately concerns his Majesty & against the Governmt of the Massachusetts wilbe fully proved.

1. That they have no pattent either for Land or Gouernment.

2. That (in contempt of his Majesty) they haue usurped an arbitrary Gouernment & formed themselves into a Comon Wealth, denying any appeales to England.

3. Refusing to take the Oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy.

4. Coining of money with their own impress.

5. Putting his Majesty's Subjects to death for being Quakers.

6. By armed forces subverting his Majesty's Commissions in 1665.

7. Imposing a oath upon the Inhabitants of fealty to their Gouernment.

8. Protecting some of the late Kings Murtherers.

9. Violating all the Acts of Navigacon by which his Majesty looseth yearly in his Customes about one hundred Thousand pound & the Kingdome much more by their Trade

The reasons inducing a speedy hearing & determination of this matter.

1. His Majesty hath an opportunity of settling New England under his Royall authority with little charge, St. John Berry being now at Virginia with four frigatts & from thence may be sent at whose appearance the whole country will unanimously submit.

2. The present disposition of the generality of the people of New England to be under his Majesty's Gouernment.

3. The apprehension that the people are in of the Indians falling upon them again this year, & no safety can be to them, but some standing & visible force.

4. The Indians haue declared they will keep a firme peace with the English when there shalbe a Gouernor there from the King, they having all along continued a perfect freindship with Coll Andross & all those English inhabiting the Colony of New York

All which is humbly represented by
EDWARD RANDOLPH.

IV.—LORD CORNBURY.

By J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL. D.

The picture, referred to in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., ii., 169, of Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury and afterwards third Earl of Clarendon, who died in 1723, is now in the possession of Sir J. S. Packington. M. P.

It represents him as dressed in woman's clothes, and with a face indicating his character—mean, vulgar, foolish, profligate. Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, was appointed Governor of New York, where he arrived in May, 1702. His administration was chiefly remarkable for bigotry and rapacity. See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, vii., 331.

After the death of his wife, in August, 1706,

Cornbury broke out of all bounds of decency. In February, 1708, Lewis Morris wrote to Secretary Boyle, "I must say something which perhaps 'nobody will think worth their while to tell, and 'that is his [*Lord Cornbury*] dressing publicly in 'woman's cloaths every day, and putting a stop to 'all public business while he is pleasing himself 'with that peculiar but detestable magot;" *Colonial Documents*, v., 38. Elias Neau, the Catechist at New York, wrote that Cornbury had an "unfortunate custom" of dressing himself in women's clothes, and so publicly exhibit himself on the ramparts of the Fort. *Hawkins*, 271; *Whitehead's Contributions*, 214, 216.

After his supersedure as Governor, Cornbury was arrested for debt, but still kept up his scandalous practice, dressing then, however, "after the 'Dutch Manner." On the death of his father, he became Earl of Clarendon, and returned to England in 1710. Queen Anne appointed him Envoy to Hanover, just before her death, in 1714, on which occasion, Bothmen, the Hanoverian Minister, described him as "a selfish and presumptuous 'fool, and a fool to such a degree that being 'appointed Governor by the Queen in the Indies" [*New York*] "he thought that it was necessary 'for him, in order to represent her Majesty, to 'dress himself as a woman, which he actually 'did." *Macpherson's Papers*, ii, 626, 627, 646; *Tindal*, iv, 352; *Mahon*, i., 114.

These are the original authorities on which Smith, Strickland, and others make their statements about Cornbury's dressing as a woman.

NEW YORK CITY.

J. R. B.

V.—ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

I.

HON. THOMAS EWBANK TO GEORGE H. MOORE.

ACCEPT, my dear Sir, my thanks for a copy of *Correspondence concerning Slavery in Massachusetts*. Its perusal has awakened some old recollections. The verdict that "the slave of Smith "died by suffocation, having in yielding to his "own ungovernable temper, or in sleep subse-"quent upon it, swallowed his tongue," has a special interest and is of some historical value. Singular as the reading sounds in our ears, such verdicts have been more or less common in slave countries, and are so still in Cuba and Brazil. Nor do they state anything inconsistent with common observation and ascertained facts: I mean as respects the influence of "temper" and the alleged mode of extinguishing life. The language of the Massachusetts Jurors of 1719 is sub-

stantially that of Brazilian Police Courts of to-day. In *Life in Brazil*, various forms of suicide to which slaves have recourse, are mentioned. The high spirited Minas, (from the Gold Coast) and one or more tribes, are given to self destruction. Rather than endure life with some planters they end it, and under circumstances surpassing aught that history records. Some draw tight ligatures around their throats, lie down and deliberately die; others, who have the art or faculty of folding back the tongue so as to prevent respiration thus resolutely perish. This is what is meant by swallowing the tongue. When I first heard of it in Rio, I refused to credit it; but examples occurring, unbelief had to give way. Can Greece, or Rome, or any country, furnish examples of pagan heroism equal to these?

An idea of the process may be had by closing the jaws with the lips open, raising the tongue with the lip turned back and then, by an action akin to swallowing or sucking it will be felt drawn toward the wind-pipe.

Possibly this may take place "in sleep;" but I heard nothing of that in Brazil. Still, might not dreaming in the night, of agonies in the day, lead to it? If so, that part of the verdict gives additional interest to the case. As there are yet examples of men who talk, and walk, and write, and do many other things, while asleep, I see nothing incredible in sensitive slaves, hectic with burning griefs and without a shadow of relief from earth or heaven, snapping their heart-strings, already stretched to breaking, in woful visions of the night.

The reports in Rio papers always mention the form or the instrument of death; thus hanging is "by a rope"—*suicido-se com um baraco*—while "strangulation" often, if not always, implies closing the larynx with the tongue. This is assuredly the most positive of all proofs of "un-"governable temper" or passions of the slave owner, whose cruelty leaves his victim, when shut up naked within bare walls, no other means of deliverance from insufferable wrongs. Legal technicalities make the victims suicides, but the eternal law of morals proclaims the masters the murderers.

The Massachusetts verdict is conclusive that this anomalous mode of unsheathing the spirit is not of modern date*, but what a comment on that system of crime which led the black man to devise and gave him nerve to carry out such a means of escaping from the white oppressor. When the wrongs of Africa are fully revealed,

* I think such a verdict could only have been given where this form of suicide was more or less known. The language is too specific and peculiar to admit any other inference, "*Suffocation*"—"ungovernable temper"—"*swallowing the tongue*"—and this when awake or "*in sleep*,"

* See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: I. x, Supp. 81, 105.

deeds of horror will come to light that are little dreamt of. But progress is the law and no one age can anticipate in Arts, Science, Morals, Government or aught else which succeeding ones have to develop.

Truly Yours,

NEW YORK:

THOMAS EWBANK.

November 17, 1866.

SINCE the foregoing letter to Mr. MOORE, I have met with more light on the dark subject of swallowing the tongue. So far from this being of comparatively modern origin, both the name and the process are of remote antiquity in Asia, if not in Africa. It was and is included in the Yoga system of Hindu philosophy and religion. The Yogins are an ascetic sect of the votaries of Siva. Of eight stages in the process of freeing the soul from external influences and concentrating it on abstract contemplation, the fourth is the *regulation of the breath*, as it concerns exhalation or inhalation, or becomes tantamount to suspension of breathing. There are progressive stages in attaining this power from a suspension of the respiratory organs for thirty seconds to forty-three minutes and twelve seconds. According to Navinachandrapala, a native writer, this is effected, among other processes, by "*swallowing the tongue for two hours*." This is done, he says, "by means of an incision in the fraenum linguae, and milking, as it were, the tongue, causing it gradually to become so lengthened as to allow the rima glottides to be shut by pressing back the epiglottis with the point of the retroverted tongue."

It is needless to say that frequently these practices were and are merely a cloak for imposture and hypocrisy; and that professional Yogins, numbers of whom are met with throughout India, are often nothing but lazy mendicants or jugglers, who by impressing the vulgar with a belief in their supernatural powers convert it into a source of an easy livelihood. Such followers of the Yoga pretend, for instance, to foretell future events; they deal in palmistry and profess to cure diseases. There are instances too, when, for a handsome consideration they allow themselves to be buried for a certain time. Two such cases are related in the treatise of Navinachandrapala, and it would appear from them, that a human being, after having undergone certain preparations, such as the Yoga practices, may be shut up in a box without either food or drink, for the space of a month, or even forty days and nights and yet remain alive. The author of the treatise endeavors, indeed, to show that the rules laid down by the Yoga, regarding the mode of respiration, the postures and the diet of a Yogin, may have been founded

on a careful observation of the nature and habits of hibernating animals; and in support of this view, he enters into a detailed investigation of the effect of the Yoga practices on animal life. If, as it seems, his statements are correct, much of what otherwise would be incredible in accounts given in the performances of Yogins could be received as true, because admitting of explanation.

See *Chambers Encyc.* Art. YOGA.

December 3, 1867.

T. E.

II.

LETTER TO GEORGE H. MOORE.

From a descendant of Samuel Smith of Sandwich, Massachusetts.

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for the copy of the Correspondence between yourself and Mr. Davis, in regard to Samuel Smith. I regret that I know of no other facts touching the matter, and until I saw your *History*, etc. only knew of [him] . . . from a family tradition which appears to have been pretty nearly correct. It was also said that some evidence or a knowledge on the part of the jury that slaves and negroes in Africa have a habit in paroxysm of passion, of swallowing their tongues, made in favor of the prisoner. That the tongue is sometimes swallowed is a fact: I am informed by a friend that within a few weeks at the Hospital in this City, during an operation, the patient was observed to turn black in the face; on examination the patient's tongue was found in his throat, from which it was drawn with the forceps in time to save his life.

Though I agree with you entirely in your views on the subject of slavery in Massachusetts, I can say in favor of Samuel Smith, that by his acquittal he is to be presumed innocent, not only in law but in fact. For in those days, as Lord Campbell says, juries under proper instructions would find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain; and Samuel Smith must have been acquitted in the face of such a charge as Judge Addington gave, if he followed his instructions—which I think were outrageous—or Addington must have been diverted from following the instructions by being convinced that the prisoner was innocent.

That this swallowing the tongue, as a means of suicide or accidental death, familiar as it may be to modern science, would not have been adopted by Samuel Smith as the groundwork of a very novel defence, unless he was really innocent; which his eagerness for an early trial tends to confirm.

That the instrument used by Samuel Smith was not in ordinary cases dangerous or deadly; and the offence, at the worst, as it lacks the element

of malice aforethought, could only be manslaughter—especially as the face of a negro could not give the ordinary premonitions of strangulation.

I may add that the family tradition with which I am acquainted makes Samuel Smith to have been a minister of the Gospel.

I remain very truly and respectfully yours.

BOSTON: Decr 11, 1866. * * * *

VI.—THE NEW YORK DELLIOUS PATENT.*

By HON. HILAND HALL, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In the last number of your journal some account was given of the famous New York manifesto, published in 1773, under the sanction of the Assembly of that Province, entitled *A State of the Right of the Colony of New York, with respect to its Eastern boundary on Connecticut River, &c., &c.* This document it will be remembered was drawn up by James Duane, a New York City lawyer, and a noted speculator in Vermont lands under New York Patents, the object of it being to show that the Colony of New York had always extended East to Connecticut River, and was not limited, as contended by New Hampshire, by Lake Champlain and a twenty mile line from the Hudson.

An important point attempted to be made in Mr. Duane's argument was that the Colonial Government of New York had at an early day claimed jurisdiction over the territory in question,—the only proof of which was a reference which he gave to some four or five grants made by the Governors of that Province, of lands stated to be situated—not indeed upon Connecticut River or anywhere near it, but reaching towards that river and beyond the line as claimed by New Hampshire.

The most formidable and conclusive piece of evidence of this ancient claim of jurisdiction brought forward by Mr. Duane was supposed to be furnished by a Patent to one Godfrey Dellious.

This Patent, as appears from the New York Records, bears date, the fourth of September, 1696, and purports to have been issued in the name of the King "by his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, his Majesty's Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Province of New York and the territories depending thereon, in America," and to grant "to our loving subject, the Rev. Godfrey Dellious, Minister of the Gospel at our City of Albany," some eight or ten hundred thousand acres of land lying on the East side of Hudson River, "He yielding, rendering, and paying therefor, year-

ly and every year, unto us, and our heirs and successors, on the feast day of our blessed Virgin Mary, at our City of New York, the annual rent of one *Raccoon skin*, in lieu and stead of "all other rents, services, duties, and demands whatsoever." This grant, together with another, still more extravagant, of lands on the Mohawk river, made by the same Governor to the same reverend gentleman, was three years afterwards, in 1699, set aside and annulled by Act of the New York Assembly, approved by the Crown, as having been obtained and issued by fraud; and the Reverend Mr. Dellious, by the same Act, was declared suspended from further exercising his clerical functions.

The following is the statement of the claim made in the New York document under consideration:

"So long ago as 1696, a Grant passed the great seal of the Colony, to Godfrey Dellious, for a tract extending from the North bounds of Saratoga (which lies both sides of Hudson's River, about thirty miles North of Albany) to the Rock Rosian, a station indisputable, and which is well known to lie on Lake Champlain and about twenty miles to the Northward of Crown Point. This tract extends twelve miles East from Hudson's River and the same distance East from Wood Creek and the water to the Northward; and it is worth a remark that such was its value and importance at that early day, that the Legislature conceived the Grant to be too great a favor for one subject and passed a law, in 1699, repealing it as extravagant."

This account of the Dellious Grant, by which it is made to embrace a tract of land in Vermont, twelve miles in width, lying on the East side of Lake Champlain and extending some fifty miles in length, from Fair and West Haven, on the South, to Charlotte and Hinesburg, on the North, has hitherto been regarded as historical truth. It has often been referred to as such; and on a map of Lake Champlain and the bordering territory, published in the first volume of the *Documentary History of New York*, as late as 1849, its supposed Northern boundary in Vermont has been designated and dignified by a special "*red line*." The reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that upon no possible construction of the language of the Grant can it be made to include a single acre of Vermont territory. The importance which has been given to this Grant by the advocates of the New York title, demands that it should be fully examined.

The Patent, which is found in the Albany Records, (vii., 43,) describes the land in the following words, viz.: "A certain tract of land lying upon the East side of Hudson's River between the Northernmost bounds of Saraghatoga and the Rock Retsio, containing about seventy

* From *The Vermont Record*, greatly revised by the author, and communicated by him for publication in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

"miles in length and goes backwards into the woods from the said Hudson's River twelve miles until it comes unto the *Wood Creek* and so far as it goes, be it twelve miles more or less from *Hudson's River*, on the East side, and from said *creek*, by a line twelve miles distant from said *river*." Precisely the same description is given in the Act annulling the Grant in Van Schaick's *Statutes*, (p. 82,) except that the name of the rock is printed *Rosian* instead of *Retsio*.

It is impossible, by any intelligible reading of this description, to carry any part of the tract to the Eastward of the waters of Lake Champlain. Unless the language is violently distorted from its natural meaning, the land it describes is bounded all the way on the West by Hudson's river, and all the way on the East by a twelve mile line from the Hudson, except that Wood Creek, "so far as it goes," forms a part of the East line,—whether it be more or less than twelve miles from that river. The only objection that could be urged to this construction would seem to be that if the tract followed the course of Hudson's river, even to its source, it might not reach as far North as the latitude of Rock Rosian; and at all events its East line of twelve miles from that river would be a very long distance to the West or South-Westward of that rock, which rock, according to Mr. Duane, "is a station indisputable and well known to be on Lake Champlain, about twenty miles to the Northward of Crown Point." That such would be the position of the land in reference to Rock Rosian, now known as Split Rock, if it were now surveyed by the actual course of that river, in conformity to our construction, is not denied, and yet it by no means follows that we should reject either that rock or the river as substantial parts of the description. The language of the Grant is to be construed in accordance with the intent of the parties, and in reference to their geographical knowledge and belief at the time it was made.

It should be borne in mind that the Northern branch of Hudson's river was understood, for nearly a century after the Grant to Dellius, to take its rise nearly as far North as latitude forty-five degrees, and to run in a Southerly direction about parallel to Lake Champlain. It is so laid down in the early maps. In 1750, half a century after the Dellius grant, John Henry Lydius, an intelligent Indian trader, gave his affidavit before the Mayor of Albany, in which he stated, "that he had always heard that the purchase made by Godfrey Dellius, in the year 1696, was commonly esteemed to extend to the rock Regio;"—"And the deponent further says that he well knows the Northern branch of Hudson's river extends about twenty leagues further North than Crown Point." This affidavit was taken at the request of Governor Clinton, and transmitted by him to

the Board of Trade, in London, (*Colonial History of New York*, vi., 561, 569, 577.) As late as 1768, Governor Moore writes to Lord Hillsborough, that "the rivers Hudson and Connecticut had never been traced to their sources." Governor Tryon, in 1774, in a Report to the English Board of Trade, says, "Connecticut river extends beyond, and Hudson's river takes its rise a little to the Southward of the forty-fifth degree of latitude." (*Ibid*, viii., 107, 436.) We must suppose then that Hudson's river, at the time of the Grant, was understood to reach considerably further North than the rock Rosian, Retsio, or Regio. By understanding that the rock Retsio was mentioned, not as a point with which the tract was necessarily expected to come in actual contact, but as a well known mark, situated as far North as the land should be allowed to extend along the Hudson river, full effect will be given to every word of the description, and there will be little trouble in ascertaining its meaning.

The other points mentioned in the Dellius Grant were pretty well known. "The Northernmost bounds of Saratoga" were the Battenkill, which falls into the Hudson from the East—Saratoga, which had been previously patented, extending across the Hudson, six miles along said kill. Wood Creek takes its rise between the South end of Lake George and the Hudson; and running North-easterly, some fifteen or twenty miles, falls into Lake Champlain at Whitehall. It was in the early route from Albany to Canada, and is now that of the Northern New York canal. If any one with those explanations will read over the description in the Patent, testing it by a map, he will have no difficulty in understanding what was meant by it. It grants to Dellius a tract of land, extending from the Battenkill on the South as far to the Northward as the rock Retsio is situated, bounded *all the way of its length, on the West, by Hudson's river*, and extending Eastward into the woods, twelve miles from that river, except that for a few miles of its length its Eastern boundary is Wood Creek, "be it" (the creek) "twelve miles more or less from said river."

No step can be taken towards sliding the West boundary of this Grant over to the Eastern shore of Lake Champlain, without wresting the language of the Grant from its clear and obvious meaning; and any attempt to do it would show the perfect absurdity of such a construction. The Eastern line of the tract, beginning at its Southern boundary, runs parallel to Hudson's river, twelve miles distant from it, for some fifteen miles or more, "until it comes to Wood Creek." Of this there can be no dispute. According to the natural construction of the language, the Eastern boundary of the tract continues along Wood Creek, "so far as it goes." But, according to Mr. Duane, the Eastern bounday

stops at Wood Creek; and the creek then takes the place of Hudson river, and becomes at once the Western boundary, and the Eastern boundary is consequently shoved twelve miles further to the Eastward. This, it will be perceived, divides the domain of Mr. Dellius into two separate and distinct parcels, the Northeast corner of the Southern parcel merely touching the Southwest corner of the Northern at a single point. The absurdity of this construction must be apparent.

Dr. Fitch in his interesting and valuable *History of Washington County*, published in the *Transactions of the New York Agricultural Society for 1848*, speaks of the Dellius Grant in covering "about one-half the land in Washington county and a still greater quantity in the present State of Vermont." He then gives correctly the descriptive words of the Grant, but appears in great doubt about its meaning. He is not satisfied with Mr. Duane's explanation of it, apparently for the reason that he extends the tract to the Northward of Wood Creek, *along the waters of Lake Champlain*, whereas no mention is made of the lake as one of its boundaries. This is certainly a very formidable objection; one that it is difficult to overcome. In order to get rid of it, Dr. Fitch asserts that Crown Point "was commonly regarded by the French as the head of the lake and the mouth of Wood Creek;" and adds, that "this document, though extremely vague, appears to contemplate the topic in the same light." He thus extends the Wood Creek boundary of the tract as far North as Crown Point. But this stops twenty miles short of Rock Retsio, and the same difficulty still remains. This he seeks to overcome by conjecturing that Mr. Duane's well known "indispensable station" may not after all have been Split Rock, but some undiscovered rock, near Crown Point, at the mouth of his imaginary Wood Creek. This conjectural location of the tract, it will at once be perceived, leads into at least two insurmountable difficulties. First, it transfers Wood Creek from the Eastern to the Western boundary of the tract, leaving it as in Mr. Duane's description, in two distinct parcels; and, secondly, by extending Wood Creek to the Northern limit of the tract, the important closing words of the description are ignored and rejected as unmeaning, viz., the words "and from said Creek by a line twelve miles distant from said [Hudson's] river."

If Dr. Fitch, instead of endeavoring to make the description in the Grant conform to the idea that a large portion of the tract was in Vermont, had merely sought to ascertain from its language where it was really intended to be located, we would have no difficulty in perceiving that Hudson's river formed its whole Western boundary, and that Wood Creek "as far as it goes," in connection with a twelve mile line from that river, con-

stituted its Eastern. That the Rock Retsio, sometimes written or printed, Rosian, Rodgio, Rogeo, and Rogio, was "The great rock," afterwards known as Split Rock, situated some twenty miles North of Crown Point, there is no manner of doubt. See *Colonial History of New York*, iii., 802; iv., 748; vi., 569.

Whether the merit of extending this Dellius Grant Eastward into the New Hampshire Grants, is due to the inventive genius of Mr. Duane, or to some of his land claiming contemporaries is perhaps doubtful. In a Report, made January 6, 1772, by a Committee of the New York Council, of which Mr. Smith, the historian, was Chairman, in relation to the validity of the French Grants on Lake Champlain, certain recent Patents by the New York Government to reduced officers and soldiers, and also this ancient Dellius Patent, are mentioned as interfering with those Grants, and the Report recommended the preparing of a map by the Surveyor-general, "exhibiting the French Grants and the English Patents to the Northward of Crown Point, to be laid before his Majesty with all convenient speed." The map, before mentioned, found in the first volume of the *Documentary History of New York*, at page 572, is presumed to have been made in pursuance of this Report. It exhibits, with a red line, what purports to be the Northern boundary of the Dellius Patent, running East from Split Rock, but is silent in regard to its other limits. Under date of the fifth of January, 1773, Governor Tryon, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, denying the validity of the French claims, says this Dellius grant, "comprehends a large tract, extending from Saratoga, along Hudson river, the Wood Creek, and Lake Champlain on the East side, upwards of twenty miles to the Northward of Crown Point." A few weeks later, the idea is incorporated into Mr. Duane's *State of the Right*, in the language before recited. Nothing indicating such a construction of the language of the Patent is formed prior to these dates. The Grant is referred to in a Report to the Crown by the English Board of Trade, in 1698, and in other official papers of a subsequent date; and also by Mr. Smith, in his *History of New York*, and is always treated as bounded on the West by Hudson river, and never as lying Eastward of Wood Creek or Lake Champlain. See *Colonial History of New York*, iv., 391; v., 11, 22; Smith's *New York*, Society Edition, i., 155; and *Documentary History of New York*, i., 567-572, 574.

VII.—OUR FLAG.

ITS FIRST APPEARANCE IN A BRITISH PORT.

THE *Bedford*, United States, Comte de Grasse, AND Maria. THE PORTRAIT OF ELKANAH WATSON, BY COPLEY.

BY CAPTAIN GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N.

MR. DAWSON:

DEAR SIR:—Since I wrote an article for the *Portland Advertiser*, now about twelve years ago, entitled *The First Appearance of the Flag of the Free*, I have continued to interest myself in collecting the materials for a History of "OUR FLAG." I have succeeded in obtaining a large amount of anecdote, incident, and evidence concerning its origin, its transmigrations, and first appearance everywhere. I should like, however, to add to, or confirm, the information I have, and will be thankful to any one who will send me any facts concerning its origin or early history, or any interesting anecdotes or incidents that would illustrate its earlier or later history, especially anecdotes connected with the late Civil War. I also would like descriptions and drawings of the various flags used by the Rebels.

With regard to the mooted question, what vessel was first to show the Stars and Stripes on the Thames, at the close of our Revolutionary Struggle, I think the evidence is all in favor of its having been the ship *Bedford*, of Nantucket, Captain William Mooers, and owned by William Rotch, Jr.

The *Political Magazine*, published in London, in 1783, says, "The *Bedford* arrived in the Downes, February third, passed Gravesend on the third, and was reported at the Custom House on the sixth instant." "She was not allowed regular entry until some consultation had taken place between the Commissioners of the Customs and the Lords of Council, on account of the many Acts of Parliament in force against the Rebels of America. She was loaded with 487 butts of Whale Oil, is American built, manned wholly by American Seamen, wears the rebel Colors, and belongs to the Island of Nantucket, in Massachusetts. This is the first vessel which has displayed the thirteen rebellious stripes of America in any British port. The vessel is at Horsleydown, a little below the Tower, and is intended to return immediately to New England."

Another London paper of the same date, whose name I have neglected to preserve, reports "the *Bedford* as the first vessel that has entered the river belonging to the United States."

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1783, says:

"MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3. Two vessels were entered at the Custom House from Nantucket, an American Island, near Rhode Island, a third is

"also in the river. They are entirely laden with oil, and come under a pass from Admiral Digby, the inhabitants having agreed to remain neutral during the war."

Barnard, in his *History of New England*, a somewhat rare book, says—"On the 3rd of February, the ship *Bedford*, Captain William Mooers, belonging to the Massachusetts, arrived in the Downes, passed Gravesend the 4th, and was reported at the Custom House the 6th. . . The vessel lay at Horsleydown, a little below the town, and was the first which displayed the thirteen stripes of America in any British Port."

In the London *Political Magazine*, before mentioned, under the Summary of the Parliamentary Debates, February 7th, 1783, is the following passage:

"THE THIRTEEN STRIPES ARE IN THE RIVER. Mr. Hammet begged leave to inform the House of a very recent and extraordinary event. There was, he said, at the time he was speaking, an American ship in the Thames with the thirteen stripes flying on board. This ship had offered to enter at the Custom House, but the officers were at a loss how to behave. His motive for mentioning the subject was that Ministers might take such steps with the American Commissioners as would secure free intercourse between this country and America."

A manuscript letter from Peter Van Schaick, dated London, February 19th, 1783, contains this paragraph: "One or two vessels with thirteen stripes flying are now in the river Thames, and their crews caressed."

In addition to this cotemporary evidence that we have, of the *Bedford* being the first to hoist the Stars and Stripes in a British port, we have the letters of her owner, William Rotch, written in 1842, in which he asserts the same, but says she arrived in the Downes on the twenty-third of February, the day of the signing of the Preliminary Treaty of Peace. Here is a discrepancy as to the date of its display; but as the letter was written nearly sixty years after the event, and when Mr. Rotch was in his eighty-third year, while remembering the fact, he might easily have made the mistake of adding the figure "2" to the date; and that this was so, is shown by the fact, that the Preliminaries of Peace were signed on the thirtieth of November, 1782; were known only as a rumor, in the British Capital, up to the twenty-first of January, 1783; and the terms of the Treaty were first published in a Postscript to the London papers, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1783, just a week before the arrival of the *Bedford*. The King's Proclamation was not published until the fifteenth of February.

In 1859, three veterans were living in Nantucket who well remembered the *Bedford*, and

were deeply impressed with her departure for England, which, after the sufferings of a long and distressing war, seemed like sending out a harbinger of peace.

Thomas Kempton, Esq., of New Bedford, who I believe is still living, informed me, in 1866, that the *Bedford* was built at New Bedford, before 1770, and probably by James Lowden, as he was the proprietor of the only ship-yard at that time. She was first rigged as a Schooner, but afterwards changed to a Brig, and at last rebuilt, raised upon, and furnished with an additional deck, and rigged as a ship. After all these alterations, she measured one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty tons—a humble pioneer of the noble fleet of clippers of more than ten times her size, which have since showed our flag in the same waters. The history of the ship after her notable cruise is unknown; and I have been unable to find any portrait, or drawing, or model of her.

The other claimants for the honor of having first shown the Stars and Stripes in a British port, are the ship *United States*, of Boston, belonging to John Hancock; the ship *Comte de Grasse*, of Newburyport; and the *Maria*, of New Bedford, belonging to the same owner as the *Bedford*.

I have examined the Log-book of the *United States*, now in the possession of Mr. Hassan, of Boston, and find that she did not leave America until after the *Bedford* had displayed our flag in England.

The *Comte de Grasse* may have been the other vessel in the river with the *Bedford*, but I have no information concerning her, and it must be conclusively proved that she hoisted our flag in the Thames before the third and sixth of February, 1783, before she can carry off the honor from the *Bedford*.

With regard to the remaining contestant, the *Maria*, she was built at Pembroke, now called Hanson, in the autumn of 1782, for a privateer, and was lying at Nantucket when the *Bedford* was at anchor in the Downes.

According to her Register she was eighty-six feet long; twenty-three feet wide; eleven feet six and a half inches deep; and measured two hundred and two twenty-two ninety-fifths tons. She was purchased by Mr. Rotch, and brought by Captain William Mooers into Nantucket previous to his sailing thence in the *Bedford*. After his return from that voyage, he sailed again in the *Maria*, for London, with a cargo of oil.

There is a story told that, with her owner on board, in 1785,* she made the passage to Dover

in twenty-one days. On the passage, during a storm, his owner became alarmed, and venturing part way out of the gangway said, "Captain Mooer! it would be more conducive to our safety for thee to take in some sail. Thee had better do so." Captain Mooers replied, "Mr. Rotch, I have undertaken to carry you to England. There is a comfortable cabin for you. I am Commander of the ship and will look after her safety."

This old ship still continues her cruising under the Chilian flag, and the name of the *Maria Pucheco*, or *Old Maria*, in the Pacific; and is in such good condition that she bids fair to outlast her century. The flag she first hoisted, though in shreds, still exists. Her model, as can be seen from an engraving of her, published in *Ballou's Pictorial*, in 1859, is of the old French construction, that is to say, she tumbles home or rounds in, very much, on her top sides. In 1852, she was hauled upon the Fairhaven railway for repairs, but no essential improvement or alteration in her original model has ever been made. She was rigged as a ship, on her first voyage; but the rig was soon changed to that of a barque, and has ever remained so.

After her voyages to London, she was successfully employed in the whale fishery; and for fifty or sixty years was owned by Samuel Rodman, Esq., of New Bedford, and his descendants. It is stated there stands to her credit two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and from her earliest history she has never been any expense by loss to her underwriters, except once, and then for only a small amount. She once made two voyages to the Pacific within the short space of one year; and returned full of sperm oil each time. She concluded her first whaling voyage on the twenty-sixth of September, 1795; and sailed from New Bedford, on her twenty-seventh whaling voyage, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1859. On this, her last complete voyage, under "Our flag," she took twenty-four thousand, four hundred, and nineteen barrels of sperm, and one hundred and thirty-four barrels of whale oil. She was condemned at Talcahuana, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1863; sold, and repaired; and employed under the Chilian flag, in the coal trade. Later, she was purchased by Messrs. Burton & Trumbull, of Talcahuana, and was reported, July, 1866, as about to sail from Talcahuana, on a whaling voyage, under command of Captain David Briggs, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. It is probable her change of flag was occasioned by the disasters and risks incurred by the whaling fleet under "Our flag," during the late rebellion. In 1856, Mr. Hardritch, of Fairhaven, who sixty-four years before had assisted in making a suit of sails for the *Maria*, was again at work upon the sails of this veteran craft.

* The *Maria*, William Mooers, master, sailed from Nantucket for London, seventh of the fourth month, 1785. William Rotch and his son Benjamin were passengers to establish the whale fishery from an English port! It proved an unsuccessful experiment.

The first display of the Rebel Stars and Stripes in the British Capital was, however, neither by the *Bedford* nor any of her competitors for the honor.

Elkanah Watson, in his *Reminiscences*, says they were first displayed upon the back ground of his portrait, painted by Copley. He says the portrait (the result of a wager,) was finished with the exception of the back ground; that was reserved by Copley to represent a ship bearing to America the intelligence of the acknowledgment of Independence, with the rising sun of a new-born nation streaming from her gaff. All was complete, except the flag, which the painter did not esteem it prudent to insert as his gallery was a constant resort of the Royal Family and the nobility. "I dined," says Watson, "with the artist on the glorious fifth of December, 1782, after listening with him to the Speech of the King formally receiving and recognizing the United States of America as one of the nations of the earth. Previous to dining, and immediately after our return from the House of Lords, Copley invited us into his studio, and there with a bold hand, and master touch, and American heart, attached to the ship the Stars and Stripes. Thus while the words of acknowledgment were still warm from the King's lips, the late rebel, but henceforth free, colors, were displayed in his own kingdom, and within a few rods of his own palace." This historic portrait is now in the possession of Colonel Charles N. Watson, of Port Kent, Essex County, N. Y., a son of the distinguished owner.

It is interesting to recall these incidents in the early appearance of "Our flag," and I hope some of your readers will contribute to my store.

Very Truly Yours,
GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

No. 12 Adams Street,
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

99—FRANCIS MARION TO COLONEL WILLIAM
MOULTRIE.*

DORCHESTER December 8th 1775

SIR,

Inclosed is a return of the Malitia doing duty here, they have apply'd to me for Amunition, but have put them off, as there is so small a Quantity of Lead. I keep it to Apply on any real occasion that may happen. I cannot help being Amazed that so small a quantity of Lead is Kept here should they be Occasion to use it, the troops woud not have more than three rounds pr man.

*From the original in the collection of Frank W. Ballard, Esq., of New York.

I have the Pleasure of Informing you that the Officers of Malitia are intirely satisfyd, to be commanded by a Provincial Officer, and do comply as strictly to orders as there knowledge in Duty will permit; & they have Declared that they were ready to go any where when Order'd; there behaviour as been such as must give Pleasure to every Lover of his Country.

I am Sir With Respect Yr Very humble Servt.

FRANCIS MARION.

N. B. John Cuninghame the
Brothr of the Insurgent went
through here to town to day.

[Addressed]

On the Collony Service.

To

COLL^L WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

Ch^s town.

pr fav^r Mr. BENFIELD.

[Filed and endorsed in the Autograph of Henry Laurens.] "CAPT. MARION TO COLL. MOULTRIE, 8 Decem. 1765. Read in Council the 9th."

100—IRA ALLEN TO COLONEL MATTHEW LYON.*

LONDON, July 22^d 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I was Honored with your Letter on the 19th Inst by Mr King who also Informed me of the Instruction he had Received from the United States & that he immediately Communicated it to Lord Cornwallis I Expect to have my Business brought to a Close Next week your Intearference will be much to my Advantage I have Repeatedly Wrote to my friends in Vermont but I have Reason to suppose my Letters have mostly miscarried in Particular those of Dec^r Jan^y & Feb^r.

I Sent in Bills & to Mrs Allen by Capt Turner to Boston which was Lodged with Mrs Turner in may as Capt Turner inform me on his Return inclosed in Paper Bundles No 1—2—3 & 4 for Mr.

*From the original, in the possession of Rev. Pliny H. White, Coventry, Vt.

Ira Allen was the leader of "The Green Mountain Boys," in diplomacy, as his brother Ethan was their leader in the field. In 1795, he went to Europe to purchase arms and equipments for the militia of Vermont, and in 1796 he bought in Paris twenty thousand muskets and twenty-four pieces of artillery. To this purchase reference is made in the second and third paragraphs of this letter.

Matthew Lyon was born in Ireland about 1746. He emigrated to America at the age of thirteen, subsequently removed to Vermont, and there became an active business man and a leading politician. Having held minor offices for many years, he was in 1796 elected to Congress, and was re-elected in 1798. He was one of the parties to the first personal encounter that took place on the floor of Congress. He was also one of the earliest sufferers under the Alien and Sedition law. At a later period he was a member of Congress from Kentucky for six years, and afterwards removed to the territory of Arkansas, and was elected its first delegate to Congress. He died, on the first of August, 1823. A pamphlet on his life and services, by the writer of this notice, was published in 1868.

P. H. W.

Bissel or R Enos my Brothers in law called for them I wrote Letters to them Directing them to Call for sd Bundles which would Enable Mrs Allen to Realize about £7,000 which I hope She has Recd & that it may Release some of her anxiety I also Wrote Largely on other matters & on Politics to the Governor and Gave Leave for them to be Published. I was Extremely sorry to hear of the Govr Ill State of Health hope he has recovered—I Shall bring Property with me worth £80,000 that I have Paid for or have Seven years Credit at 5 Percent Interest I have made Great & Good Speculations & having been Unfortunate in Consigning Goods shall see to the main boddy

The Militia of Vermont may Expect soon a supply of Arms &c from me nor will the Confidence my Friends Place in me be Disappointed I am Ira Allen yet—With Respect to Wars they still Rage in Europe & although measures are take by Negotiations for Peace yet I have reason to doubt that that Happy Period is but too far Distant as Recent Change & the French ministers seems to Presage a Continuance of their Revolutionary system.

I hope the United States will Consert measures to Keep out of the War there is no Nation on Eart that they Can in Present Circumstances be benefited by a War with they had better Suspend their Commerce than Intangle themselves with th Wars of Europe,

much might be Wrote on this subject would time Permit.

I am &c &c &c

IRA ALLEN

COL. M. LYON

101.—ELIAS BOUDINOT TO GENERAL ALEXANDER MCDougALL.*

MY DEAR GENERAL

I embrace the first moment I could seize after my return from the Western Circirts to answer yours of the 1st of November—which I was unfortunate enough not to receive until my return.

I am much oblidged to you for your Sentiments on our public affairs—I have for a long time past viewed our Internal Policy of much more consequence to us than the operations of the Enemy, and irregularities and want of wisdom in that were to be much more dreaded than the present power of Britain in this Country—*this* could only procrastinate, whilst the other might absolutely

prevent the establishment of our Independency—And nothing looks with a more banefull aspect, than the present state of our Currency—Some more spirited exertions to appretiate our Money must be fallen on, than has hitherto been used, or we are undone. In our present state, Taxes (in my opinion) will be but a partial remedy considering the present advanced price of every Necessary of life, the support of our Army must be attended with such an amazing expense, that they emissions will be greater than the sum raised by Taxes. consequently the quantity of circulating Cash will not be lessened but rather increased—However this method seems to be the only one left us, and to which hitherto our Legislature in a particular manner have been blind—but the cry for Taxes from every part of the State has been so great and universal, that I am in hopes the Assembly will be aroused from their lethargy, and do something the next Session, to purpose. When I was in Philadelphia some short time ago, I had a hint of a Considerable foreign loan being likely to take place, if this could be effected, and properly managed, it would strike at the root of the evil, and restore our money to its full value, at once. Our State has acceded to the Confederacy which you are informed of. Not from a Sense of the equality and Justice of it, but merely from an absolute necessity there was of complying to save the Continent. The ill consequences arising from a neglect of it, you have painted in their true light, but at the same time I think our State has sacrificed their particular rights on the public Altar (which is not the first time,) yet, if it should answer the wished for happy purposes, as an individual I should subinit and be contented. But my dear friend, tell me if there are no other benefits and advantages resulting from a Confederation, but a Union of force against a Common enemy what will become of that compact when a necessity of a united force ceases as to any particular State or States? If my fears could be silenced on this head I should be much happier, I am not afraid of the dissolution of the Confederacy in my day, but I dread the consequences on the present basis to prosterity—In my weak opinion Congress have not power enough—The positive advantages arising to every State from a Union ought to be so great as to secure the Compact, detached from any idea of fear from a Common foe, as *this idea* must in the nature of things, in process of time, cease *as to* many States. Your Sentiments with regard to the next Campaign I fully accord with, and have been my thoughts for sometime, unless propositions of peace should be made this winter. I have been anxiously waiting to see our rulers exerting every nerve for an early and vigorous Campaign. "O that we were wise, and would consider in this our day "the things that belong to our peace"—I wish to

* This letter, from Elias Boudinot to General McDougall, was copied for me, from the original, several years ago by a friend. I send it for insertion in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

BOSTON, MASS.

see persons at the helm, learn wisdom from past events—but "*Errare est humanum*"—Your Councils my friend may be of weight—do not delay or cease to exert your utmost abilities at this critical moment. As to your request relating to G—P— I have complied with it Col De Hart informed me he had this report from Col Shrieve, who informed me that he believed it to be a fact, and that the Militia *exempted* belonged to his brother's Battalion, to whom he would write immediately for the Affidavits—which when I receive will without delay transmit to you. I have long that person as very unfit for his station. If you will get a Shoemaker to take your measure, and forward it to me, I will get you a good pair of Boots made—Mr. Allen informs me that is the best mode of obtaining your measure, as it may be set down on paper by one that understands his business. I should have troubled you with my Letters much oftener, if I had not thought it was imposing on you, to oblige you answer them, when your whole time was engrossed by publick business—but when you can spare a moment I shall be very happy in receiving a line from you as there are none in whose judgment I place more confidence, and a correspondence with whom will afford me more pleasure. I am my dear Sir

Your most humble servant,

ELIAS BOUDINOT

ELIZABETHTOWN JERSEY
20 January 1779

[Addressed.]

TO GEN^L ALEX^R MC DOUGALL
CAMP NEAR NEW MILFORD CT.

102.—GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS TO THE
SECRETARY OF WAR.*

ALBANY June 13, 1812.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose a recommendation of John McCrea for the appointment of Captain in the Army.

Besides the representation of the Subscribers with whom I am acquainted and in whom I have confidence, Mr. McCrea has been favourably spoken of by other respectable persons of Essex County. I have therefore no doubt of his fitness for the office of Captain or Subaltern nor of the propriety of his appointment

I am, Sir, respectfully
Your O^{bt}

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

The Hon^{ble}
WILLIAM EUSTIS

103.—COLONEL JOHN TRUMBULL TO GENERAL
HUNTINGTON.

HAMMERSMITH April 23^d 1801.

DEAR SIR,

When Mr. Laumear left England, He plac'd in my hands, money to purchase a ticket for you in the approaching Lottery. I made an unfortunate choice for you as you will see by the Enclosed. The only Consolation is that you have nothing to pay—the account is settled.

You will see by the Papers, what Events have taken place in the North—for my own part I cannot see them so favorable to this Country as some people do—the advantage gained at Copenhagen was the result of stratagem rather of fair fighting, for the proposal for a Cessation of Hostilities made by Nelson during the Action was not the effect of Humanity as was boasted, but three of his ships *were aground*, & must have been abandoned if the Action had continued—all that is gained by the engagement is an armistice for 14 Weeks—at the End of which it is probable Hostilities will be renewed.

We do not yet see any pacific measures of importance taken by the new Emperor of Russia—his public declaration of his intentions to follow the policy of his Grandmother, is not very flattering, as she was the parent of the System of the armed neutrality.

Prussia has taken possession of Hanover & Bremen &c, Ger.^l Abercrombie has landed in Egypt—and has had two actions with the Garrison of Alexandria, in 8 days;—what chance of success He has, with 16,000 *men*, (his utmost force) unused to the Climate, against 20,000 *at least* of Frenchmen perfectly inured, you can judge as well as I.

I regret the turn things have taken in our Country but since the Majority will have it so, I am so good a Citizen as to hope for better things, than it is the fashion to dread; & to consider it the Duty of all wise & honest men to forget past animosities & the feelings of Party & to support the Government cordially in all those measures which tend to the *public good*—reserving opposition conscientiously for those occasions only where the Interests of the nations are manifestly exposed—not the feelings of party wounded.

I am Dear Sir

Most Affectionately Yours,
J^NO TRUMBULL.

[Addressed.]

GENERAL HUNTINGTON
COLLECTOR OF THE PORT OF
NEW LONDON
CONNECTICUT.

* From the original, belonging to the Editor.
HIST. MAG. VOL. III. 6

* From the original, in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

"and equipped, as the Law directs, and holden
"in constant readiness to march on the shortest
"notice, to the defence of the frontiers; and, in
"case of actual invasion, without further orders,
"to march with his said Brigade, to act, either in
"co-operation with the troops of the United
"States, or separately, as circumstances may re-
"quire, in repelling the enemy from our terri-
"tory, and in protecting the good citizens of this
"State from the ravages of hostile incursions.

"And in case of an event so seriously to be
"deprecatd, it is hoped and expected that every
"citizen, without distinction of party, will fly at
"once to the nearest post of danger and that the
"only rallying word will be—'OUR COUNTRY.'

"Feeling as the Captain-general does, the
"weight of responsibility which rests upon
"him, with regard to the constitutional duties
"of the Militia and the sacred rights of
"our citizens to protection from this great
"class of community, so essentially necessary
"to all free countries; at a moment, too, when
"they are so imminently exposed to the dangers
"of hostile incursions and domestic difficulties,
"he cannot conscientiously discharge the trust
"reposed in him by the voice of his fellow-ci-
"zens and by the Constitutions of this and the
"United States, without an unequivocal declara-
"tion, that, in his opinion, the Military strength
"and resources of this State must be reserved
"for its own defence and protection, *exclusively*
"—excepting in cases provided for by the Con-
"stitution of the United States; and then, under
"orders derived *only* from the Commander-in-
"chief.

"Given under my hand, at Montpelier, this
"tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord
"One thousand, eight hundred, and thirteen; and
"of the United States, the thirty-eighth.

"MARTIN CHITTENDEN.

"By his Excellency's Command,

"SAMUEL SWIFT, *Secretary*."

[THE REPLY OF THE TROOPS.]

"CANTONMENT, PLATTSBURGH, NOV. 15, 1813.

"To His Excellency, MARTIN CHITTENDEN, Esq.,
"Governor, Captain-general, and Commander-
"in-chief, in and over the State of Vermont.

"SIR :—A most novel and extraordinary Procla-
"mation from your Excellency, 'ordering and di-
"recting such portion of the Militiary of the Third
"Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of
"Vermont now doing duty in the State of New
"York, both officers and men, forthwith to return
"to their respective places of residence.' has just
"been communicated to the undersigned officers of
"said Brigade. A measure so unexampled requires

"that we should state to your Excellency, the rea-
"sons which induce us absolutely and positively to
"refuse obedience to the Order containing your Ex-
"cellency's Proclamation. With due deference to
"your Excellency's opinion, we humbly conceive
"that when we are ordered into the service of the
"United States, it becomes our duty, when re-
"quired, to march to the defence of any section of
"the Union. We are not of that class who believe
"that our duties, as citizens or soldiers, are circum-
"scribed within the narrow limits of the Town or
"State in which we reside; but that we are under
"a paramount obligation to our Country, to the
"great Confederation of States. We further
"conceive that while we are in actual service and
"during the period for which we were ordered
"into service, your Excellency's power over us, as
"Governor of the State of Vermont, is suspended.

"If it is true, as your Excellency states, that
"we are out of the jurisdiction or control of the
"Executive of Vermont" we would ask from
"whence your Excellency derives the *right*, or
"presumes to exercise the *power*, of ordering us to
"return from the service in which we are now en-
"gaged? If we were *legally* ordered into the
"service of the United States, your Excellency must
"be sensible that you have no authority to order us
"out of that service. If we were *illegally* ordered
"into the service our continuance in it is either
"voluntary or compulsory. If voluntary, it gives
"no one a right to remonstrate or complain; if
"compulsory, we can appeal to the Laws of our
"Country for redress against those who illegally re-
"strain us of our liberty. In *either* case, we can-
"not conceive the right your Excellency has to in-
"terfere in the business. Viewing the subject in
"this light, we conceive it our duty to declare une-
"quivocally to your Excellency, that we shall not
"obey your Excellency's Order for returning, but
"shall continue in the service of our Country until
"we are legally and honorably discharged. An
"invitation or Order to desert the standard of our
"Country will never be obeyed by us, although it
"proceeds from the Governor and Captain-general
"of Vermont.

"Perhaps it is proper that we should content
"ourselves with merely giving your Excellency the
"reasons which prevail upon us to disregard
"your Proclamation; but we are impressed
"with the belief that our duty to ourselves,
"to the soldiers under our command, and to the
"public, require that we should expose to the
"world the motives which produced and the
"objects which were intended to be accomplished
"by such an extraordinary Proclamation. We
"shall take the liberty to state to your Excellency,
"plainly, our sentiments on the subject. We con-
"sider your Proclamation as a gross insult to the
"officers and soldiers in service, inasmuch as it
"implies that they are so *ignorant* of their rights

"as to believe that you have authority to command them in their present situation, or so *abandoned* as to follow your insidious advice. We cannot regard your Proclamation in any other light than as an unwarrantable stretch of Executive authority, issued from the worst of motives, to effect the basest purposes. It is, in our opinion, a renewed instance of that spirit of disorganization and anarchy which is carried on by a faction to overwhelm our Country with ruin and disgrace. We cannot preceive what other object your Excellency could have in view than to embarrass the operations of the army, to excite mutiny and sedition among the soldiers, and to induce them to desert, that they might forfeit the wages to which they are entitled for their patriotic services.

"We have, however, the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that although your Proclamations have been distributed among the soldiers by your Agent delegated for that purpose, they have failed to produce the intended effect—and although it may appear *incredible* to your Excellency, *even soldiers* have discernment sufficient to preceive that a Proclamation of a Governor, when offered out of the line of his duty, is a harmless, inoffensive and nugatory document. They regard it with mingled emotions of pity and contempt for its author, and as a monument of his folly.

"Before we conclude, we feel ourselves, in justice to your Excellency, bound to declare that a knowledge of your Excellency's character induces us to believe that the folly and infamy of the Proclamation to which your Excellency has put your signature is not wholly to be ascribed to your Excellency, but chiefly to the advisers with whom we believe your Excellency is encompassed.

"LUTHER DIXON, *Lt. Colonel.*

"ELIJAH DEE, JR., *Major.*

"JOSIAH GROUT, *Major.*

"CHARLES BENNETT, *Captain.*

"ELIJAH W. WOOD, "

"ELIJAH BIRGE, "

"MARTIN D. FOLLETT, "

"AMASA MANSFIELD, "

"SANFORD GADCOMB, "

"THO'S WATTERMANN, "

"T. H. CAMPBELL, *Lieut.*

"SHEPARD BEALS, "

"BENJAMIN FOLLETT, "

"DANIEL DODGE, *Ensign.*

"JAMES FULLINGTON, *Qr. Master.*

"JOHN FASSETT, *Surgeon.*

"SETH CLARK, JR. *Surgeon's Mate.*

"HIRA HALL, " " "

XI.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

6.—THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS OF 1648, AND JOSEPH HILLS.

A competent authority has declared that "the laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history." This country certainly will furnish no exception; and our earlier codes, although still too much neglected, have long been regarded with great interest by our historical scholars. The statutes at large of all the original States ought long since to have been collected and reprinted, but with the exception of Virginia and South Carolina, nothing worthy has been done and comparatively little begun. Proposals have been issued for the publication of the earliest English Laws of New York, for the period prior to 1691, when the printed laws begin; and Massachusetts is at last moving in the work of reproducing her own legislation of the Provincial period. She ought to go back to the beginning, and give us all the laws of the Colonial period—under the first Charter.

No one of the later contributions to the History of Massachusetts possesses a higher interest for us than that in which the late FRANCIS C. GRAY made known the discovery of the Body of Liberties, the first Code adopted in the Bay. His vindication of the claims of Nathaniel Ward—the Simple Clobber of Agawam—as the Lawgiver of the Puritan Colony, is crowned by his reproduction of the Laws themselves, previously unknown to modern historians. The first edition of the Laws printed was in 1648—and no copy is publicly known to exist. If such a treasure there be still hidden away, he whose good fortune it shall be to find and produce it to the world, may well rejoice and be exceeding glad. We shall all rejoice and be glad with him!

The following document hitherto unpublished, relates to the history of the Laws of 1648. Although it has escaped the attention of the writers on the subject, it is of the highest importance, for it shows how and by whom the work was accomplished, and may revive the memory of a faithful servant of the Commonwealth in her heroic age.

[PETITION OF JOSEPH HILLS.]

"TO THE HON^{ED} GENERALL COURT HOLDEN
"AT BOSTON 24 MAY, 1682.

"The petition of Joseph Hills, humbly shewing,
"How it hath pleased the righteous God to lay
"upon y^r petitioner, a smart hand of visitation
"in the later part of his pilgrimage, totally be-

"reaving him of the sight of his eyes, for more
 "than 4 yeares now past, (besides sundry yeares
 "dimness before) by meanes wherof he hath
 "been utterly incapable of getting or saving
 "anything towards his necessary subsistence,
 "being now also more than 80 yeares of age be-
 "sides other infirmities of body, which long have
 "and are like to accompany him to his grave,
 "Your petitioner hath not been backward to his
 "ability to be servicable with his person & estate
 "to the comon wealth: for besides other ordinary
 "services, it pleased y^e court to make him one of
 "the county comitty to draw vp some orders
 "necessary for y^e country, in which service I
 "went ouer all y^e Statutes in Pulton at large,
 "collected such as I deemed just & necessary,
 "drew them up in a small book in folio, and
 "transmitted them according to order to the
 "grand committy at boston (viz) Mr Winthrop,
 "Mr Ward & others, after this it pleased the
 "court to appoint a comitty to draw vp a body
 "of lawes for the Colony (viz) Mr Winthrop &
 "sundry others wherof your petitioner was
 "one, to examine all y^e Court records, from
 "y^e first to that time, which for avoyding of
 "far greater charge, it being the worke but of
 "one fell to my lot to be active in, in which I
 "went ouer y^e 2 old bookes of recordes, y^e book
 "of libertyes, & y^e great booke then & since in
 "y^e hands of Mr Rawson, which lawes I brought
 "together under theyr proper heades copy-wise
 "with exact markes of examination & approba-
 "tion of y^e Court I was ordered to prepare for
 "the presse, which I did, putting them together
 "under theyr proper heads with y^e dates of
 "y^e sundry lawes in the foot therof, in the year
 "1648 in an alphabetical order, with an apt
 "table for y^e more ready recourse to each law:
 "for which last service it pleased the court to
 "make me some allowance, which was to my
 "satisfaction, though short of the elaborate care,
 "paines and time spent therein these things I
 "should not have touched upon, but that there
 "are few of y^e Court as now constituted, that
 "had y^e oportunity to have y^e cognizance therof.
 "The premises considered my petition is that I
 "may be freed from all publick assessments, to
 "y^e country, county, (and secular thinges for
 "y^e towne if it may be) for my infirme person
 "and little estate now left, during the remaining
 "part of my pilgrimage in this vale of teares.
 "So with my daily prayers to god only wise
 "Just, & mercifull to guide you in all your mo-
 "mentous concernments I crave leave to subscribe
 "my selfe,

"Your vary humble servant

"JOSEPH HILLS.

"In answer to this petition the Mags judge
 "meet that the petitioner bee freed from Coun-

"try and County rates during his life. their
 "Be the Deputyes hereto consenting

"P. BULKELEY p order

"June: 1: 82

"Consented to by the Dedputy

"WILLIAM TORREY Cleric."

—100 *Massachusetts Archives*: 282.

The following order appears upon the records of
 the General Court of the eleventh of October,
 1682—

"In ans^r to the petition of Mr Joseph Hills,
 "bereaved of his sight for seuerall yeares, &c.
 "the Court judgeth it meet to order, that the
 "petitioner be freed from Country and County
 "rates during his life." *Mass. Records*: v. 377.

The statements of the venerable petitioner are
 entirely in harmony with the Colony Records.
 The Middlesex Committee of which he became a
 member in October, 1645, was appointed in the
 preceding May, to consider of and draw up a
 body of laws which were to be presented at the
 next General Court. He was appointed at the re-
 quest and in place of Captain Cooke. The subse-
 quent committee for perfecting the laws was
 appointed in November, 1646. The notices of
 their progress in the work down to the time of
 publication leave no room for a doubt of the jus-
 tice of his claim to have been principally "active
 "in the worke" until it was accomplished. A
 substantial recognition of his services appears in
 an order of Court (in May, 1649) by which he
 was "granted, as a gratuity, ten pounds, to be
 "paid him out of the treasury, for his paines
 "about the printed lawes." John Wayte of
 Charlestown Village, had previously (in March,
 1648) been allowed four pounds and eighteen
 shillings "for his writing one booke of the
 "lawes, & for finding paper for both bookes."

Mr. Hill was afterwards much employed in
 similar labors concerning the laws, some of which
 were printed in 1654, others in 1656 and 1657.
 In May, 1653, he presented a writing to the Court,
 containing the several particulars wherein the
 country had employed him about the Laws; on
 perusal whereof the Court ordered an allowance
 to him of ten pounds, "in reference to what
 "service he hath done." It is not improbable
 that all his previous service may have been con-
 sidered in this order upon the petition of 1653, as
 well as in the subsequent grant, in 1656, of five
 hundred acres of land near Northampton.

Captain Edward Johnson, in his muster-roll of
 New England Worthies, commemorated in the
 forty-fifth Chapter of his *Wonder-Working Provi-
 dence of Sions Saviour in New England*, men-
 tions Joseph Hill, as "a man active for to bring
 "the Lawes of the Country in order."

"I do not claim that Captain Johnson was the chief compiler of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648. In legal knowledge and literary training he was excelled by other persons who were engaged with him in the work." Why hesitate at this circumstance? There is quite as much evidence that he was "chief compiler" as there is that he was reviser and editor—and more than there is for the statements which follow—"He was the man thoroughly in earnest that the laws should be written out and printed. He understood the wants of the people, and furnished the democratic impetus which the enterprise needed." What does the Editor know about all this? What authority is there that Captain Edward Johnson was "a democrat in the best [or any] sense of the term"? Democratic—indeed! Of all historical twaddle, deliver us from the prate about the democracy of the Massachusetts Puritans! John Cotton conscientiously uttered the true faith once delivered to those saints, when he said, "I DO NOT CONCEIVE THAT EVER GOD DID ORDEYNE DEMOCRACY AS A FITT GOVERNMENT EYETHER FOR CHURCH OR COMMONWEALTH!" And old John Winthrop's democracy was summed up in that utterance of his to Hooker, of which his descendants are not as proud as they ought to be, when he said of the body of the people—"THE BEST PART IS ALWAYS THE LEAST, AND OF THAT BEST PART THE WISER PART IS ALWAYS THE LESSER."

It is a libel on Johnson to call him a democrat, in any sense. He was a Puritan, and his Editor's apology for his complicity in the tyrannical action of the Court respecting the Malden Church is simply ridiculous. He was perfectly consistent and faithful to the narrow limits of his strait profession.

The Editor continues the summary of his own fancies about his hero, in connection with the laws:

"His practical common sense was useful in thwarting impracticable suggestions, and in harmonizing conflicting opinions." This may be good guessing, but it is not history.

"There was also much work to be done in transcribing, collating, and condensing the various drafts submitted."

We have shown pretty conclusively who performed this work. Mr. Hill's own statement, sustained by the Records, reduces our Editor's argument for his author's probable service to a list of qualifications contingent, which might be assigned to either of his colleagues if not most of his contemporaries.

The Editor refers to Mr. Francis C. Gray's interesting paper on the Early Laws of Massachusetts, but only for the purpose of complaint, that he in no instance mentions Captain Johnson in

connection with the Laws of 1648. As the Editor mentions nobody else in that connection, his own superior wisdom is brought into striking contrast with the ignorance which he attributes to Mr. Gray.

This fling at Mr. Gray is not at all in harmony with the estimate put upon this lamented gentleman and scholar by his associates. The late Mr. Prescott said—

"I think he was the most remarkable man I ever knew for variety and fulness of information, and a perfect command of it. He was a walking Encyclopædia. I have seen many men who had excellent memories, provided you would let them turn to their libraries to get the information you wanted; but, no matter on what subject you spoke to him, his knowledge was at his finger's ends and entirely at your service."

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We do not purpose to review the work, but a hasty perusal of the volume suggests several topics to which the space occupied by the Editor's worthless sketch of the laws had been better devoted.

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"try in order"? (*Page* 110.) Why did he thrust into a foot-note the record of Joseph Hill's compensation for the service which he claims Johnson to have performed—with the stingy admission that Hill "also was employed on the work" and the careless statement that nothing appears in the records to show that any other person was paid? And this foot-note is appended to a statement in the text that "it is highly probable that he [Johnson] "was wholly absorbed during the "Spring, Summer and Fall in revising and printing the Massachusetts Laws of 1648"! The only fact produced to sustain this exalted probability is that he was excused by a vote of the Court in March, 1648, from further attendance, and another was appointed in his place as Deputy shortly afterwards. The rest is all conjecture as to the "many urgent occasions" under the pressure of which he requested a dismissal. The language of the record does not, we confess, sound to our ears much like a retirement for the discharge of a work of such public concern as the printing these laws had then become. But we leave the province of conjecture to the Editor. Why did he not read on the opposite page of this March record, which he quotes, the following, which precedes the dismissal?

"The Corte doth desire that Mr. Rawson & Mr. Hill compare y^e amendments of the bookes of lawes passed, & make them as one; & one of them to remain in y^e handes of y^e committee for y^e speedy committing of them to the presse, & y^e othr^e to remain in y^e hands of y^e Secretary, sealed up, till y^e next Corte."—*Massachusetts Records*: ii. 230.

Or, if this escaped his notice, why did he not observe that every subsequent order concerning the laws, including the order for disposition of the edition, mentions Mr. Hill and does not mention Captain Johnson? * Especially the last, which gave a copy without price to every member of the Court, and the Auditor-general, and Mr. Joseph Hill.

It had been a sorry recompense to the principal laborer in this great work to omit him from the free list, and make him pay his "three shillings "the booke," like any common Puritan! A slight the more conspicuous, since he had lost his official title to a copy by a retirement from the General Court for the express purpose of seeing the volume through the press! Happily we are not obliged to accept the theory which would convict the Massachusetts General Court of 1648 of such base ingratitude!

Let us review the record a little further!

Captain Johnson's name appears first in this

connection, on May the fourteenth, 1645, as one of the original members of the Middlesex Committee. *Massachusetts Records*, ii. 109; iii. 26. If he was so mighty an instrument for forwarding the work, why should his colleague, Captain Cooke, resign in order to secure the service of Joseph Hill? *Id.* ii. 128; iii. 46. His next appointment is as one of the Committee appointed in May, 1646, which the Editor says was "to "condense" what had been done. *Id.* ii. 157, iii. 75. We do not find anything about condensing in the order of Court to which he refers—nor does he furnish any authority for his statement that "the work went on, and the Committee "completed their labors." On the contrary, the next order, in November, 1646, shows conclusively that "the working man" had not been on that Committee. By this order, a new Committee, "for perfecting the lawes" was appointed, of which Mr. Hill was a member. *Id.* ii. 169; iii. 84. Their work was still incomplete in May, 1647, for which the Committee appear to have given a satisfactory reason; and they were continued with the addition of Captain Johnson to their number. *Id.* ii. 198. Here the Editor comes in with his favorite. "The work was completed "within the time specified, and was put to press "during the summer of 1648." Doubtless this is true, but does it appear that Captain Johnson continued in the service till these results were achieved? Not at all. In November, when the laws were "in a manner agreed upon," another Committee with considerable work yet laid out before them, appear in charge, of which Mr. Hill is, but Captain Johnson is not, a member. *Id.* ii. 218. In March, 1648, as we have seen, just before he was dismissed from further attendance at Court, Mr. Rawson and Mr. Hill were charged with the comparison of "the amendments of the bookes of laws passed" and to "make them as one." Of these two copies, one was to remain in the hands of the Committee for the speedy committing of them to the press, and the other to remain in the hands of the Secretary, sealed up, till the next Court. *Id.* ii. 230. The orders of the next Court reveal the fact that one copy was then in the hands of Mr. Hill, when both were sent for, for the use of the Court, in May, 1648. *Id.* ii. 239; iii. 125. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Auditor and Mr. Hill were directed "to examine the laws now at press and to see if "any material law be not put in or mentioned in "the table as being of force and to make supply "of them." *Id.* ii. 246; iii. 130. The next notice is the order for disposition of the copies in October, 1648, to which we have already referred. *Id.* ii. 262; iii. 144.

In view of all this, we are not surprised to find the Editor "hedging" a little towards the end of his course:—

* We follow the Editor in giving his Author the title (Captain) by which he has since been known, although he is called Lieutenant in the Records of the period to which we refer.

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The Editor vouchsafes some information respecting the Royal Commissioners of 1664, (*Pp. cxxi and cxxviii.*) In speaking of Maverick, why did he omit Johnson's character of the man, as the Puritans found him, in 1630 ("a man of a very loving and courteous behaviour, very ready to entertaine strangers,") and give no hint of the persecution which he experienced for the next thirty years? This might explain his want of sympathy with the opinions and purposes of his oppressors—and the earnestness with which he prosecuted his scheme for overthrowing their authority in the Colony. Why not make use of the discoveries of the historian of East Boston, and give a more intelligent account both of the origin and end of Maverick? He was the son of the first Minister of the Church in Dorchester, whom he preceded into the wilderness; and he found a more congenial place of residence in his old age in New York. The Editor might have added a confirmation of the first statement by quoting from his author's "meeter" to "the Reverend, and godly Mr. *Maveruck.*" (*P. 42.*)

"MAVERUCK thou must put period to thy dayes,
"In Wilderness thy kindred thee provoke
"To come, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise."

The Editor is pleased to accord to Nicolls, the chief Commissioner, "some ability and discretion," but seems to be ignorant that he was Governor of New York, where he had already settled the new frame of Government, before May, 1665, when he and his colleagues "opened their budget of instructions and complaints" in Boston, and were confronted by the "wise and skillful diplomacy" of Captain Edward Johnson and others not particularly mentioned by his Editor.

In discussing the Preamble to the Body of Liberties, the Editor rises with the imperial theme to the following height:—

"This sublime declaration, standing at the head of the first Code of Laws in New England, was the production of no common intellect. It has the movement and the dignity of a mind like John Milton's or Algernon Sidney's; and its theory of Government was far in advance of the age. A bold avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for popular freedom, it contains the germ of the memorable Declaration of July 4, 1776.

This is the original Declaration of 1641:—

"The free fruition of such liberties, immunities, and privileges as humanity, civility and Christianity call for, as due to every man, in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquility and stability, of churches and commonwealths; and the de-

nial or deprival thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin of both."

Where, we take leave to inquire, did the editor get the hint for his lofty flight on this subject? While we ask for information, we venture to quote a passage from the *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, which may at least suggest a commentary on the Preamble as well as the "swelling prologue."

"The first statute establishing slavery in America is to be found in the famous CODE OF FUNDAMENTALS, OR BODY OF LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW ENGLAND—the first Code of Laws of that Colony, adopted in December, 1641. . . . The preamble to the Body of Liberties itself might have been construed into some vague recognition of rights in individual members of society superior to legislative power—although it was promulgated by the possessors of the most arbitrary authority in the then actual holders of legislative and executive power. Compare HURD'S *Law of Freedom and Bondage*: i. 198. Had they only learned to reason as some of the modern writers of Massachusetts History have done on this subject, the poor Indians and Negroes of that day might have compelled additional legislation if they could not vindicate their right to freedom in the General Court. For the first Article of the Declaration of Rights, in 1780, is only a new edition of 'the glittering and sounding generalities,' which prefaced the Body of Liberties in 1641. Under the latter, human slavery existed for nearly a century and a half without serious challenge" in *Massachusetts*.

There is no mistaking the "place and proportion" of Negroes and Indians and their children under that code! nor the measure of civil and religious liberty meted out in the model of the Simple Clobber of Agawam! At that time, Massachusetts had not learned the alphabet of Freedom—nor dreamed of throwing away the horn-books of ancient tyranny in Church or State. Her founders may have "built better than they knew," but neither Bishop nor King in Old England ever wielded crosier or sceptre with more arbitrary and intolerant sway than the Magistrates and Elders of that little oligarchy in the West.

The Editor finds an explanation of "the eminent ability which characterized the State papers of the American Revolution," in the fact that their authors had been trained in the "school of statesmanship" established and maintained "for a century and a half," by "the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony and their descendants," whom he regards as "probably the best trained and most skilled diplomatists of their time."

One of their most signal early triumphs was in that "critical period" when Captain Edward Johnson appeared as "a leader" against the "combined ingenuity and malice of the restored English hierarchy, assailing the charter and "liberties of the Colony."*

Why pause here? When his hand was in, why did not the Editor complete his claim and specifications, for the universal Patent rights of Massachusetts? Why not trace the origin of Yankee Doodle to the New England Version of the Psalms of David, or some of Captain Johnson's "meeter"? the Canon of Woman's Rights to the Synod which condemned Anne Hutchinson's heresies in 1637? the "Rights of Man by Tom Paine" to the elder Winthrop? and the doctrine of universal suffrage to the close corporation which ruled the New England Theocracy.

Seriously, we confess our belief that modern radicalism owes just about as much to the first Code of Massachusetts, as that Code was indebted to the labors of Captain Edward Johnson, or its history to his recent Editor, or the great State Papers of the Revolution to that primitive school of diplomacy of which his Editor would have us believe that he was "an old master," if not the chief founder.

When will all this dilettanteism about the early history of Massachusetts cease, and the modern paint and whitewash vanish from the stern and rugged lineaments of her justly honored Past? It is a disgrace to the culture of the nineteenth century that a period of history for which the documents are so abundant should be so persistently misrepresented as the first century of New England. Their children dishonor the memory of the Puritan Fathers by their cowardly truckling to modern prejudices, covering and concealing the truth—without which, History is worthless.

* It may be presumptuous, but we venture the opinion that Samuel Maverick did not find any great eagerness among "the restored hierarchy" to punish or humiliate that distant colony of non-conformists, when he went to England at the Restoration, to seek the redress of grievances. It took him several years to arouse the sluggish interest of the ministry in the affairs of New England, notwithstanding their natural antipathy to Puritans everywhere; and it would puzzle a sharper critic than our Editor to point out the evidences of hierarchical ingenuity and malice, in the Commission and Instructions with which the Royal Agents came into New England, in 1664-5. That their mission was nearly fruitless in Massachusetts was due quite as much to the indifference or neglect of the Royal Government as the "artful dodging" which excites the admiration of Captain Johnson's Editor. Maverick has never had his true place in the history of Massachusetts. Great injustice has pursued his memory, and his hereditary enemies have studiously depreciated his intellectual as well as moral character. Yet he has a higher claim to be regarded as a champion of civil and religious liberty than any one of his orthodox Puritan contemporaries.

8.—THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS IN NEW ENGLAND.

BUNYAN'S PILGRIM was printed in 1678—the second part in 1684. In the prefatory verses with which he introduces the latter, he says of the first—

"Tis in *New England* under such advance,
"Receives there so much loving countenance,
"As to be trimmed, new cloth'd and deck't with Gems,
"That it may show its features and its limbs,
"Yet more, so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
"That of him thousands daily sing and talk."

In Michael Perry's Inventory, printed by Mr. Whitmore in the Appendix to his JOHN DUNTON'S *Letters from New England*, (Page 315) is the following item,

"3 Pilgrim's Progress with cuts 0 3 0."

We have met with no other reference to any copies of this early illustrated production of the American press—of which a specimen would rank next to the first edition of the New England Primer.

9.—COTTON MATHER'S OPINION OF HOMER.

"THE Song of *Deborah* is a Rare Poem, and "one that it seems the Wicked *Homer* was no more a Stranger to, than he was to our *Eighth Psalm*, when he formed the cursed *Iliad*, "with which he brought in upon the World, a "Flood of Debaucheries and Impieties." *Accomplished Singer*, p 4.

Such a prejudice as this may account for the curious fact, noted by the historian of Harvard College, in his remarks concerning the library, of which the first Catalogue was printed in 1723—that although the most considerable of the Greek and Latin classics were to be found in the collection, there was no copy of *Homer*, in the original, among them! Cotton Mather, however, was not afraid to quote "Mr." Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

10.—DOCTOR CHAUNCEY'S CHARACTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT: 1747.

THE "*laudatores temporis acti*"—those who believe that "all times when old are good"—may justly be confronted with the following significant passage, which indicates an earlier phase of legislative malefaction than those generally known. The modern assemblies of politicians at Harrisburg and Albany, seeing such "footprints on the sands of time" may "take heart again," and regard themselves as neither first nor last among the "forlorn" brethren who make shipwreck among the bars and quicksands of public opinion.

The famous Doctor Chauncey said of that great and honorable body—the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1747—

"If I wanted to initiate and instruct a person

"into all kinds of iniquity and double dealing," "I would send him to our General Court." EMERSON'S *First Church* : 168.

11.—"PROPHETIC VOICES ABOUT AMERICA"— IN THE MILLENNIUM.

It has been the belief of many pious people in all the generations since the discovery of America, that this part of the world was to be the theatre of great events in the "last days,"—that in the Millennium state, soon to be introduced, America was clearly printed out in the Revelations of God, as the place where this glorious scene of things "will, probably, first begin." Jonathan Edwards in his day bestowed no little pains to prove this theory, in which he was a firm believer.

An earlier Puritan, whose name is in all the churches of New England, left a very emphatic record which will certainly show, how widely the authorities may differ, as perhaps it is not strange that they should, in matters of mere conjecture. His declaration was:

"I know that there is a Blessed Day to the visible Church not far off: But it is the Judgment of very learned Men, that, in the glorious times promised to the Church on Earth, AMERICA will be HELL. And although there is a Number of the Elect of God to be born here, I am verily afraid, that, in Process of Time, New ENGLAND will be the wofullest Place in all AMERICA; as some other Parts of the World, once famous for Religion, are now the dolefullest on Earth, perfect Pictures and Emblems of Hell. When you see this little Academy fallen to the ground,—then know it is a terrible thing, which God is about to bring upon this Land."

This prophetic passage was taken from a discourse of the venerable INCREASE MATHER, delivered in the College Hall, while he was President of Harvard College. Harvard Hall was totally destroyed by fire in 1764—but I suppose we may continue to regard the University as still keeping the "little Academy" from the fall which is to be the precursor of the "terrible thing."

The learned Joseph Mede was undoubtedly the principal authority on whose opinions Increase Mather rested with such confidence. He thought that the American hemisphere would escape the general conflagration at the last day, and that the people would not share in the blessings of Millennium. He regarded the inhabitants here as colonies or descendants from the Scythians (and therein a notable fulfilment of the prophecy about the enlargement of Japhet) and to be "the Gog and Magog whom the devil will seduce to invade the New Jerusalem, with an envious hope

"to gain the angelical circumstances of the people there." Compare the *Magnalia* : Book i. Chapter i.

Mede's speculations are in curious contrast with those lines of his contemporary, George Herbert, which aroused the jealousy of the authorities at Cambridge, when his Temple was sent to the press, in 1633. The Vice Chancellor refused to permit its publication unless they were erased.

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our Land,
Ready to pass to the American Strand."

But he afterwards consented, hoping "that the world would not take him to be an inspired prophet."

Nor did all the wise and pious contemporaries of Increase Mather in New England, join in his endorsement of Mede's opinions, or his gloomy forebodings of the future of America. Samuel Sewall, whom we have elsewhere had occasion to celebrate as "the first Massachusetts abolitionist"—challenged the entire theory and its champions in a very learned and able disquisition, in which he "endeavoured to prove that America's name is to be seen fairly recorded in the Scriptures," and that "the New World . . . so far from deserving the Nick names of Gog and Magog . . . stands fair for being the Seat of the Divine Metropolis."

To do this he fairly meets and answers the argument of the learned and pious Mr. Mede—reviewing his famous Chapter, "*De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura*." His vindication of America and especially New England rises into poetry towards the close—and none of us can refuse to sympathise with him as he "hopes the Christian Reader will lend a favorable Ear to his short Antiphony"—a much more cheerful prophecy than that of his great contemporary, Mather:

"As long as Plum Island shall faithfully keep the commanded Post; Notwithstanding all the hectoring Words, and hard Blows of the proud and boisterous Ocean; As long as any Salmon, or Sturgeon shall swim in the streams of Merri-mack; or any Perch, or Pickeril, in Crane Pond; As long as the Sea Fowl shall know the Time of their coming, and not neglect seasonably to visit the Places of their Acquaintance; As long as any Cattel shall be fed with the Grass growing in the Meadows, which do humbly bow down themselves before Turkie-Hill; As long as any Sheep shall walk upon Old Town Hills, and shall from thence pleasantly look down upon the River Parker, and the fruitful Marshes lying beneath; As long as any free and harmless Doves shall find a White Oak or other Tree within the Township, to perch, or feed, or build a careless Nest upon; and shall voluntarily present themselves to perform the office

"of Gleaners after Barley-harvest; as long as
 "Nature shall not grow Old and dote; but shall
 "constantly remember to give the rows of Indian
 "Corn their education, by Pairs: So long shall
 "Christians be born there; and being first made
 "meet, shall from thence be Translated, to be
 "made partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints
 "in Light. Now, seeing the Inhabitants of
 "*Newbury* and of *New England*, upon the due
 "Observance of their Tenure, may expect that
 "their Rich and Gracious LORD will continue
 "and confirm them in the Possession of these in-
 "valuable Privileges: *Let us have Grace,*
 "*whereby we may serve GOD acceptably with*
 "*Reverence and Godly Fear. For our GOD*
 "*is a Consuming Fire. Heb. 12. 28, 29."*

XII.—THE INVENTOR OF THE LIGHTNING-ROD, A PREMONSTRATENSIAN MONK.*

[From *La Cour d'Honneur de Marie*, published at Tarascon, France, December, 1867.]

Men of progress regard the invention of the lightning-rod, with gas and steam, as the most expressive proof of the superiority of the modern mind.

Every one knows that Franklin has been made a kind of demi-god on account of his lightning-rod. We are justified now in saying that his invention was probably only borrowed. The fact is not of essential importance. Yet it will be new to most of our readers and will be seen with pleasure by all.

Mr. A. Zawadski, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Brunn, recently delivered a public lecture in which he demonstrated that the lightning-rod had been invented before Franklin, by Father Procopius Diwisch of the Premonstratensian Abbey, at Bruck, and Parish-priest at Brenditz, in Bohemia, from 1740 to 1765. Procopius Diwisch, was born at Senftenberg, in 1696. In 1760, he showed the electric fluid issuing from metallic points, and thus succeeded in discovering the natural law on which the lightning-rod is founded.

The Empress Maria Theresa and her husband took great interest in his invention, when, at St. Petersburg, in 1753, Professor Richman was struck by lightning which descended an isolated iron bar. Diwisch drew up a Memoir on the fact, which he sent to Euler. On the fifteenth of June, 1754, Father Diwisch raised the first lightning-rod, on his rectory, at Brenditz, where he died in 1765.

But, as often happens to men of real merit, modesty prevented his making his great invention

known by publication, and thus the lightning-rod came to us from America, where it was re-invented by Franklin.

XIII.—REVEREND BENJAMIN WOOSTER.

COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOR,
OF NEW YORK.

[In the memorable defence of Plattsburgh, which took place on the eleventh of September, 1814, the Reverend Benjamin Wooster, of Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, with his brave associates, displayed so much promptness and patriotic zeal, that the Governor of the State of New York, (Daniel D. Tompkins,) transmitted to him and his flock, an elegant full gilt Bible, accompanied with an appropriate letter inscribed on one of its blank pages. This interesting document and the reply thereto, I send you, as I thought they would be acceptable to your readers T. F. Dz V.]

[THE GOVERNOR'S LETTER.]

ALBANY, April 21, 1815.

REVEREND SIR:—General Strong, who commanded the intrepid volunteers of Vermont, on the memorable eleventh of September, 1814, has made me acquainted with the very distinguished part you bore in the achievements of that day.

A portion of your parishioners, roused by the dangers which hung over our invaded country, generously volunteered in her defense, and choose you, their Pastor, for their leader. You promptly obeyed the summons, and placing yourself at the head of your little band, repaired with alacrity to the tented field. There you endured, with patient fortitude, the vicissitudes of the Camp, spurning the proffered indulgences which were justly due to the sanctity of your character. In the hour of battle you were found with your command in the ranks of the regiment to which you were attached, bravely contending for the imperishable honors of the victory. The invaders being expelled, you quietly returned, with your small but patriotic troop, to the duties of your sacred calling, and there inculcated by precept those principles of morality, patriotism, and piety, of which you had just given a practical demonstration.

At a period, Sir, when principles inconsistent with what we owe ourselves, our Country, and our God, had gone abroad, your example on the occasion alluded to, could not fail to carry with it an irresistible influence. It illustrated the perfect compatibility of the injunctions of patriotism with the duties of religion, and was a striking and affecting instance of that attachment and self-devotedness to the cause of a beloved country, which ought always to distinguish the conduct of the virtuous and the pious in times of peril and of war.

As a memorial of my veneration of your distinguished, noble, and patriotic conduct, on the eleventh of September, 1814, and of my grateful sense of the eminent benefit which this State and the Union have derived from your

*The *Premonstratensians* are an Order founded by St. Norbert, in 1080. There is a house of the Order in the United States. *En. Hist. Mag.*

example and exploits, I request your acceptance of this Sacred Volume; and beg you to convey to your brave associates the assurance of my high estimation of their patriotism and signal services.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

To the Rev. BENJAMIN WOOSTER,
Fairfield,
Franklin County,
Vermont.

II.

[MR. WOOSTER'S REPLY.]

To his Excellency DANIEL D. TOMPKINS,
Governor of the State of New York.

SIR: Last evening my sensibility was awakened by the reception of Brown's *Gilt Family Bible*, which your Excellency was pleased to forward, by the politeness of Colonel Anthony Lamb, Aid-de-camp to your Excellency.

If the stores of Heaven had been unlocked, your Excellency could not have found a more precious gift than the *word of God*, except you could have bestowed the very GOD OF THE WORD. And as if it were possible to enhance the value of the present, your Excellency is pleased, in a letter dated "ALBANY, April 21, 1815," to bestow many encomiums on me and on my intrepid band, for our conduct at Plattsburgh, on the memorable eleventh of September, 1814.

You are pleased to observe, that "General Strong, who commanded the *intrepid volunteers of Vermont*, had made you acquainted "with the part I bore in the achievements of that "day."

I did not, Sir, expect to be particularly noticed by General Strong, nor by the Governor of the first State in the Union; but by this, I have another assurance, that our *patriotic fathers* delight to search out and reward the honest attempt to deserve well of our Country. Should a candid public consider your very handsome encomiums too freely bestowed, I hope they will also believe that nothing but the speedy flight of the invaders could have prevented our deserving all which your Excellency has been pleased to say.

The calls of a sister State, for help in a common cause, wafted to our ears by the Western breeze, were *powerful*. The Governor of Vermont called for volunteers. Fourteen thousand British pressed upon Plattsburgh; the shock was like electricity; and the language of the brave was, "I will go."

The act looked like temerity in the eyes of the over prudent: *the event was dubious, and hung in awful suspense*; but our lives had no value when our *country was in disgrace*.

My aged Brethren and Sisters, whom I loved as my life, then collected to hear a sermon prepar-

atory to the *Sacrament*, from my lips, expressed their fears that I was depriving them of a Pastor for ever! They said, "*Will you not preach with us this once?*" We expect to see you no more! "Come, go with us into the house where the "Church are collected." Fearing what effect so tender a meeting might have upon my mind, I bade them a tender adieu, embraced my family in tears, kissed my clinging babes, and set out immediately with my companions for Plattsburgh. The conduct of my men on that hazardous expedition, will endear them to me while my heart beats for my Country or the blood remains warm in my veins.

The honor done me on this occasion will be justly considered to be rendered to all my companions in arms; and it is hoped will prove a stimulant to others, to seek to deserve well of their Country.

Your Excellency is pleased to observe, that "I obeyed the summons, repaired to the tented "field, and there endured the vicissitudes of the "camp, spurning the proffered indulgences "which were justly due to the sanctity of my "character."

The sanctity of my station, Sir, I would sedulously preserve. But I have yet to learn, that sanctity of character will make bondage sweet, or dangers unbecoming, or justify idleness, when it is the duty of every man to act. Law and custom render me exempt; but my conscience and my Country forbade such an appeal. Hard, indeed, had been my lot to be chained by custom to a bed of down, when General Strong and his men were braving the dangers of the field of honor. How could my heart endure, when my people were in danger, and yet could not find me dividing those dangers at their side? I grew up, Sir, with the principle, that dangers lessen by being divided; that States are strengthened by Union; and that regular armies and fleets are invigorated by seeing citizens contend by their side for the honor of victory. Hard is the lot of the soldier when they who should be his friends, whose battles he fights, whose property he defends, are idle and regardless of his fate.

The sacred volume alluded to above, your Excellency is pleased to present as a memorial of your veneration for my "distinguished" conduct on the eleventh of September, 1814. Gratefully I receive it as such; and beg leave to remind your Excellency that the same holy book taught me to march for Plattsburgh and told me how to behave while I was there.

You were pleased to request me to convey to my "brave associates the assurance of your high estimation of their patriotism and signal services." It shall be done. And your Excellency may be assured, that should such a day as the eleventh of September, 1814, ever return while we have life,

THE SAME MEN, NAY, MANY MORE, will appear in the field, as VOLUNTEERS FROM FAIRFIELD.

BENJAMIN WOOSTER.

FAIRFIELD, June 15, 1815.

XIV.—DANIEL PARKS AND THE CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE.

BY REV. B. F. DECOSTA,

For many years the story has prevailed, in the vicinity of Lake George, and elsewhere, that, when the War of the Revolution broke out, one Daniel Parks, of Queensbury, New York, went to Fort Edward and raised a company of men. This being done, on the twelfth of May, he proceeded to Fort George, situated at the head of Lake George, (the latter named in 1646, by Father Jogues, *Lac du St Sacrement*) capturing that Fort, together with "Fort Gage," and driving out two Companies of British Artillery, who retreated to Diamond Island, four miles down the Lake, where they intrenched. The Commander of the Garrison, however, did not act like that celebrated officer who, when the danger approached, told his men that they would very likely be defeated and find it necessary to retreat; in consideration of which, he, being a *little lame*, would start *now*. The Commander of Forts George and Gage nobly stood to his guns, even after his pusillanimous soldiers fled down the lake, and confronted the "Patriot," Daniel Parks, and his Company of Volunteers, single-handed. But eventually, it appears, his discretion got the better of his valor, and he concluded to surrender, unconditionally, to the bold hero of Queensbury. Nevertheless he could not do this without first indulging in a little British bluster, telling Parks, in substance, that he was a very bad fellow, and that one day he would be hung for his temerity. The exploit finally gained commemoration in a monument, which was erected in the family Burying ground at Sandy Hill.

This story crept by degrees into miscellaneous literature, and has been advocated by various members of the learned professions; while somewhat recently, the claims of Parks have assumed a still graver form, and until the present time no one has seriously questioned the story. When the writer first hinted that it was not to be fully believed, and questioned the existence of a garrison at that place, in 1775, he was assured that it was a recorded *fact* (to be found in the Records of Massachusetts) that there were two Companies of Artillery then at the Fort. One learned Judge assured the writer that he need not question the Parks story, as he had the very best proof of its truth; and that the Tories afterward took a fearful revenge upon the family for this very act. Finally, however, upon the presentation of the

evidence, the principal advocates of the Parks story yielded the ground. The facts of this case might easily have been known, yet no one seemed inclined to investigate the local tradition, which was probably started at the village Inn, and afterwards took a more substantial form. Nevertheless, the Records of New York show that Fort George was abandoned eight years before the alleged capture, and that Fort Gage *never* possessed a garrison nor a gun. That, on the twelfth of May, 1775, an officer was taken prisoner there, is true; but the person taken was not an officer of the Army, nor was he taken by this Parks, but by Bernard Romans, a member of the Connecticut Committee on the Capture of Ticonderoga. The following Petition of the person taken into custody shows the chief facts of the case. It was copied, verbatim, by the writer, from the original document, in the handwriting of Mr Nordberg; which is now preserved in the Archives at Albany:

[MEMORIAL OF JOHN NORDBERG.]

"THE MOST RESPECTABLE GENTLEMEN, PRO-
"VINCIAL CONGRESS IN NEW YORK.

"I beg leave to represent to the most respectable
"Congress this circumstance.

"I am a native of Sweden, and have been per-
"secuted for that, I have been against the French
"faction there.

"I have been in His Britanick Majesty's Ser-
"vice since January 1758.

"I have been twice shot through my body here
"last war in America, & I am now 65 years old
"—reduced of age, wounds & and gravels, which
"may be seen by Doctor Jones's certificate.

"1773. I got permission in Jamaica to go to
"London where I petition to be an Invalid officer,
"but as a forrigner I could not enjoy a commis-
"sion in England or Ereland His Magisty was
"graciously pleased to give me the allowance for
"Fort George 7 shilling sterling per day, with
"liberty to live where I please in America, be-
"cause the fort has been abandoned this 8 year
"and only 2 men remain there for to assist any
"express going between New York and Canada.
"I arrived here in New York last year in Septem-
"ber with intention to live in New York: as I
"heard nothing else than disharmony amongst
"Gentlemen which was not agreeable to my age,
"I resolved to go to Fort George and live there
"in a little Cottage as an Hermit, where I was very
"happy for 6 months.

"The 12 of May last Mr. Romans came &
"took possession of Fort George, Mr Romans
"behaved very genteel and civil to me. I told
"that I did not belong to the army and may be
"considered as a half pay officer invalid, and
"convinced him that I was pleagd with Gravel,

"Mr. Romans give me his passport to go to New Lebanon for to recover my health, & he told me that in regard to my age, I may go where I please.

"As I can't sell any bill for my subsistence, & I can't live upon wind and weather, I therefore beg and implore the most respectable Congress permission to go to England, and I intend to go to my native country, I could have gone away secret so well as some others have done, but I will not upon any account do such a thing—I hope the most respectable will not do partially to refuse me, because major Etherington, Captain Brown, Captain Kelly which is in the army have been permitted to go to England, and it may happen they return here again on actual Service, which old age & infirmities render me incapable of.

"As it is th custom among the Christian nations and the Turks, that they give subsistence to every Prisoner according to their Rank should th most respectable Congress, have any claim upon me to be a prisoner here, I hope they will give me my subsistence from th 12 of May last, according to My Rank as Captain I implore th favor of th most respectable Congress answer. I have the honour to remain with great respect,

"GENTLEMEN

"Your most obedt humble Servant

"JOHN NORDBERG.

"NEW YORK decemb 1775."

Daniel Parks may possibly have accompanied Romans on this occasion, as it appears from additional documents, in the possession of the writer, that he employed sixteen men, in various ways, at Fort George and elsewhere, whose great services cost him the sum of thirty shillings,—which was certainly a very small amount for the work of reducing two Forts with two companies of Artillery.

Since some of the above facts have been brought out, it has been suggested that Romans attended the Ticonderoga Expedition as an Engineer; and that he was despatched from Fort Edward to take Fort George with "two or three men," or that the taking of Fort George was an "after-thought;" all of which assumptions are entirely untrue, as is proved from Documents now in my possession. The taking possession of the ruins of Fort George was a *fore-thought* of Bernard Romans, who quarrelled with the other members of the Connecticut Committee, and left them to do this particular work, as he did not deem it well to have any representative of the British Crown, residing at that place,

STUYVESANT PARK, NEW YORK, 1868.

XV.—THE REVISED PROOFS OF JEFFERSON'S *NOTES ON VIRGINIA*.

By E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL. D.

The State Library at Albany possesses a copy of the Revised Proof-sheets of the first edition of this work, with the Author's manuscript marks. It forms part of the second Collection of books on America made by Mr. Warden, United States Consul at Paris, and purchased by the State of New York. Apart from its rarity, this copy and its dingy paper, blurred on the margins, here and there, with ink daubs, possesses a peculiar interest with the curious bibliographer as he cons over the "Imprimatur" from the pen of the celebrated Author of the Declaration of American Independence. Thus, on opening the volume at signature A., the eye is at once arrested by the figure "3e" on the left corner at the top, showing this to have been the third Revise of the sheet, and the cabalistic French words "*Bon a tirer*," denoting that was also the last.

On signature B. is the figure "2e" it being a second Revise, and at the foot, the printer is told to "*Corriger les deux errata pa. 25 & 32. et il sera bon a tirer*;" and on turning to page twenty-eight, we find "Albany" with the first "b" scored out, and an "l" in the margin; at page thirty-two, a " ," is to be inserted after the word "perpendicular."

Signature C. is a "3e" and has the usual imprimatur "*Bon a tirer*."

Signature D. is a "2e" but is marked "*Bon a tirer*," as also Signature E.

Signature F. is a "3e" revise, and has the usual "*Bon a tirer*" at foot with the additional words, "*en corrigeant les deux errata pa. 82.*" These consist of a " ," between the words "former Asia," which is marked out and to be replaced by a " ," and a capital "I" beginning the word "in" after the word "domesticated."

Signature G. is a "3e" revise and "*Bon a tirer*;" but on

Signature H. is the following Note from the Printer:

"SIR,
"If there should be but few errors remaining to correct in either of the three proofs, we should be much obliged, if we could have one of them for press in the morning, as we are in want of type."

Underneath this are the words—" *Bon a tirer en corrigeant les 5 errata, viz. 1. p. 118. 1. page 120 et 3 pa. 121*". On turning to page 118, the correction consists of a single quotation mark before "on" and is noted in the Margin "A [thus "On doit &c]"; at page 120, a " ," is scored out after the word "nature" and a " ." ordered inserted; on page 121 a " ," is to be inserted after

"man"; lower down, (11th line from top) a " , " after the word "and" is &ed and inserted after the next word "that."

Signature I is marked, "*Bon a tirer en corrigeant*" "7 errata," viz. on pages 131, 136, 141, 143.

The error at page 131, is "apprehensions" for "apprehensions;" at page 136, it consists in the omission of a " ." in the 47038, the Total of the Rain Column; at page 141, third line from top, "prallel" is to have an "a" inserted; and in the table of winds, South-east, at Monticello, there is a "space" between the figures 91 which is corrected in the margin by the mark "91"; at 143, "barometer" is printed "brrometer;" and in the last line, "observations" is printed "obsexvations," and are marked accordingly.

But apart from these typographical errors, this copy has a peculiarity worth noting. The Table of "Birds of Virginia," is in three Columns: the first, Linnean Designation; the second, Catesby Designation; the third, the Popular name. In comparing a subsequent Edition (that of Rawle, June, 1801) this table consists of five columns, thus:

LINNEAN DESIGNATION.

Lanius tyrannus

CATESBY DESIGNATION.

Muscicapa corona rubra

1.55

POPULAR NAMES.

Tyrant. Field marten

BUFFON

Oiseaux.

8.398.

The figures in the additional column after Catesby, denote the Volume and Page of Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina*, folio; and those under Buffon, a reference, I suppose, to his work, for I have it not before me. To return from this digression.

Signature K. is a "2e" and marked "*Bon a tirer*;" and Signature L. is "*Bon a tirer en corrigeant*" "geant l'erratum pa 166", where "powerful" is printed "poweiful." This Signature contains a folding table of Indian Tribes, marked at the top, "*A la page 169*"; and at the bottom, "*Bon a tirer, putting in the four words in the Margins.*" These four words are "North", "South", "East", "West", at the cardinal points.

Signature M. is marked "*Bon a tirer*", correcting the

error, page 173, in "collection of bones" the "ct" is to be printed "&"

2 errors, page 179, "Both of these," in the last two words, are broken letters.

1 error, page 180, "conjecture" & "t"

1 error, page 182, "will" misprint for "will," corrected.

1 error, page 189, "Hurchins" is corrected by marking the "r" a "t."

And 1 error, page 192, on the last line of the page, "N." is printed before "Norfolk," and is marked "& N."

Signature N. is marked "*Bon a tirer*", correcting

1 error, page 193, in the margin is printed "Co" "nstitution", is written to be added.

1 error, page 194, "bearing" on last line: in margin is written "ar."

1 error, page 195, "gianted" in margin "r."

1 error, page 197, the "i" in the "ing," at the beginning of the first line, is supplied, having fallen out.

2 errors, page 198, at the top of the page, the error is "into," the "i" having fallen down; and in the fifth line "rhe" is for "the."

1 error, page 201, "records," at the end of the paragraph, is followed by a " , " instead of a " . "

Signature O. is "*Bon a tirer*" correcting

1 error, page 209, in the first line the word "passing" is marked omitted.

2 errors, page 211, In the second paragraph are to be inserted after the word "government:" "it was the first too which was formed in the whole United States. No wonder then that;" and the sentence begins "Time and trial" &c., in the proof. In the second, last line, "Loudon" is printed "London".

1 error, page 221, twelfth line, "controvertible", "tro" is erased.

In Signature P., at page 227, fourth line, where he is speaking of a small number acting as a Quorum of the Legislature, the passage originally read as printed: "But they might as well have voted that a square inch of linen should be sufficient to make them a shirt, and walk into public view in confidence of being covered by it. Nor would it make the shirt bigger, that they could get no more linen." The comparison seemed "odorous;" and all the words in the above sentence after "But," are stricken out and the following inserted: "this danger could not authorize them to call that a house which was none: and if they may fix it at one number, they may at another, till it loses it's fundamental character of being a representative body." (Compare Rawles' Ed, page 240, first line &c.) A few lines lower down, "But" is erased and "however" ordered inserted after "power."

Signature Q. is "*Bon a tirer*" correcting

2 errors, page 241, first line "philantrophy" is to have the "h" after the "t."

1 errors, page 244, "itself" at the end of the paragraph is to be "itself."

1 error, page 248, ninth line from the top, erase the " , " after "right"

2 errors, page 250, "perfon" is corrected

"rfo" in margin, in the ninth line from bottom, and erase the "." after the word "Children," in the next line.

1 error, page 251, another "." after "expence" is to be a "r."

1 error, page 253, in "oran-ooton" the last "o" is to be an "a."

On Signature R., are the words "*Bon a tirer*", correcting

1 error, page 257, "eomplicated," the first letter ought to be "c."

3 errors, page 259, fourth line from bottom, "particular" is marked, "rt [closer together.]"

The corrections in the Greek foot note, which lest the printer would not understand, the following is written: "the two Greek words when corrected should stand thus, νομισμαλος 'ομιλειν."

2 errors, page 260, "romans" ought to have an "R"; and "upersit" an initial "s."

1 error, page 261, insert a "—" after "distinction."

2 errors, page 262, one in the Greek quotation from the *Odyssey*, an "s" being printed at the end of "ema"; and "sind" (last line) for "find."

Signature S. is marked "*Bon a tirer*", correcting.

1 error, page 273 the word "of" duplicated.

1 error, page 274, "eventually" erased and "essentially" to be inserted.

2 errors, page 285, "subjected" has the turned up "e" marked; and in "queay" an "r" is marked to replace the "a."

1 error, page 288, "them" in second last line, is marked for correction.

Signature T. "*Bon a tirer*" correcting

1 error, page 292, "submltted:" "i" for the "l."

1 error, page 297, "essential:" "i" for the "l."

Signature U. "*Bon a tirer*" correcting

1 error, page 313 "fore" is the error in the fourth line.

3 errors, page 315, the errors consist of adding an "s" to the word "levy" in three instances.

1 error, page 316, a fraction (1-3) omitted at the foot of a column of figures shewing the expenses of the Government of Virginia. And here tis proper to remark that the total of these expenses in the original copy is four hundred and sixty thousand dollars, whilst in Rawle's Edition, page 341, the footing is two hundred and fifty thousand. Some of the items are altogether omitted in the latter (such as the "Parish levy, \$200,000,") whilst others are greatly modified.

Signature X. "*Bon a tirer correcting mistake*" "324, 1 do. 333." The former is "resolutions:" take out "so." The other, "Connecticut," is to have the last "n" replaced by a "u."

Signature Y. "*Bon a tirer correcting 1 error,*

"337 1, 347." The first, "Tittle": take out "t"; the latter is a mere comma too much.

Signature Z. "*Bon a tirer correcting 1 error,*" "page 357, 1 do pa. 364."

The error at page 357, first line, "of province" ought to be "of the province."

The error at page 364, ninth line, is in the year, which ought to be "1745."

Signature Aa. has the usual "*Bon a tirer*", correcting two errors, page 383, which consist of the transposition of a "r."

Signature Bb. is marked "*Bon a tirer*."

Two scraps of Ms. are bound in at the end of the printed text: The first is as follows:

"Les montagnes des Apalaches
"sont connues en Virginie sous le
"nom de *Blue-Ridge*, *Nord-Ridge*
"et *Allegany*. Voyage du Chevalier
"de Chatelux en Amerique, P. 138;"
and seems to have been embodied in the answer to Query IV.

The following is a copy of the second scrap:

"263,040,000 acres. En deduisant "pour l'eau 43,040, il en reste "220,000,000. "Deduction pour les Officiers et les "Sold at du Regiment du Gen Clark "150,000 "Idem d'un 7 ^{me} des Sept rangs pour "l'usage de l'armie continentale "417,720 "Idem du 6 ^{me} lot de Chaque "distric de Ville, pour le main "tien des Ecoles publiques, 80,640 "Restant, "219,354,640"	} 645,360

How many copies of these "Revises" are extant, I do not know. There is reason to believe that there are more than one.

E. B. O'C.

XVI.—BASHABA AND THE TARRATINES.

READ BEFORE THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT AUGUSTA, JANUARY 30, 1868, AND COMMUNICATED TO THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, BY
JOHN E. GODFREY, ESQ., OF BANGOR.

The readers of the first English chronicles of Maine, are early introduced to the word Bashaba, (spelled in various ways) as the title of a Chief or Chiefs, and, taking it for granted that the authors knew whereof they wrote, pass on without stopping to inquire whether it was the title of a superior, or simply the name of an individual who occupied the position of a superior.

In the *Journal of Weymouth's Voyage*, of 1605, we find:—"JUNE 1. Indians came and "traded with us. Pointing to one part of the "main, eastward, they signified to us that the

"Bashebe, their King, had plenty of furs, and much tobacco."*

Strachey mentions the the province of Sabino, "so called of a Sagamo or chief commander under the graund bassaba." In another place, e says, "early in the morninge the salvages departed in their canoas for the river of Pem- aquid, promising Captain Gilbert, to accom- pany him in their canoas to the river of Penobscot where the bassaba dwells."†

Gorges says: "That part of the country we first seated in, seemed to be monarchical, by the name and title of a Bashaba."‡ In other places, he calls him "the Bashabas."

Captain John Smith, who was on the coast of Maine, in 1614, says that certain tribes held "the Bashaba to be the chief and greatest among them, though the most of them had Sachems of their own."¶

Hubbard says, "In the places more eastward they called the chief rulers that commanded the rest, Bashabeas, as in the more westward plan- tations they called them Sagamos or Sachems."||

All the authors above named wrote in the seventeenth century, and neither of them could have had an intimate acquaintance with the customs of the savages of Maine. They all had the idea that there was a Chief with the title of Bashaba, eastward of Sagadahoc, more powerful than any other Chief, and that all others in that region were subordinate to him.

There is reason for the belief that they were in error in treating Bashaba as a title. The fact probably is, that there was a Chief more powerful than the other chieftains in his neighborhood, whose name was Bashaba or Betsabes.

Champlain, who sailed up the Penobscot, (called by him the Norumbega) in 1605, writes in this wise: "Now I will leave this discourse to our turn to the savages who had led me to the rapids of Norumbega; who went to inform Bessabes, their Captain, and gave him warning of our arrival.

"The 16th day of the month came to us about 30 savages, on the assurance given to them by those who had served us as guides; also came the said Bessabes to us that same day with six canoes. As soon as the savages, who were on shore, saw him arrive, they all began to sing, dance and leap until he had alighted; afterwards they all sat down in a circle on the ground, following that custom when they wish to make some speech or festival. Cabahis, the other Chief, soon after arrived, also, with 20 or

"30 of his companions, who withdrew to the other side, and rejoiced greatly to see us, inas- much as it was the first time they had ever seen Christians."* * * "Bessabes, seeing us on shore, made us sit down, and began to smoke with his companions, as they ordinarily do before making their speeches, and made us a present of venison and game. All the rest of the day and the following night, they did nothing but sing, dance, and feast, awaiting daylight: afterwards each one went back: Bessabes, with his companions, on his part, and we on ours, much pleased with having become acquainted with this nation."*

The Jesuit missionaries were with the savages upon the Penobscot as early as 1611, and was upon such terms of intimacy with them that they had the best opportunities to become acquainted with their rulers, and with their systems of government. They mention no Chief bearing the title of Bashaba, but in their *Relation* of 1611, there is mention made of three Captains, "Betsabes, Oguigecou and Asticon,"† and of the "Sagamo of Kadesquit, called Betsabes."‡

The first four authors quoted above, wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century, but neither of them had seen the person called Bashaba; neither of them had visited his place of residence; and they knew where it was only from hearsay. Hubbard wrote in the latter half of the century, and got the idea that the chief rulers were called Bashabeas, probably, from Gorges's expression "the Bashabas."

But Champlain, as appears by the above extract, and the Jesuits, had a personal acquaintance with Bessabes. In the third Chapter of the *Relation* of 1611, there is an account of an interview with him and the other Captains mentioned; and in the twenty-fourth Chapter, they say: "On our first visit and landing at St. Savior, we made as though the place did not please us, and that we should go to another part; the good people of the place wept and lamented. On the contrary, the Sagamo of Kadesquit, called Betsabes, himself came for us to allure us by a thousand promises, having heard that we proposed to go there to dwell."

Mr. Thornton, in his *Ancient Pemaquid*, gives the name of the Chief, Lord, or Sagamore of Mawooshen, as Bashaber.§

It is difficult to determine of what tribe Bashabas was Chief. His place of residence was, probably, Kadesquit, or some point above. It is there the Jesuits locate him. The other authors do not give him any definite locality, although Champlain saw him in that neighborhood.

* Belknap's *American Biography*, II, 189; *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, III, VIII, 140.

† *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, III, 803.

‡ *Briefe Narratives—Maine H. S. Collections*, II, 61.

¶ *Williamson's History of Maine*, I, 464.

|| *History of New England*, 86.

* Champlain's *Voyages*, Chapter III.

† *Relations des Jésuites*, I, Chap. III, 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, Chap. XXIV, 62.

§ *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, V, 150.

By some it is supposed, that the ancient headquarters of the Eastern savages were upon the plateau, known as the "Brimmer Flats," in Brewer, and opposite the mouth of the Kennebec, which flows into the Penobscot at Bangor, and that this was the locality of the mythical great city called Norumbega.

At the period of which we write, there could have been no spot in the East more eligible for an Indian seat of government than this. It was remote enough from other tribes, and from it easy communication was had with the sea. Fish were abundant in the rivers, and it was in the centre of the game and fur region.*

The extent of the dominions of Bashaba is unknown. Mr. Poor, in his *Vindication of Gorges*, says, that his authority "extended to "Narraganset Bay."† Mr. Thornton says that his dominions were watered by nine rivers, of which Quibigueson was on the East and the Shawacotoc, or Saco, on the West.‡

Gorges designated the dominion of Bashabas as Moasham, and bounds it on the West and Southwest by the country of the Sockegones, and on the East and Northeast by the country of the Tarentines.§

Notwithstanding Gorges deems Bashaba the Chief of some other tribe than the Tarratines, is it not probable that he was in reality the Chief of that people? Williamson says, that "all the old authors, Smith, Purchas, Winthrop, Prince, and Hubbard, agree, that the general name of the natives upon the Penobscot was Tarratines."¶ But Smith says, "The principal habitations I saw "at the Northward was Penobscot, who are at war "with the Tarrateens, their next northerly neighbors." Gorges makes mention "the war growing more violent between the Bashaba and the "Tarentines." If Bashaba's abode was at Kadesquit, and he was not the chief of the Tarratines, that people must have been further North. In this case, the "old authors" cannot be correct in applying the general name to the natives upon the Penobscot.

The early writers were confused by the different names applied to the tribes, and give no very reliable information relative to them, or to the extent of their dominions. The idea prevails at the present time, that the Penobscots are the

descendants of the Tarratines. But who were the Tarratines? It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain their origin, or the origin of their name. Mr. John Gilmory Shea mentions the conversion of "the powerful tribe of the Abenakis, or "Tarenteens, as the early English settlers called "them."* The French do not appear to have applied that name to them; still it is not probably of English origin. Gorges says, "this Bashaba "had many enemies, especially those to the East "and Northeast, whom they [the savages] called "Tarentines."† Father Vetroville thinks the name was derived from Atironta, a brave Indian who rendered many services to the first missionaries.‡ It is more probable, that it was derived from Taratouan, the name of another brave chieftain who took the missionaries under his protection.§

Wood says, in relation to the New England savages, "The country as it is in relation to the "Indians, is divided as it were into shires, every "severall division beingswayde by a severall King, "the Indians to the East and Northeast bearing "the name of Churchers and Tarrenteenes."¶ It is not probable that the tribes occupied with reference to the bounds of the then New England. Purchas places the Tarratine country in forty degrees and forty minutes.]

Mr. Kidder says, "they" [the Penobscots or Tarratines] "occupied the country on both sides "of the Penobscot Bay and River;" and that "their Chief or Bashaba was said to have been "acknowledged as far as Massachusetts Bay."○ Mr. Kidder may be considered as authority for the locality of their dominions, and for the fact that Bashaba was their chief. Gorges was doubtless wrongly informed as to the Tarratines and their Chief, the whole of the Penobscot region having been theirs, and Bashaba their superior.

XVII.—NOTE ON COLUMBUS.

By HON. J. RUSSELL BARTLETT.

So much interest is felt in all that relates to Columbus, that I have ventured to send you, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, an extract from a rare history of Genoa, almost cotemporary with the great navigator, which it seems proper should be known and preserved.

It has, with some truth been stated, that few of the late biographers of Columbus had possessed themselves of, or had access to, original materials. This is evident from an examination of the his-

* If there was ever a town at this point, it must have been prior or subsequent to the visit of Champlain. He says, "from the entrance to where I was, which is about 25 "leagues, I saw no city, nor village, nor appearance of there "having been one; but, indeed, one or two savage huts "where there was nobody." *Voyages*, Ch. III. SULLIVAN'S *History of Maine*, 289. It is questionable whether any savages had any villages of any permanency upon the Penobscot prior to the eighteenth century.

† *Vindication—Popham Memorial*, 51.

‡ *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, v, 156.

§ *Briefs Narrative—Maine H. S. Collections*, ii, 62.

¶ *History of Maine*, i, 464.

* *The Catholic Church in the United States*, 18.

† *Briefs Narrative—Maine H. S. Collections*, ii, 61.

‡ *The Abenakis—Maine H. S. Collections*, vi, 208.

§ *Jesuit Relation of 1687*, Chapter XIV, 65.

¶ *New England's Prospect*, Part II. Chapter.

○ *Pilgrims*, 939.

○ *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, vi, 282.

stories of Columbus, wherein it will be seen how few cotemporaneous authors are referred to. Several places, it is well known, contend for the honor of having given birth to him; "but it seems satisfactorily established" says Mr. Irving, "that he was a native of the ancient city of Genoa." (*Life of Columbus*, i, 4.) In this opinion Mr. Prescott coincides (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 115.) The work from which the extract was taken, was printed in Genoa, in 1551; and this, which would naturally claim every thing that would reflect honor on the city, plainly asserts that Columbus was born in Cogerio, a town on the Western Shore, twenty miles from Genoa. This town is among those that contend for the honor of being the birth place of Columbus. Mr. Harris, in his *Notes on Columbus*, speaks of this town of "Cugereo," which, he says, "relies upon two unimportant documents which do not date further back than the beginning of the sixteenth century." This same author gives the title and collation of the *History of Genoa* in question, but it does not appear that the work was examined by him. The volume is in the library of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, and bears the following title:—

RISTRETTO | DELLE | HISTORIE | GENOVESI |
DI PAOLO | INTERIANO. |

4to Engraved title with a shield at the bottom of the page, across which is the word LIBERTAS. Dedication, 3 preliminary leaves. Text 3—233 leaves. Text in Roman letters. 8 Books; ruled throughout with red lines. Colophon. In Lucca per lo | BASDRAGO | MDL.

The following is the extract relating to Columbus:—

"Ma questa contentezza della Citta, fu nel 'XCI, da vna grandissima pestilenza perturbata, per la quale appena la quinta parte delle genti rimase viuda, sendoui non meno quell' anno in modo congelato il mare intorno al Mole, & ai Ponti, che co fatiche i Nauigli da le ripe spicar si poteano, & per che la Repub. era in alcune alterationi con Ferdinando Re di Castiglia, & la Reina Isabella venuti, mandaronsi loro Francesco Marchesio, & Gio. Antonio Grimaldo per Oratori a comporli, nel cui ritorno fu portata la certezza del glorioso scoprimento della nuoua terra occidentale di quel Regno fatto per Christoforo Colombo Genouese, il cui nome fia per esser ai Posterì in eterna veneratione. Costui (per non giudicar la materia da esser adietro lasciata) sendo di parenti oscurissimi nato, d'vna villa discosta XX. Miglia dalla Citta nostra, nella Riuiera di Ponente, Cogerio domandata, datosi al nauigare, giunse ad esser guida, o sia Piloto delle Naui che nell' Oceano si traugliano, & con la destrezza solo dell' ingegno (come che poco literato fusse) & isperienza ch'egli dell'

"altezze del Sole, & del Polo in quelle nauigationi presa hauea, venne in tanta confidenza di se stesso, che si espose ad vn'impresa, da pochi altri che da lui sino allhora tentata, perche non potendo credere, che del stretto di Gibeltaro vscendo, gli douesse per ql tratto macar nuoua terra, a i Re catolici di Spagna, per qual effetto ricorse, da quali hauendo doppio molte dilationi tre Carauelle con CXX. huomini ottenute verso l'Isole fortunate con quelle prese il camino, & di quini partitosi, in spatio di XXXII. gioruo doppo molti contrasti, & dispareri dellagente sua, la quale volea tornar adietro, scoperse quell' Isole che della Spagna nuola gli dettero inditio, & cio con tata gloria dei moderni, per l'ampiezza della terra che n' e' poi stata conquistata, & alla fede di Christo ridotta, che si puo dire esser stato an vn'altro Mondo dato vita." *Libro Ottavo*, 227, & verso.

[TRANSLATION.]

The happiness of the city [of Genoa] was disturbed in [1491] by a terrible pestilence which spared hardly a fifth of the population, by the freezing of the harbor about, the wharves and bridges so that vessels found great difficulty in leaving port, and also because the Republic had fallen into some disputes with Ferdinand, King of Castile and the Queen Isabella.

Francesco Marchesio and Giovanni Antonio Grimaldo were sent as envoys to adjust them: on their return they established the certainty of the glorious discovery of the new land West of that kingdom made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, whose name posterity will hold in eternal veneration. This man (for I do not think the matter should be overlooked) born of most obscure parentage, in a town distant twenty miles from our city, on the Western Shore, called Cogerio, adopted a sailor's life, rose to be a guide or pilot of vessels that traverse the ocean, and with the dexterity of unaided genius (although of little learning) and experience in taking the sun and the Pole, acquired by him in those navigations, he came to have so much confidence in himself that he exposed himself to an enterprise which few others had attempted till now. Not being able to believe that by sailing from the Straits of Gibraltar he should fail to make new land, he applied to the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain, and having, after many delays, received from them three Caravels and one hundred and twenty men, he took his way towards the Fortunate Islands, and sailing thence, in the space of thirty-two days from the time of his departure, and after many debates and contests with his men, who wished to turn back, he discovered those islands which gave him indication of Hispanola, and that with so much glory of the moderns for the amplitude of the land which has thus been conquered and reduced

to the faith of Christ, that he may be said to have given life to a new world.

XVIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

PSALMODY IN NEW ENGLAND.—At a recent lecture in Salem, Mr. Goodell, remarked, as reported in *The Essex County Mercury*, for December the twenty-fifth, that the history of Puritan psalmody begins with the Reformation, when the great innovators of doctrines and disciplines invaded the choirs, as they had the altars, and divided the services of both between the Preacher and the Congregation.

The Reformed music, though much derided by cathedral priests, is now universally praised by competent critics for its sublimity and peculiar fitness; a recent Principal of the Royal Academy of Music having declared in a critical review of Music that "the pure sacred strains," such as the Old Hundredth Psalm and the tunes London, Windsor, &c., and those made in imitation of them, "are alone worthy of study."

The work of the Reformation was aided by them; and these were the tunes with which our Puritan fathers were familiar, and which they brought with them to these shores as among their sacred treasures.

A copy of Thomas Ravenscroft's *Collection of Tunes*, dated 1621, containing the autograph of Governor Endicott, and now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, was next described as a work showing a very thorough and correct knowledge of musical science, on the part of the composers as well as of the singers who used it; but the second and third generations in New England lost much of what their fathers and grandfathers knew, including the use of instruments with which many of the first settlers were familiar, but which had become so neglected in 1673, that the Commissioners for the Plantations reported that there were no "musicians by trade" in the whole Colony.

Music in the New England congregations was entirely vocal, from the first. At Salem, Ainsworth's Psalms were used until 1667; and in Plymouth, until 1692. These were provided with tunes printed to accompany the verses, so that it was not necessary to line out the Psalm in these places, as had become the custom in other places where the Bay Psalm book (without music) was used. Ainsworth's version contained forty-four tunes.

The "lining" or "deaconing off" the verse

was an obvious impediment to perfect melody; and though strongly defended by many of the clergy, was probably one of the causes that led to the rise of a body of anti-psalmists, between 1640 and 1660.

Music gradually grow worse; the number of tunes used in public worship was reduced to thirteen, and, in most congregations, no more than three or four of these were ever attempted to be sung. The hymn was lined and then "sung by rote," as it was called, the whole congregation joining, without regard to the rules of rhythm, melody or dynamics, and with no knowledge of or attempts at, harmony. The confusion that ensued was ludicrous in the extreme and is described by a contemporary, the Reverend Thomas Walter, as sounding "like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time."

The date of the arrival of the Province Charter (1692) or of the Revolution of 1688, was described as an epoch in the History of Music, as well as in many other things enumerated. The first music printed in New England, appeared about 1690; and within about thirty years thereafter, a successful attempt was simultaneously made to introduce "regular singing" or singing by note, instead of the loose and incorrect *rote* singing which had prevailed. The action of the leaders in this movement was narrated at considerable length by Mr. Goodell.

In 1710, the first account of the use of organs, in New England, appears; and in 1718, one was imported for King's Chapel in Boston, which lay seven months in the porch, before it was set up, on account of the public clamor against it.

In 1748, the first organ was set up in Salem, in St. Peter's church; and, in 1745, Edward Bromfield of Boston nearly completed the first American-made organ, which was declared a very fine instrument of one thousand, two hundred pipes and two banks of keys. And the first organ used outside of Episcopal churches, was set up in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1770.

Competent musicians began to arrive here, and to spring up among the population; and music books and books of musical instruction were published here,—the first by the Reverend John Tufts, of Newbury, in 1712.

Details of the struggle to introduce regular singing were given, and also an account of the early engravers of music.

The American Revolution was next asserted to be another epoch, in more respects than one; and, as it approached, a movement led by Reverend Lemuel Hedge of Warwick, Massachusetts, was made to abolish the "lining out" process which had generally prevailed up to that time. This movement was also successful, and was one of the results of the previous movement in favor of regular singing.

At this period, also, William Billings, of Boston, of whom an account was given, began to compose original and peculiar music, which, for a long time, enjoyed unbounded popularity. His fugues, although inferior music, were described as the work of a man of genius, and as bearing marks of progress from the previous condition of music here. He improved the system of singing schools started, in 1720, by Reverend Thomas Symmes, of Bradford; introduced instrumental music; and created a popular enthusiasm in behalf of music generally. His fugue music has been often described as of American origin, and has been severely criticised and derided on that account; but it was, in fact, introduced into England from Italy, as early as towards the close of Elizabeth's reign.

The state of music, though improved from former times, was low indeed in New England, during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. In England, it was, relatively, lower still. Since Billings' day, its course, here, has been steadily upward.

From 1760 to 1780, seats began to be set apart for select choirs, and instrumental music began to be introduced. Music, after the beginning of this century, began to improve. Accounts were given of the individuals and societies prominent in this work of reform, beginning with the Essex Musical Association of 1797, and its sister Society in Middlesex.

The struggle that ensued between the old-fashioned fuguists and the "Old Hundred" singers (as they were called,) of the New School, was depicted.

Instruments were generally introduced in the following order; first, the pitch pipe; second, tuning fork, or the brass reed; and the third, Violoncello, which were followed by the flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, and violin; and, finally, the majestic organ, which though "introduced here" before the Revolution, as we have seen, was never "used West of the Alleghanies, until 1837."

Finally, the productions of our native composers were briefly commented on, and the fact noticed that from Salem had gone forth the beautiful and familiar tunes of "Supplication," "Merton," and our own sweet "Federal-street," which was sung in every Protestant chapel from San Francisco to the Alps.

THE PACIFIC PRESS.—In *Trubner's Literary Record* is the following statement of the present condition of the Pacific press, which is sufficiently important, as an evidence of the rapid growth, during the twenty years since the first Californian newspaper was printed, to merit permanent preservation:

"In San Francisco, there are twelve dailies,

"one tri-weekly, and forty-one weeklies. Part of the latter are printed in French, Spanish, and Italian.

"In the remainder of that State—twelve dailies,

"one tri-weekly, and seventy-three weeklies.

"In Oregon—three dailies and nineteen weeklies.

"In Nevada—four dailies and six weeklies.

"In Washington Territory—eight weeklies.

"In Idaho—one daily, one tri-weekly, and three weeklies.

"In Utah—two dailies, one semi-weekly, and two weeklies.

"In Colorado—one daily and one weekly.

"In Montana—one tri-weekly and one weekly.

"In British Columbia—three dailies and five weeklies.

"In Pacific ports of Mexico—six weeklies.

"In Sandwich Islands—two English and two

"Hawaiian weeklies, and two monthlies—in all six papers.

"The total comprises two hundred and fourteen

"papers. The advertisements paid for in San

"Francisco exceed four hundred thousand copies.

"The weekly circulation of all the city papers

"exceeds two hundred and twenty-five thousand

"copies. The circulation of the three English

"papers printed in Honolulu (*Advertiser*, *Gazette*, and *Friend*) is about two thousand, two

"hundred copies, and that of the three Hawaiian

"papers (*Kuokoa*, *Au Okoa*, and *Alaui*)

"seven thousand, eight hundred—in all ten thousand

"copies, among a population of five thousand

"foreigners and sixty thousand Hawaiians."

THE FIRST BAPTISTS IN NEW LONDON.—

Baptists were first driven into New London, Connecticut, before the Sheriff of the County. He arrested a number of them where he found them worshipping God in a private house, on the West side of the river, and compelled them to walk the distance of many miles to the jail, in which he locked them up, on charge of "worshipping contrary to law." One the number was a sister with a young child, which she carried all the way in her arms. Another was the man in whose house they had met to worship. He was not a Baptist; but the Sheriff, finding him with such company, took him along and locked him up with the rest. At first he was greatly enraged. When exhorted by the others to be quiet, his reply was: "You can afford to be patient, and suffer for your religion. If your religion is what you say it is, it is worth suffering for. I am locked up for nothing. I have no religion." He was however, converted while in prison, and afterwards became a Baptist with his fellow-sufferers, as did also the child that went to prison in a mother's arms, and for the mother's sin of worshipping God.

A PILGRIM FAMILY.—TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRANSCRIPT:—Noticing in the *New York Evening Post* of Wednesday and the *Transcript* of Thursday, mention of an inscription on a gravestone in the church-yard of Little Compton, Rhode Island, of Mrs. Elizabeth Paybodie—induces the following statement:

Bradford, in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, enumerating the voyageurs of the *Mayflower*, states that "Among ye names of those who came over first in ye year 1620, were Mr. Wm Mollines [modernized Mullins] "and his wife and two children, Joseph and Priscilla, and a servant, "Robert Carter. Mr. Mollines and his wife, his "sone and his servant, dyed the first winter. Only "his daughter, Priscilla, survived and married "with John Alden." The four daughters of John and Priscilla (Mollines) Alden were connected as follows:

Elizabeth married William Pabodie, of Little Compton, Rhode Island.

Sarah married Alexander Standish, son of Miles Standish.

Ruth married John Bass, of Braintree, now Quincy.

Mary married Thomas Dellano.

It appearing that Mrs. Paybodie died in 1717, at the age of ninty-four years, she must have been born in 1623. Therefore it would not seem probable that she could have been the first-born (although almost) of the Pilgrims here, but was undoubtedly the oldest daughter of John and Priscilla Alden. N. C.

AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE LONDON SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.—About two years ago the following article appeared in the *Boston Advertiser*:

"Mr. Adams has been elected Honorary Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries, in "place of Mr. Everett. This is an honor rather "grudgingly conferred, and therefore more highly "prized than most similar honors are. The "other Americans who are Honorary Fellows are, "we believe, Messrs. George Ticknor, Jared "Sparks, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, George Bancroft, Robert C. Winthrop, Joseph R. Ingersoll "and John Lothrop Motley.

I called the attention of John Gough Nichols, Esquire, to this statement and he kindly furnished me with the following corrected list, which may be worth publishing:

1848—March 27. Honorable George Bancroft, New York.

1850—Feb. 21. George Ticknor, Esq., Boston.

1852—Jan. 22. E. George Squier, Esq., New York.

1855—May 3. Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, Boston.

1859—Feb. 10. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Boston.

1860—June 7. John Lothrop Motley, Esq., Vienna.

1865—Dec. 7. Hon. Charles Francis Adams. He adds that neither Mr. Sparks nor Mr. Ingersoll was a member of the Society.

W. H. W.

MASSACHUSETTS STATISTICS.—The Secretary of State has recently published the "Abstract of the "Census of 1865," which contains a vast amount of valuable statistical information relating to the State of Massachusetts. As regards population per square mile, it is now, and has always been first among the States of the Union; the number per square mile, in 1860, being one hundred and fifty-seven and eighty-three-one hundredths inhabitants. The population of the State, to-day, is one million, two hundred and eighty-one thousand, seven hundred; in 1865, it was one million, two hundred and sixty-seven thousand, and thirty-one—males, six hundred and two thousand, and ten; females, six hundred and sixty-five thousand, and twenty one; showing an excess of sixty-three thousand females over the number of males. Of the total population, eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand, one hundred and fifty-six were natives of the State. The foreign element is relatively most numerous in Suffolk County, where thirty-three and twelve-one hundredths per cent of the whole population are foreign-born. The number of dwellings was returned as two hundred and eight thousand, six hundred and ninety-eight. Of the ten thousand, one hundred, and sixty-seven colored persons in Massachusetts, two thousand, three hundred, and forty eight are found in Boston, and one thousand, five hundred, and seventeen in New Bedford; and in fifty-eight towns there is no colored person. The largest numbers in the table of occupations of females are domestics, twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and ninety-three; operatives, twenty thousand, one hundred and fifty-two; and teachers, six thousand, and fifty.

FOSSIL FOOT PRINTS.—Excavations are in progress at Turner's Falls, Massachusetts, for a flour and grist mill; and on the rocks, twenty feet below the surface, have been found the prints of a foot resembling that of a wolf, though larger than that made by a horse. Prints of small fishes are also found, with the eyes, fins, scales, etc., all perfectly visible. These, with other specimens, are taken from the banks of the Connecticut, on the Gill side, from a solid ledge of rocks,

THE FORT PILLOW AFFAIR.

A Card from General N. B. Forrest.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES.

A correspondent of the *Times*, whose letter was published on the twenty-fifth instant, says :

"At the time of the capture of Fort Pillow by the rebel General Forrest, and the massacre of its entire garrison, General (then Colonel) Lawrence was in command of Fort Columbus, a point on the Mississippi river above Fort Pillow. General Forrest, flushed with his victory and his murders, marched from Fort Pillow directly on Fort Columbus, notified Colonel Lawrence that the commander and garrison of Fort Pillow had been massacred, informed him that he commanded ten thousand troops, and knew that he (Lawrence) had only one thousand, and ordered him to surrender in one hour's time, or he and his command should share the fate which had been visited on the garrison of Fort Pillow."

I have hitherto borne in silence these outrageous assaults upon my character as a man and a soldier ; but a decent regard for my own reputation, and a sense of duty to the brave gentlemen who fought under me during the late war, will not permit me to remain silent any longer. I must therefore ask you to be pleased to allow me to say through the columns of the *Times*, that the charges made against me by your correspondent are utterly false, and that their falsity can be easily demonstrated by proof, which is within easy reach.

The official Report of the United States officer commanding at Fort Pillow, and the testimony reported by the Congressional Investigating Committee, of which Vice-president Wade was Chairman, show that the garrison consisted of only about five hundred and eighty officers and men. Other proofs, which I can produce at any time, show that I captured, and can account for, more than three hundred of these—sixty-five of them, who were badly wounded, having been delivered by me to the officer commanding a United States gunboat in the vicinity of the fort, and about two hundred and fifty (an official descriptive list of whom is now in this city in the possession of General Thomas Jordan,) having been turned over by me to General Polk, at Demopolis, Ala. *Of these captured men ninety were negro soldiers.* Nor were the rest of the garrison all killed ; for many of them effected their escape, while others were drowned in the attempt. It will thus be seen that the proportion of killed was not greater than is usual in the case of so severe a fight, accompanied by a desperate assault and defence.

These facts are known to the Government of the United States, and acquit me, not only in the

opinion of the President, Mr. Stanton, and Judge Holt, but in that of Congress, of any violation of the rules of civilized warfare. *Otherwise* I would have been long ago arrested and tried upon that charge. For my own part, conscious of my innocence, and knowing perfectly well that I have always waged war with the strictest regard to the usages of civilized nations, I have never shunned any investigation to which the Executive or Congress might subject my military conduct.

As to the absurd charge that I marched against Columbus with ten thousand men and demanded its surrender with the threat that I would, in the event of refusal, "massacre" its garrison, I have only to say that I never was, during the war, within forty miles of Columbus, after its evacuation by the Confederates, in 1862 ; that the only troops which approached it at the time referred to, was a scouting party of less than one hundred men ; and that the official Report of General Lawrence himself utterly disapproves your correspondent's statements.

N. B. FORREST.

A VENERABLE CHURCH ORGAN.—The organ that has been for many years in St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield, has been removed to give place to a new and larger instrument.

The organ removed was presented to the Church by Miss Lucretia E. Newton, (now Mrs. Smith of New York,) in 1851. It was one hundred and fifty years in St. Thomas's Chapel, Salisbury, England ; and was, in 1792, brought to this country for Trinity Church, Boston. It was removed to the new Trinity Church in 1825 ; was sold, in 1836, to the Church in Quincy ; and in 1851 was purchased by Miss Newton.

DUCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—The following copy of a letter, now in possession of T. Van Wyck Brinckerhoff, of East Fishkill, throws some light upon the early history of Dutchess County, New York :

"In the year 1822 I saw Isaac Upton, a coaster from Newport, who informed me that, about 1760, he came up the North River to Poughkeepsie, and in company with another person went to Mabbitt's store, in Washington, on business. That on their return they took a circuitous route from Pleasant Valley, and passed a German by the name of Hoffman, who was then one hundred and eighteen years old. He supposed himself to be the first white settler in Dutchess County ; and that when young he deserted in a Dutch ship of war in New York ; squatted where he then lived ; built a shanty ; and lived a number of years a solitary life, without being able to find a white woman for a wife (poor fellow !)

"that afterwards finding a German family at Rhinebeck, he married; and had lived where he then was at that advanced age. I was informed that he died two years afterwards at one hundred and twenty years. PAUL UPTON.

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD: In your paper of the twenty-seventh instant, you spoke truly of the merits of Chancellor Livingston. But you said, after twenty years of constant battle in the cause of science, steamers were found running on the lakes and rivers of New York, such a system of navigation being then known only by hearsay in England.

But the use of steam was in practice years before it was used in America.

In 1802 (in June) I saw a steamboat arrive, on the canal, in Liverpool, and made an engine which may be seen in my store (518 Broadway), and which Mr. Fulton inspected before he constructed his first boat.

For further particulars on the merits of Mr. Fulton, see a letter addressed to the Historical Society, describing his claims to steamboats and torpedoed, on which I worked in 1795; which were condemned by the British Government, but brought forward by Mr. Fulton, in 1810. That letter will show the state of the boats at that time. My letter is an answer to the address of an Episcopal clergyman before the Society.

FOR BENJAMIN PIKE, SEN.

NEW YORK JUNE 28.

[*N. Y. World*, Nov. 3, 1860.]

BROADWAY, PAST AND PRESENT.—We have received a communication which gives some interesting facts concerning the territory of Broadway. Our correspondent, who lived in New York in 1800 says:

"It occurred to me a few days since, when I noticed in your columns the advertisement of sale at auction, by E. H. Ludlow, of the plot of ground on the corner of Broadway and Canal street, that it might interest some of your young readers, and those who have, within the past ten years, made our city their residence, to learn a few facts about the early territory of Broadway. The above plot, which the owners, I am told, have refused to sell for four hundred thousand dollars, I know was purchased by John Jay, the grandfather of the present owners for the sum of one thousand dollars, and had he or his son William lived a century beyond this, they would never have sold it. In their day they never believed in selling real estate, so it was with the late owner of the corner of Broadway and Chambers street, Benjamin Stevens. He purchased that lot for one thou-

sand dollars. The corner of Broadway and Broome street was bought by a barber for five hundred dollars, and remained in the hands of his heirs until within a few years. The Jay lot above referred to, is held under lease by Patrick Dickie, at a rent of two thousand dollars per annum, and for which he receives from the occupants about sixty thousand dollars. It may not be generally known that the site where Stewart's store stands, on Broadway and Read-street, was formerly occupied by a hotel known as Washington Hall, and that it was so far from the business centre of the city, that country merchants would not go out to it, and every one failed who kept the hotel. The lot owned by Gemmel, the watchmaker, on the corner of Broadway and Duane street, was sold in 1812, for fifteen hundred dollars down. It was the first house built in the city with an under cellar. About fifteen years since, when walking up Broadway with one of our old Irish residents, he mentioned that he had seen lots sold, since his arrival in New York, on Broadway, for one thousand dollars, which were then worth about seven thousand. He lamented his neglect in availing of the chances of making a fortune in Broadway property, which he had suffered to pass. The same lots, to-day, are worth one hundred thousand dollars; yet I am told by those who know, that lots in London, situated with equal business advantages to lots on Broadway, in the most favorable locations, are worth in London quite double the present value on Broadway. All owners of Broadway property should bear in mind that there is but one Broadway in the world; and they have only to learn themselves, and to teach their heirs, to wait; and while waiting they will get a large interest upon present values, and in twenty years from to-day the values will be double; and it is more than probable they will be increased to more than three times the present prices they are selling at."

A RESIDENT IN 1800.

SCRAPS.—The race between the steamboats *Oregon* and *C. Vanderbilt* took place on the first of June, 1847. The *Oregon* won, making the distance—forty miles up the Hudson and back—in three hours, fourteen and a half minutes.

—It is stated that there is a house still standing in Blackwall, (opposite Artichoke tavern,) London, which was the residence of Sebastian Cabot at one time, and of Sir Walter Raleigh at another.

—There is an old elm at Stratford, Connecticut, the trunk of which, two feet from the ground, measures twenty-one feet in circumference. Ten feet higher, it is still larger, and two of its branches are each from seven to nine feet in circumference. The branches and foliage at noon—

day cast a shade that covers over a quarter of an acre. The tree is said to be about two hundred and eighty-eight years old.

—A California paper says that the first book ever printed in the New World was in the city of Mexico. It was printed in the Spanish language, in the year 1554, and was entitled *Doctrina Christina porco los Indios*. The first publications made in English, in America, were the *Freeman's Oath*, and an *Almanac for 1638*, nearly a hundred years after the work published in Mexico. In 1640, was published the first book, entitled the *Bay Psalm Book*. The first book printed in California after the Americans took possession, was entitled *California as it was, and as it is*. Its author was Dr. Wierhick.

—In 1799, a man, his wife and six children removed from Virginia to Ohio, walking the whole distance, and the mother carrying an infant in her arms. The woman was present at a recent pioneer meeting in Newark, Ohio, having attained the age of one hundred and two years.

—While the British used the Old South for a circus, the churches in Lynde-street, Brattle-square, and Hollis-street, were used as barracks for the English soldiers.

—The Court-house clock of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was built in 1785. The Moravian church clock at Litiz was built before that time.

—The second fence erected around the city institutions in South Boston cost more than the senior Quincy paid for the whole land.

—Captain David Hinkley, of Livermore, Maine, died on Saturday morning, the ninth of November, aged one hundred and two years. He voted for Washington for the first President; and remembered Arnold's expedition up the Kennebec river.

—The first log house built in Dayton, Ohio, is still standing. It has served as Court-house, jail, tailor-shop, military head-quarters, arsenal, etc.

—There was no question in Boston, ninety years ago, that the Old South was "desecrated" by the British troops. The building was solemnly re-dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, on the second of March, 1783. The Reverend Joseph Eckley preached the sermon.

—The first piece of music ever printed and published in the city of St. Joseph, Missouri, was issued from the *Herald* job office. recently. The editor thinks this feat is evidence of the energy, industry, and enterprise of St. Joseph, generally.

—Twenty years ago, the first newspaper was issued in California. There are now, in the State, one hundred and twenty-four.

—General Sibley, who now resides in St. Paul, was the first white settler of Minnesota.

—Thirty years ago, there was but one Homeopathic physician in New England. In 1857, there

were one hundred and twenty in Massachusetts alone; while at the present time there, are two hundred and fifty-one; showing an increase of over one hundred per cent. in ten years.

—The marble columns of the building, in Philadelphia, once used for the United States bank are to be given away, to be recut into soldier's monuments.

—There are four practical printers, now living in Boston, all upwards of seventy years of age, who were apprentices together, at the same time, in the *Journal* office, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, viz., George W. Bazin, Nathaniel Greene (late Postmaster of Boston), Thomas Spinney, and Thomas H. Granville. What can equal this quartette of veteran typos?

—Many persons think that Isaac McLellan, who was popular as a poet nearly fifty years ago, and was a college companion of the late N. P. Willis, has been dead and buried, a quarter of a century. But this is not so. Mr. McLellan still lives, and is as hearty as many a man of half his age. He deserted the muses, however, long ago, though within ten years we remember to have seen, occasionally, a poem from his pen in the columns of *Wilkes's Spirit*—and became a Nimrod. He lives on Long Island, where he devotes himself to reading old books, drinking old wine, smoking good cigars, and shooting wild ducks. If he has a hobby it is duck-shooting; and it is no uncommon thing for him to get frozen into his "dugout," as he lies on his back at length in it, watching for ducks to fly above him, by the dashing of the waves over him, on a cold day. He is a kind-hearted, genial, companionable man, and although he goes little into society, he greatly enjoys the company of the few friends who gather around him. He is a bachelor of a good many years standing; and like Halleck, he fancies that "Methusaleh's resolution—not to marry until he was one hundred and eighty-one"—was wise and prudent, as a general rule.

—The George Tavern was on the Neck, near the Roxbury line. The General Court sat there, in 1721. The name was changed to King's Arms, in 1769.

—One of the most noted flagstuffs ever erected in Boston was in Liberty-square. It was called "Liberty Pole," as it was put up during one of the celebrations commemorative of the French Revolution.

—Lynn was first favorably mentioned as a shoe manufacturing town, in 1720, by James Franklin, a brother of Benjamin, in the first newspaper ever published in this country.

—The Homeopathic system was adopted in the Michigan State Prison, in 1860.

—The North-east corner of the Boston Common is called "Brimstone Corner."

—The Commissioner of Pensio

late Annual Report, that the last of the Revolutionary soldiers is dead. Henceforth that great struggle will live only in history.

—The Howland family of New Bedford, has furnished Mayors to that City fourteen years out of the twenty years of its corporation.

—It seems that Admiral Farragut's father emigrated from the Island of Minorca to the United States; and that a homestead of the old patriarch still exists, and is in possession of a branch of the family.

—The first Presbyterian Church of Orange, N.J., was founded one hundred and forty-eight years ago, and has had but six Pastors. The seventh has just been settled over it.

—The oldest person that ever died in New Hampshire, was William Perkins, who died at Newmarket, in 1723, aged one hundred and sixteen years.

—Marietta is the Plymouth Rock of Ohio. The church there was organized in 1776; and Belpre is her eldest daughter, being settled the next year after Marietta.

—Milwaukee Smith was the name of the first white child born in Milwaukee. She is daughter of ex Mayor Smith.

—In 1817, the first Savings Bank was established in Philadelphia. In one year, the amount deposited was eleven thousand, two hundred, and seventy dollars, by one hundred and thirty-three depositors. About four thousand dollars were withdrawn.

—E. A. Smith of Pittsfield, who is collecting material for a history of the town, has just discovered the origin and meaning of the word "Housatonic," long supposed to be an Indian word. It is of Dutch origin, and means "the winding river of the West."

—Rev. Labin Clarke is now the senior member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. He is about ninety years of age, having been sixty-seven years in the ministry.

—Thirty-five years ago the lot on which the Sherman House, Chicago, now stands, was sold for one hundred and fifty dollars.

—In Marshfield, Mass., there is standing a part of the house built by Peregrine White, the first white boy born in Plymouth Colony.

—The following advertisement appeared in a New York newspaper of March twenty-fourth, 1792:

"An umbrella was left at Capt. John Dean's boarding-house, Water-street, the latter part of 'last summer. The owner, by applying as above, and proving property, may have it again. '201 tf."

Query? Were umbrellas at that time scarce and valuable, or was people more honest? Or may it have been meant for a piece of humor?

—The first grist-mill ever erected in Pennsyl-

vania is yet in existence. It is a quaint old stone building, and bears the date about 1680. It is located on a small stream near Germantown, and some of the original machinery imported from England is still retained in the mill.

—At the commencement of the present year, there were in the United States about twenty-two thousand miles of railroad, employing about five thousand locomotives. It is estimated that these locomotives consume between four and five million cords of wood annually, the product of at least one hundred thousand acres of woodland.

—In 1752, an English ship stranded near New Rochelle, Westchester County, N. Y. Such has been the changes in the sea that the wreck now lies in the midst of a cultivated field, thirteen feet above the sea, and around it are two thousand acres of cultivated land.

—The *Lehigh Register* says the first fire engine used in the United States is in the neighboring town of Bethlehem, and still in working order. It was built in London, in 1689, and shipped to Philadelphia, where it was in service many years.

—A society, composed of Irish gentlemen existed in Philadelphia at the breaking out of the Revolution. During the war, members of this society loaned the Continental Congress various sums of money, amounting to between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand.

XIX.—NOTES.

JAMES PELLER MALCOLM, F.S.A.—In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for May, 1815, will be found an autobiography of JAMES PELLER MALCOLM, an engraver of considerable note. He tells us that his grandfather, Malcolm, went from Scotland to St. Christophers' and had a son who settled in Philadelphia, where he died before the age of thirty years, when James was but two years old. On the maternal side, he was descended from James Peller, an emigrant with Penn, and from the Hobarts, said to be bankers in London, in 1666.

James Peller Malcolm was born in August, 1767, and was educated at the Quaker School, though his parents had returned to the Episcopalian church. He had a strong taste for painting; and by the advice of Mr. Bembridge, a relation and brother student of Mr West, he went to England, where he studied three years at the Royal Academy. He abandoned painting for engraving; and many of his works are in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. He engraved the plates for Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*, Lyson's *Environs of London*, and for several of his own works, viz., *Granger's Letters, Excursions in Kent, &c., Londinum Redivivum, Miscellaneous Anecdotes, and The History of the Art of Caricature*.

He died on the fifth of April, 1815, and owing to his previous sickness for nearly three years, left his family entirely destitute. The Editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* not only praised the dead, but made an urgent appeal to preserve the survivors from want; in which we hope he was successful.

W. H. W.

BOSTON, MASS.

A SAGACIOUS CONJECTURE.—William Smyth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, England, delivered a Course of Lectures there, commencing in 1809. They were afterwards published; and an edition was published in this country in 1841, edited by Jared Sparks, who specially commends the last five or six Lectures on the American Revolution. He remarks that, "it would be difficult to find any treatise on that subject, comprised within the compass of six Lectures, from which so much can be learned, or so accurate an estimate of the merits of both sides of the question can be formed."

As the great Burke seemed almost endowed with the Spirit of Prophecy to foretell what course the French Revolution would take, so, early in the present century, this Lecturer, near the close of his discourse on the American War, seems to be "one of the old prophets risen from the dead;" though he offers his prediction as a conjecture, merely. He remarks (*Pp.* 663-4) "It must even be confessed that in America is to be made a most novel and important experiment, and it is this:—with how small a portion of restraint and influence the blessings of order and Christianity can be administered to a large community. It must be observed, indeed, that this experiment is to be made under such particular advantages of a new country as must always prevent America from being a precedent for older States and Empires. This is true; yet, to the reasoners of after ages, it will be useful to learn from the event what may reasonably be expected from mere human nature when placed in the most favorable situation, and what it is that Government may properly attempt to do for mankind, and what not. This I think will hereafter be shown, when all the attendant circumstances have been properly balanced and considered. What however will be the result? I am much disposed to offer this subject to your reflections, and therefore, as a conjecture, though an obvious one, I should say (though I cannot allude to what may be said of a contrary nature) that the great event to be expected is, that this Empire should break up into two or more independent States or Republics, and that at some distant period the Continent of America may be destined to exhibit

"all the melancholy scenes of devastation and war which have so long disgraced the Continent of Europe. This, however, must be considered as the grand calamity and failure of the whole; it can arise only from a want of strength in the Federal Government;—that is, from the friends of Liberty not venturing to render the Executive power sufficiently effective. This is the common mistake of all popular Governments: in Governments more or less monarchical, the danger is always of an opposite nature."

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N.C.

HOW A MAN CAN SPEND ALL HIS LIFE IN THE SAME SPOT, AND YET LIVE IN FIVE DIFFERENT COUNTIES.—In the early settlement of the country, especially of North Carolina, the Eastern part was first filled up and organized into Counties, proceeding regularly Westward: the last County cut off, in each case, including all the inhabitants West of it; and leaving the boundary line on that side indefinite. Thus, in the State above mentioned, when in 1749, Anson County was set off from Bladen, on its West side, the language of the Act, as in similar cases, read, "and that all the inhabitants to the Westward of the aforementioned dividing line" [*i. e.* in the body of the Act] "shall belong and appertain to Anson County." Hence, from that time till other Counties were in like manner taken from it, this County covered all the Western part of the State.

The writer has seen *Deeds* given in Iredell County when that was part of Anson.

Then, in 1762, Mecklenburg was erected on the West of Anson; and after fixing the line on its East border, between it and Anson, the Legislature said, "all that part of said County lying to the Westward of said dividing line, shall be thenceforth one other distinct County, and called by the name of Mecklenburg"—so that this County extended indefinitely West, where any settlements had been made.

In the same way, in 1768, Tryon County was "erected," in the language of the Act, including all of Mecklenburg, West of the Catawba River, which was made the dividing line. It was named after William Tryon, who became the Royal Governor in 1765, and gained the title of the "Great Wolf of North Carolina," by his cruelties to the Cherokee Indians; and "having ruled the State with the temper of a despot and the rod of a tyrant," for six years, was transferred to New York.

As his name had become so odious, in 1779, the General Assembly of the State abolished that County, and divided it into two new ones, by a

North and South line, making on the East, Lincoln County, and on the West, Rutherford.

Lincoln County was afterward divided into three new ones; viz., the old one in the centre, East, and West; Catawba, on the North, cut off in 1843; and Gaston on the South, separated in 1846.

An old man, then, born in Gaston County, before 1762, may have continued on till since 1846, without attaining so great an age as we often see. Before 1762, he would have lived in ANSON COUNTY; from that time till 1768, in MECKLENBURGH; from 1768 to 1779, in TRYON; then in LINCOLN, up to 1846; after that, to the end of his life, in GASTON COUNTY. From 1762 to 1846 is only eighty-four; but a man in that County died last year at the age of ninety. E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

SIEGE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.—*The Charleston Mercury* of December 18, 1867, referring to the explosion of an old shell on the preceding day, said:—

"During the siege of Charleston ten persons were killed by the bursting of shells where they fell, and seventeen were killed by the explosion of old shells when meddled with."

These facts are worth notice, as "materials for History." D.

FIRST VERMONT FAST.—The following is the first Proclamation for a Fast issued in Vermont. For some reason it was not published, but the Fast was observed, notice of it being given by some other means. For the present notice of these facts and the publication of the Proclamation, the public are indebted to the researches of the Rev. Pliny H. White, of Coventry.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Since God has been pleased in his wisdom to visit the inhabitants of this land with His just judgments, by suffering our unnatural enemies to wage war against us, the pestilence to prevail, and many other calamities with which we are now threatened, as a just reward for the many prevailing sins committed against the Divine Law, we have sufficient reason to believe, calls aloud on us His people for solemn fasting and prayer. We have therefore thought fit to appoint, and do hereby appoint, Wednesday, the eighteenth day of June, instant, to be observed as a day of public Fasting and Prayer throughout the State, and do earnestly recommend to the good people thereof to observe the same as such; that we may humble our hearts before God, and implore Him to avert the impending judgments, remove the sword of our unnatural enemies from us, sanctify the awful

"frowns of Divine Providence, grant his blessings on our councils and arms, and direct our Generals, guard the State from the incursions of the savages, direct in our election of members for establishing Government, bless the labors of our hands, grant suitable seasons for the year—for seed time and harvest,—and crown the year with his goodness, revive religion and virtue, bless the Ministers of the Gospel, and water His churches with heavenly grace. And it is hereby recommended to all the good people of this State, to abstain from secular labor and recreation on said day.

"Given at Windsor, in the State of Vermont, in General Convention, this seventh day of June, Anno, 1777.

"By order,

"JOSEPH BOWKER. Pres.

"JONAS FAY, Sec'y."

THE CARTERETS.—In the recently issued first number of Volume I, (Second Series), of the *New Jersey Historical Society's Proceedings*, (Pp. 22, 23, 30, 31,) it is shown that the statements of Mr. W. A. WHITEHEAD, in his *East Jersey*, (Pp. 36, 55), that Governor Philip Carteret was "a brother to" Sir George Carteret, and that James Carteret was "an illegitimate son of" Sir George—are both erroneous.

Philip Carteret was fourth cousin of the Baronet; as is also proved by Maverick's letter of the twenty-ninth of June, 1669, in *The Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, xxxvii, 319.

James Carteret was the second *legitimate* son of Sir George, and was a Captain in the Royal Navy. (See COLLINS' *Peerage*, iv, 213; Ed. 1741.)

Mr. Whitehead, in a note to P. 30, of the *New Jersey Historical Society's Proceedings*, i., (ii.), states that the last that is known of Captain James Carteret is that he was on his way to Virginia, with his wife, Elizabeth Delavall, to whom he was married on the fifteenth of April, 1673; (*New York Marriages* (1860,) 68, 105.) If Mr. Whitehead had looked at Danker's and Sluyter's Journal, translated by Mr. Murphy, (Pp. 137, 138,) he would have seen that James Carteret was an able and accomplished dissolute vagabond in New York, in 1679; where he might have been Governor if he had not been disowned by his father for his profligacy, but not for his illegitimacy.

The New York records (quoted in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, I., x., 157, 158,) show that on the eleventh of November, 1699, Philip Pepon, of the Island of Jersey, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of the Honorable James de Carteret, and of Frances Delavall."

A NEW YORKER.

NEW YORK CITY.

THEOPHILUS PARSONS.—From a paper recently read before the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, by Doctor G. B. Loring, we gather the following sketch of the life of this distinguished jurist:

He was born in Byfield, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1750. His father was the Reverend Moses Parsons, descended from a merchant who died in Gloucester, in 1689. His mother was Susan Davis, descended from John Robinson of Leyden, the Puritan minister. The salary of Mr. Parsons being two hundred and eighty dollars per year, and requiring his labor on his farm and occasional sporting on the marshes to support his family, the early advantages of Theophilus were necessarily limited. He was, however, the general adviser of all matters, secular and religious, in his parish, when he was settled for life.

Theophilus Parsons entered college, at Cambridge, in 1765; was graduated in 1769; taught school, and studied and practiced law, at Falmouth, until 1775; returned on the burning of that town by the British, to Byfield; met at his father's house, Justice Trowbridge, who had fled from Cambridge for the safe enjoyment of his toryism, whom Chancellor Kent calls "the oracle of common law in New England," and whose library was invaluable to the young law student, and in a short time settled as a lawyer in Newburyport. Here he married Elizabeth Greenleaf, on the thirteenth of January, 1780; built a house on Green street; lived there twenty years; removed to Boston in 1800; was appointed Chief-justice of Massachusetts, in 1806; and died on the thirtieth of October, 1818. Not a very eventful life in a very eventful period.

While the great work of the Revolution was going on, he was a quiet lawyer in Newburyport. He had great love of his profession, and great powers which would have distinguished him in any sphere of life. While residing in Newburyport, in 1778, when he was twenty-eight years old, the question of a Constitution for Massachusetts was presented to the People. There was great popular jealousy against all law and all lawyers. Doctor Loring read a curious extract from a letter written by W. Symmes, Jr., of Andover, to Isaac Osgood, Clerk of the Courts in Essex County, at that time, to show the difficulties under which lawyers labored in those days.

While the question of the State Constitution was pending, young Parsons called a meeting of the citizens of Newburyport, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1778, and issued a Circular to the Selectmen of the several towns in Essex County, to meet by Delegates in a Convention, to meet in Ipswich in April of that year. Among the Delegates appear the names of Theophilus Parsons, Tristram Dalton, Jonathan Greenleaf, Jonathan Jackson, and Stephen Cross, of Newburyport;

Ward, Goodhue, Andrews, Goodale, and Sprague of Salem; Putnam and Shillaber, of Danvers; Farley and Noyes, of Ipswich; Coffin and Porter, of Gloucester; Gould and Clarke, of Topsfield; Dodge, of Wenham; Perley, of Boxford; and the "Honorable Caleb Cushing, Esq., of Salisbury." This Convention sent home the famous "Essex Result," a paper written by Parsons, and containing sound theories of Government; "It was an earnest endeavor to discover and declare how progress and conservatism, liberty and order, might be adjusted in human institutions, that freedom should be secure, and peace and happiness be the children of freedom." Upon its suggestions was based the first Constitution of Massachusetts, carried, as they were, by the young lawyer of Newburyport, into the subsequent State Convention, and submitted to the Bowdoin, and Adames, and Lowells, and Pickering, and Strong's of that distinguished body.

After this, Parsons retired from politics, was engaged in private practice for ten years, and did not emerge again until the Constitutional Convention of 1788. In this Convention, when there was great danger of rejecting the Federal Constitution, he offered his well known "conciliatory resolution," that it might be explicitly declared that "all powers not expressly delegated to Congress are reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised." This is the first declaration of the doctrine of State Rights. It secured the adoption of the Constitution; and drew from John Adams the statement that "our Constitution was made for a moral and religious People; it is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."

Having accomplished this work, Parsons again retired to his profession, to receive the highest honors which the law can bestow. Under his administration, as Chief-justice, the confusion and complication which had attended the forms of practice here, began at once to disappear; and to him more than any other may be attributed the reformed state of the dockets throughout the Commonwealth, the promptness of decisions, and the regularity of trials, attesting the beneficial effects of a system which he did so much to render popular and permanent.

As a jurist he was undoubtedly among the great lawyers of this County and State. To a citizen of Essex County, the name of Story will at once occur as a contestant for the highest judicial distinction among us. Story and Parsons—both learned in the law, both endowed with large intellect, both possessing a high moral tone—and yet how different! The one diffuse, impetuous, unconstrained: the other concise, systematic, condensed, exhausting. Parsons left the most law: Story the most books. Parsons cut his path directly to the object: Story led his followers through devious paths obstructed by difficulties of which he never

lost sight. Parsons loved the sharpest analysis: Story delighted in an accumulation of all that related to his subject. Parsons was a great thinker: Story a great talker. Parsons gave his opinion to the jury: Story gave the argument. Parsons never forgot that he was a judge: Story never forgot that he was a lawyer. Parsons was an accurate mathematician, a careful student, a good scholar: Story's proper sphere was in the walks of his profession. The piercing, penetrating eye of Parsons was always directed upon the point aimed at: the eye of Story roamed through all space. Both had industry, both had humor, both had a kind humanity, both had faith. Both had a certain intellectual arrogance, the prevailing reproach of all great human powers; and both had that genuine kindness and private affection which attend all true greatness.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS DERIVED FROM THE DUTCH, AND STILL IN USE AROUND NEW YORK.—The low Dutch language, as it was spoken in the seventeenth century, is still spoken, though but little used, by many of the descendants of the early settlers, in New Netherlands. Many others, though not able to speak, yet understand it, or at least retain a number of its household words, which promise to remain for years engrafted on the English they use. Some of these we here present, not having found them in Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Perhaps others will assist in enlarging the number.

Aanhalen, v.—To stick to one, to bore.

Afdak, s.—A shed, a wing, a leanto.

Benauwd, adj.—Close, stifling, confined air.

Blatherenschuyt, s.—A boastful, bragging fellow.

Blik, s.—A tin cup.

Bloode, adj.—Bashful.

Blooten, s.—A dunce (antiquated.)

Boezelaar, s.—A high apron covering the breast.

Boonder, s.—A scrubbing brush.

Doop, s.—A sauce.

Helder, adj.—Clear, clean.

Hol over bol, adj.—Helter skelter.

Hullen, v.—To adorn oneself.

Hunkeren, v.—To hanker after anything.

Hutselen, v.—To hustle, to shake up.

Kreupelbosch, s.—A thicket of small trees.

Mooi, adj.—Handsome.

Mopmuts, s.—A mob cap.

Paaschbloem, s.—A daffodil, Easter flower.

Schemeravond, s.—Twilight, dusk of the evening.

Schimp, s.—A jest, a taunt.

Schooner, s.—A fine vessel. Applied to two masted vessels in the sense of being handsome as compared with sloops. (This is used in Holland.)

Snoepen, v.—To eat dainties in secret.

Snoer, s.—A string.

Spoek, s.—A ghost.

Spraak, s.—A speech.

Sprookje, s.—A story, a fable.

Takkebos, s.—A faggot.

Week, adj.—Soft, weak. Applied as the name of a soft, tender fish caught here, named Weakfish.

Zwakke, s.—A weak fool (antiquated.)

BROOKLYN.

NASSAU.

JAMESTOWN CHURCH.—There have been varied opinions as to the time of the erection of the brick church at Jamestown, Virginia, the ruins of which are still seen. Bishop Meade, in his *Old Parishes*, says "we read of no church being built "between 1619 and 1676," when the town was burned down, and thinks that the ruins are a portion of the building that was in use in 1619. At the same time, he was perplexed to find that the dimensions of the ruined edifice are twenty-eight by fifty-six, while the church of 1619 was only twenty-four by sixty feet.

Governor Harvey, in a communication to the Privy Council of England, in 1639, stated that *a brick church was then building at Jamestown*, and this, no doubt, is the edifice in ruins, as that of 1619 was built of wood.

E. D. N.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHARLEVOIX AND LAKE GEORGE.—Charlevoix has been quoted by a multitude of back writers as saying that Champlain entered Lake George in 1609; yet the fact is, that Champlain never *saw* anything more than the falls at the outlet.

Moreover, Charlevoix said nothing of the kind, but quite the contrary. A little more French would save writers of the class alluded to, from blunders like the above, which have been perpetuated from year to year, with much care. Now that Mr. Shea has brought out CHARLEVOIX in an English dress, shall we longer wink at such statements?

DE C.

NEW YORK CITY.

SPIRITUAL PROGRESS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.—*Extract of a letter from Philadelphia.*—"Not more than two thirds of the quantity of spirituous liquors have been entered into the Excise Office of this city this year, that were entered last year, and the demand for malt liquors has increased in proportion to the diminished consumption of spirits.

"There were formerly *twelve* breweries in Boston, and only *two* distilleries; there are now *thirty-two* distilleries, and *not one* brewery in that town. For shame, for shame, sister Bos-

"ton! From the age of this town, (being our "elder sister), we had a right to expect a better "example."—*The Daily Advertiser*, August 11, 1788, No. 1083.

[WHAT THESE DISTILLERIES WERE USED FOR.]

"*Kingston, Jamaica, June 9th, 1784.*—By "last arrivals from the coast of Africa, we learn "that two American vessels had been on that "coast freighted with *New England Rum* and "tobacco, in order to trade for slaves."—*The Pennsylvania Packet*, July 15, 1784, K.

WHAT THEY THOUGHT OF THE DUTCH AT NEW YORK, IN THE OLDEN TIME.—The *Hollanders* have stolen into a River called *Hudsons* river in the limits of *Virginia* (and about 39 degrees) they have built a strong Fort there, and call it *Prince Maurice* and *New Netherlands*, they drive a trade of *Furres* there with the Natives for above ten thousand pounds a year.

Thus are the *English* nosed in all places, and out-traded by the *Dutch*. They would not suffer the *English* to use them so: But they have vigilant *Statesmen*, and advance all they can for a Common good, and will not spare any encouragements to their people to discover.—*A Perfect Description of Virginia*, London, 1649, Page 9.

NEW YORK K.

FIRST ENGLISHMAN BORN IN NEW ENGLAND.—*Marshfield, July 22.*—Capt. Peregrine White of this Town, aged Eighty-three years, and Eight months; died the 20th Instant. He was vigorous and of a comly aspect to the last; Was the son of Mr. William White and Susanna his wife; born on board the *Mayflower*, Capt. Jones Commander, in Cape Cod harbour, November, 1620, was the first Englishman born in New England. Altho' he was the former part of his life extravagant; yet was much reformed in his last years; and died hopefully.—*The Boston News-Letter*, Monday, July 31, 1704, K.

DOCTOR SHURTLEFF AS A HISTORIAN OF BOSTON HARBOR.—Some time ago Doctor Shurtleff, the present Mayor of Boston, wrote a series of articles on the *Islands of Boston Harbor*; and in his history of *Castle Island*, he, oddly enough, omits to mention the *only* offensive operation the Castle was ever engaged in! I allude to the bombardment of the American Camp on *Nooks Hill*, on the night of the ninth of March, 1776, when the guns of the Castle were employed upon their first and last actual service. This omission certainly does indicate great industry in research.

Doctor Shurtleff regrets the lack of memorials

of the commanders of the Castle. A little well-directed labor, however, might possibly reveal memorials in abundance.

DE C.

NEW YORK CITY.

COPY OF AN ANCIENT DEED.

[The following copy of an Ancient Deed may serve to fill some odd corner of your valuable Magazine.

AUGUSTA, ME.

S. L. B.]

Know all men By These Presents that I ALEXANDER THOYT of Kennebec River in the Eastward Parts of new England for and In Consideration of the Sum of Sixty Eight pounds Current pay received of Mr. Richard Collicutt of Boston Merchant, have Given Granted Bargained & Sold unto him the Said Richard Collicutt his Heirs and assigns forever a Certain Tract of Land Beginning at a Point called Abacadusett Point & so by the river About half a mile with about four miles into the woods, with my housing Orchard and all my Interest in the Lands I have in Kennebec River with all woods Rivers Water Coses mines and minerals unto the Said Richard Collicutt his heirs and Assignes Forever.———And I do By these presents Agree with the Said Richard Collicutt to honor and Defend the Land before Mentioned in Testimony hereof I have sett my hand & seal the Sixth day of may One Thousand Six hundred & Sixty and Two.

Signed Sealed & delivered

his

In presents of vz—

ALEX. — THOIT L. S.

JOHN COSENS.

Marke

GEORGE CLEVES.

THOMAS STAUFRET.

Acknowledgd & Recorded.

[Endorsed:]

Aex. Thoyts Deed to

Richard Collicutt

No. 11.

Elexander Thoyt Deede to

Richar^d Colcutt

Recorded in Book of

Eastward Lands in

New York.

XX.—QUERIES.

ANOTHER POET.—I have a volume of Pamphlets in which are found sundry Poems entitled, "*Bonaparte*;" "*The Storm at Sea*;" "*Madaline*, a fragment of a Swiss Tale;" "*Egbert and Matilda*. 1814." "*Fly, Edwin, Fly*," and two other minor Poems. New York, Published by Haley and Thomas, No. 142 Broadway. 1820, 8vo. pp. 92. The advertisement is dated the twelfth of September, 1820, and states that the Poems "excepting a few Stanzas in the "*Storm at Sea*," were written before the age of nineteen, "when the Author was entering on professional "studies."

Who was he? I have looked through the *Portfolio* for 1820, and the Index to Mr. Duyckinck's *American Literature*, but find no mention of the Poems, in either Work.

ALBANY, NEW YORK.

QUERIST.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—In the Senate of the United States, on the thirtieth of January, Mr. Cragin of New Hampshire, in speaking of this subject, "referred to the fact that free negroes voted in many States as late as 1830, many having voted for Washington." (*New York Tribune*. Jan. 31.) In what States did this possibly occur, legally?

BRONXVILLE, NEW YORK.

DICK.

EXPERIENCE MAYHEW.—In the *Life of Jonathan Mayhew, D. D.*, it is stated that his father, Experience Mayhew, was engaged in a controversy with Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, President of the College in Princeton, New Jersey, about the year 1743-4, in which he wrote in favor of Human Liberty. What was the occasion of this controversy, and what were the titles of the treatises published? None by Dickinson is mentioned by Dr. Green in his *History of Princeton College*, although he claims to have made diligent search in regard to Dickinson's publications. Was it *A Display of God's Special Grace*, published in Boston, in 1741, to which Mayhew replied in his *Two Letters on Human Liberty*? And was his *Grace Defended* a vindication of his position in reply to Dickinson? G.

HARLEM, NEW YORK.

RITZEMA.—Colonel Willett, in his *Narrative*, alleges that Colonel Ritzema of the New York Continentals, finally went over to the British and turned traitor. What authority besides Willett's, is there for this statement, and when did the occurrence take place? O'C.

ALBANY, NEW YORK.

MAJOR JACK DOWNING.—(*H. M. I.*, ii., 292.) In General Wetmore's gracefully written remarks concerning the Boz Reception, he alluded to the late Charles Augustus Davis, as the author of *The Letters of Jack Downing*. I have always supposed that Seba Smith was the author of these papers; and I hope some of your readers will give the facts to the public. HAL.

WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK.

WILLIAM RUSH.—In the November number of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* (II., ii., 319) reference is made to one, William Rush, a modelist.

Pray tell us who this William Rush was;

where he came from; where he lived; what he did to entitle him to be spoken of in connection with Chief-justice Marshall, George Washington, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton; and where he died. I confess I never heard of him before that publication met my eye, and I have not found any who had ever heard of him until then.

BRONXVILLE, NEW YORK.

DICK.

CORPORATION MANUALS. I find some difficulty in determining what are, and what are not, complete sets of these interesting volumes; and if any of your readers will help me I will thank them.

Of the *NEW YORK* Manuals, I have, 1841-2, 1842-3, 1843-4, 1844-5, 1845-6, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861 (First and Second editions), 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1866.

Of the *BROOKLYN* Manuals, I have 1855, 1857, 1858-9, 1859-60, 1861-2, 1863, 1864, 1865.

It seems to me that I am short of the *New York* Manual for 1846, and of the *Brooklyn* Manuals for 1856, 1860-1, 1862, 1866, and 1867; although some who ought to know, tell me that my sets are complete, except *Brooklyn* for '66 and '67.

Will not some persons in authority settle these questions while they may be settled authoritatively, both for the benefit of those who like myself, are now trying to complete their sets, and for those who shall come after us? A COLLECTOR.

NEW YORK CITY.

"TO CALL A SPADE A SPADE."—None of our current dictionaries explain why the name of an innocent implement of agriculture—not to say husbandry—should be made the exemplification of plain speaking. Webster quotes from "Taylor" (definite quotation! easily verified!) a couplet which may hint at a deeper meaning:

"I think it good plain English, without fraud,

"To call a spade a spade, a bawd a bawd."

But this is no explanation. If a gardener's instrument must be cited, one would think that an instance would be chosen from the parsley bed.

Phillip's *New World of Words*, (Ed. 1712,) will however perhaps help us:

"SPADE, one that is gelded, either Man or Beast; also a Deer of three Years; also one of the Figure, on a Pack of Cards."

Neither Johnson, Richardson, the new Webster, nor Worcester, give the first part of this quotation, except that Webster gives "4 (Lat. *Spado*,) A gelded beast;" and Worcester gives the same, verbatim, but as another word.

Can any of your readers tell us any thing to enlighten us on this subject? TYPO.

NEW YORK CITY.

TAMMANY SOCIETY.—I find in the *New York Daily Gazette*, for May 12. 1790, the following item of intelligence:

"The Society of St. Tammany being a national Society, consists of Americans born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans who are eligible to the honorary posts of Warrior and Hunter.

"It is founded on the true principles of Patriotism, and has for its motives, charity and brotherly love.

"Its officers consist of one Grand Sachem, twelve Sachems, one Treasurer, one Secretary, one Door-keeper; it is divided into thirteen tribes, which severally represent a State; each tribe is governed by a Sachem the honorary posts in which are one warrior and one hunter."

Is this organization still kept up, in its original form? G. S. U.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

XXI.—REPLIES.

THE HOMESTEAD OF ETHAN ALLEN (H. M., II., ii., 177.)

NORTH BENNINGTON, VT., }
January 17, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring me to page 177 of the September number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, you inquire if the statement is correct that Ethan Allen's house is still standing in Bennington Center? I answer it is not.

I am quite sure Colonel Allen never owned a residence in Bennington, and I do not think his family ever lived in the town; if they ever did it was but for a very short period. He came to Bennington about 1770, and spent most of his time here until he was made prisoner at Montreal, in September, 1775—his Bennington home being at the public-house of Captain Stephen Fay—his family remaining at Salisbury, Connecticut, or Sheffield, Massachusetts. In 1777, during his captivity, his family removed to Sunderland, fifteen miles North of this town, near the residence of his brother, Ira Allen. Colonel Allen was exchanged in the spring of 1778, and from that time his residence is understood to have been in that town until 1787, when he went to live at Burlington, where he died on the tenth of February, 1789. He built a house in Sunderland, which is said to have been taken down about 1845.

While superintending the publication of his *Oracles of Reason*, in 1784, he spent some months, probably without his family, at the house of his friend, Joseph Fay, and was frequently there afterwards, until he moved to Burlington. From this circumstance the house of Mr. Fay has sometimes been spoken of as having been the residence of

Colonel Allen. It is doubtless the house which gave rise to the statement which has been noticed in your Magazine. It could, however, in no proper sense have been called Colonel Allen's homestead. It was a first class house for the time and place of its erection—its length fronting the street, a wide hall through the center, one story high, with gambrel roof and dormer windows. It is still standing in a dilapidated condition, turned into a tinner's shop.

The tavern-house of "Landlord Fay," sometimes called "the Green Mountain Tavern," which was Allen's headquarters previous to his captivity, and the headquarters of the "Green Mountain Boys," in their contests with the "Yorkers," as it was also of the Vermont Council of Safety, during the trying campaign of 1777, is still standing at Bennington Center. It is a two story house, some forty feet square, substantially built, but fast going to decay. Until within the past year, it has been used and occupied as a private dwelling by descendants of the original proprietor.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

HILAND HALL.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Editor }
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

COMMODORE TUCKER.—In answer to the Query of J. W., in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* of January last (II., iii., 51), "A Life of Commodore "Tucker," is now in press, and will be published early in March. It will be a volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages, handsomely printed, and containing an account of the principal Battles and achievements of this hero of the Revolution, from authentic sources.

J. H. S.

Boston, February 24, 1868.

MR. SUMNER ON SENECA'S PROPHECY CONCERNING AMERICA. (H. M. II, ii, 192.)

I.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I., January 27, 1868.

MY DEAR DAWSON: I have not seen Doctor Hedge's note to *The Transcript*, but Sumner's article is before me, and I am at a loss to understand the ground upon which the charge of confounding the two Senecas and mistranslating the well-known lines of the *Medea* is founded. His words are—"Foremost among all those were the 'well-known verses of the Spaniard, Seneca, in 'the chorus of his *Medea*.'"

Now, as this is the only mention which he makes of Seneca, and both the Senecas, father and son, were natives of *Cordova*, in Spain, how has he confounded the philosopher and the tragedian?

I am equally at a loss to discover in what the

inaccuracy of the translation consists—unless the translation of “*Tethys*” by “*sea*” is called inaccurate—which no scholar will be likely to assert.

As to the “prophetic import of the passage,” Columbus used it as prophetic in the sketch of his work on the prophecies; and two copies of it are still known to exist in his own handwriting. With such testimony to build on, Mr. Sumner was in no need to borrow from Bacon.

As to the charge of second-hand scholarship, it is like the charges of plagiarism in poetry, seldom if ever advanced, except by those who have neither invention nor learning of their own.

I should not be surprised if the Editor, from whose columns you cut the slip which you have admitted to the dignity of a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, had misunderstood Doctor Hedge, as grossly as he has misrepresented Mr. Sumner.

Very truly yours,
GEO. W. GREENE.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

I.

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for September, 1867 (page 192,) we read, “Doctor Hedge, in a note to the Boston *Transcript*, convicts Mr. Sumner of confounding Seneca, the philosopher, “and Seneca, the tragedian,” in reference to a passage in his *Medea*, (certainly a most interesting prophecy) and its application to this continent.

But has it been shown, or can it be shown, that they are not identical? The articles in Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, are generally considered pretty good authority; the one on Seneca is from George Long, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In reference to this point, after enumerating various works ascribed to Seneca, he says, “There are extant ten tragedies, which are attributed to Seneca. Quintilian (*Institutes*, ix. 2, Sec. 9.) and other Latin writers quote these plays as the works of Seneca. The plays are entitled *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais*, or *Phænissa*, *Hyppolytus* or *Phædra*, *Oedipus*, *Troades* or *Hecuba*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Octavus*, and *Octavia*. After all the discussion that there has been about the authorship of these tragedies, there seems no person to whom we can assign them than Seneca, the teacher of Nero. The titles themselves, with the exception of the *Octavia*, indicate sufficiently that the tragedies are Greek mythological subjects treated in a peculiar fashion. * * * The subject of *Octavia* is Nero’s ill treatment of his wife, his passion for *Poppæa*, and the exile of *Octavia*. Seneca himself is one of the personages in the drama; and he is introduced in the second Act, deploring the vices of the age and his own unhappiness in his elevated station.

“There seems no reason why this tragedy should not be attributed to the same author as the other nine, except the fact that it is not contained in the oldest Florentine MS. of the tragedies, nor is there such difference between this and the other tragedies in character and expression, as to make it a probable conclusion that it is not by the same hand.”

Whether this prophecy of the Latin poet refers to America is another question; but we do not see any essential improbability in it.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C. E. F. R.

THE AZTECS, (*H. M.*, II., ii., 251.)

I.

“DICK” is informed that he can find some notice of the Aztecs, in General Harrison’s *Discourse on the Aborigines of Ohio*, printed in the *Transactions of the Ohio Historical Society*, Part Second, Volume I. 1839; and also in a work by the late Bishop Madison, of Virginia.

The two Aztec children, referred to, have been twice exhibited in this city; once when first brought to this country, and again a few years since. They were seen by the writer, in 1866, at Barnum’s Museum, New York.

PROVIDENCE, R. I. E. M. S.

II.

Among the best authorities concerning the Aztecs, are Clavigero’s *Storia Antica del Messico*, Humbolt’s *Histoire Politique du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, *Atlas Pittoresque, ou Vues des Cordilleres*, Aglio’s *Antiquities of Mexico*, Knight’s *English Encyclopedia*, Article, “GEOGRAPHY,” (i. 781-788) and *Penny Cyclopædia*, (iii. 208-212).

Concerning the children, they were brought to this country some twelve or fifteen years ago—I speak only from recollection—and were also exhibited in Europe.

The story which was told of them was evidently only made up in order to deceive and draw more money; and I will not occupy your space in repeating it.

They were a pair of idiotic dwarfs who had been taught to stammer a few words of bad English; and European scholars more than our own, were loud in their condemnation of the fraud.

AN EX-POLICEMAN.

NINTH PRECINCT, NEW YORK CITY.

COLUMBUS’S DEATH-PLACE AND THE STORY OF THE EGG, (*H. M.*, II., ii., 251.)

I.

In the October number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, “WAAL BOGT” enquires “What au-

"thority is there for the old story of Columbus, "making the egg stand on one of its ends? and "where did Columbus die?"

Referring to Irving's *Life*, I find that Columbus died on the twentieth of May, 1506; and that his last words were "*In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.*" The place of his death is not mentioned, but may be inferred, as his body was deposited in the Convent of St. Francisco, and his obsequies celebrated in the Parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, at Valladolid. His remains were subsequently removed, as is well known, first to Seville, and then to Hispaniola.

With regard to the egg story I candidly confess I do not know what authority there is for it, though it is told in all the lives of the great navigator and discoverer I have seen.

A similar story is told of Filippo Brunelleschi, the Florentine Sculptor and Architect, who died when Columbus was but ten years old. If Columbus rebuked his envious detractors, as is said, it is highly probable he had heard the story told of Brunelleschi, a dispute about a dome being much more likely to have suggested it.

Filippo Brunelleschi lived between the years 1377 and 1446; but the first edition of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, in which the story is told, was published in 1550, forty-two years after Columbus's first voyage. The story in Vasari is as follows:

"In 1407,* the Florentines, desirous of having constructed the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore, "an assemblage of Architects and Engineers was "gathered by the Syndics of the Guild of Wood-workers and by the Superintendents of the "work, to consult on the means by which the "cupola might be raised. Among them appeared "Brunelleschi, who declared the Cupola might "be raised without any great mass of wood work, "without any column in the centre, and without "a mound of earth, according to the plans of "other Architects. His explanations and plans "were derided, and he might easily have shown "a small model, but this he refused to do, but "proposed to all the masters, foreigners and "compatriots, that he could make an Egg stand "upright on a piece of smooth marble; but none "discovered the method of doing so. Wherefore, "Filippo being told he might make it stand himself, took it daintily into his hand, gave the "end of it a blow on the plane of the marble, and "made it stand upright. Beholding this, the "artists loudly protested, exclaiming that they "could all have done the same; but Filippo replied, laughing, that they might know also "how to construct the Cupola if they had seen

"the model and designs. It was thus at length "resolved that Filippo should receive the charge "of conducting the work, but he was told he "must furnish the Syndics and Wardens with more "exact information." G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

II.

COLUMBUS'S DEATH-PLACE.—The Spaniards always call Columbus, "COLON;" and there is in Valladolid a street called "*Calle de Colon*," in which, at No. 2. Parrochia de la Magdalena, the navigator is said to have died. It is a private residence, and was standing a few months since.

It is true, Mr. Irving gives no satisfactory statement of his death-place, since he makes Columbus go to Segovia in order to have an interview with Ferdinand, and disposes of him by death without returning him from that place, yet he describes as at Valladolid, the funeral pomp with which his obsequies were celebrated in the parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antigua de Valladolid.

Murray's *Handbook* and Ford's *Handbook to Spain* both mention Valladolid as Columbus's death-place.

AN EX-POLICEMAN.

NINTH PRECINCT, NEW YORK.

III.

"Columbus died at Valladolid."—So says Robertson, quoting Herrera; and see Irving's *Columbus*, ii. 230.

If the enquiry as to his epitaph refers to that over his remains, the following extract from a letter published some years ago will give the explanation.

"The Cathedral at Havana is the honored "place of deposit, for what now remains of the "mortal part of the great Colon. A receptacle "in the wall, on the right of the main Altar contains the ashes: and the spot is designated by a "small plain tablet surmounted by a bust, executed by a foreign artist, in 1822, by the order and "under the direction of the then Bishop of "Havana;—a venerable man, whose long life "was devoted to acts of benevolence, humanity, "and liberal feeling. The tablet contains this "inscription:

"¡O Restos y Ymagen del grande Colon!
"Mil siglos durad guardados en la Urna
"Y en la remembranza de nuestra nacion.
"Z. Fuit Habana MDCCCXXII."

Which may be thus translated:—

"Remains and image of Columbus!—a thousand ages will ye be preserved in this urn and "in the remembrance of our nation." G. P.

NEW YORK CITY.

* The date here assigned the story is twenty-nine years before the birth of Columbus.

MATTHEW CLARKSON. (*H. M.*, II., iii., 51, 52.)

EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—In the January number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, "INQUIRER" challenges the statement made in Dr. Stiles' *History of Brooklyn*, (i. 169) attributing a certain letter to Secretary Clarkson.

"INQUIRER" is evidently "at home" in all the documentary evidence to which ordinary students have access for the examination of this case; and his challenge would, therefore, seem to imply that he possesses some additional light upon the authorship of the letter in question. If he has not, and relies simply upon the intrinsic evidence of the letter itself, we must dissent from his deductions. At least, we would like to have him inform us, in what particular (*i. e.*, judging from the letter itself) does "it look much more like the work of" Counsellors Bayard, Nicoll and Brooke."

Aside from this question of authorship, however, "INQUIRER" seems to cast a fling, wholly gratuitous, upon a man of whom history tells us but little. Is it just, to accuse Clarkson of incapacity, upon the authority, alone, of Lord Bellomont? How is it that the Secretary ever obtained his Commission, if he was not qualified for his office; or, having obtained it, that he continued to hold it until the day of his death, a *period of thirteen years*? We hear of no complaint, by the other Governors, of his want of ability—strange that Bellomont alone should have discovered it—and, why did he not remove so incompetent an officer? The answer is given by the Governor himself: "I have not displaced Mr. Clarkson, for there is no body here *fit* for that post."

Nicholas Bayard, whose ability "INQUIRER" does not doubt, must have held Clarkson in somewhat different estimation, as in a list furnished by him, in 1701, of the principal Freeholders fit for the Council, he gives prominence to the name of the Secretary.

It is probable that the political antagonisms of Bellomont and Clarkson provoked these complaints, and no doubt engendered a little personal hatred between them. It is too evident that Bellomont was not slow to seize every opportunity that presented to provoke Clarkson. On one occasion, when the latter resented some indignity that had been offered to him by punishing the offender, the Governor hastened to add a Postscript to his letter, to report the matter to the Lords of Trade. Bellomont did not know at the time, what he discovered shortly after, that the instigator of the offence, a Mr. Parmiter, had been a forger at Bristol and was there tried, but subsequently, a doned.

On another occasion, we read, Governor Fletcher appointed a clerk of the Council *with the Secretary's* (Clarkson) *approbation and to act as his Deputy*, the emoluments, it may be inferred, to be enjoyed between them. Bellomont removed

the clerk, and of course the perquisites, and appointed one of his own friends to the office. But this was not all, the Governor actually refused Clarkson's salary, though it amounted to no more than thirty pounds per annum, being a provision made for the Stationary of the office; and when the matter was referred to the Council it appears that Bellomont always laid by the Warrant without signing it, "*no cause or reason being alleged in Council, or otherwise for his so doing.*" The sequel shows that the Council did not support the conduct of the Governor, as Warrants were issued for the payment of the money.

It is unnecessary we, think, to add more. If Clarkson was incompetent for his office it seems only right to ask for some more definite proof of the fact than the article of "INQUIRER" furnishes. Is a political opponent apt to be the fairest critic of one's character and abilities? Would "INQUIRER" himself choose such an one to transmit his name to posterity? JUSTITIA.

BROOKLYN.

MILES STANDISH'S COPPER KETTLE, (*H. M.*, II., ii., 176.)—The September number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE contained an extract from *The Boston Transcript* which questions the statement that Miles Standish stole an iron pot on Cape Cod.

The account will be found in *Mourt's Journal*, as given in YOUNG's *Chronicles*, (P. 133.) The account says, "we found a great Kettle, which 'had been a ship's Kettle, & brought out of 'Europe.' It was buried by the Indians, on Hopkins's Cliff, near Powet Harbor, Truro. After carrying it three or four miles they sunk it in a pond. (P. 135).

This pond is in North Truro, at the place called Pond Village. Of the identity of these localities there can be no doubt. DE. C.

NEW YORK CITY.

MARKET PLACES IN BOSTON. (*H. M.*, II., ii., 178) —In April, 1734, *three* places were assigned for *Market-places*, on which buildings were to be erected; namely, one in "Orange-street, over 'against the house and land of Mr. Thomas 'Downe," one "on the Town's ground, or open 'space on the Town Dock or Wharf commonly 'called Dock Square." The other to be upon "the open space before & about the Old North 'Meeting house." They were slight wooden structures, and were all ready for use and opened in less than two months after they were authorised to be built. S. G. D.

BOSTON.

MR. IRVING'S *Life of Washington*, (*H.*, *M.*, II., iii., 178.)

[We have received from a near friend of Mr. Irving the

following concerning the note to the Langleys, written by him, in 1841, and copied into our last number.

Although this note was not written for publication, we have obtained permission to print the following portion of it. *ED. HIST. MAG.*

NEW YORK January 15, 1868.

DEAR MR. DAWSON:

The letter of Mr. Washington Irving, addressed to the Langleys and dated on the *thirteenth of December*, 1841, was new to me. It has its interest, but can hardly be considered indicative of the *origin of his Life of Washington*. Overtures for a *Life of Washington* were made to Mr. Irving by Constable, the Edinburgh publisher, as far back as 1825. In 1829, at the close of the year, he writes to his brother Peter that he had determined upon a *Life of Washington*, and would take his own time to execute it. When Paulding's *Life of Washington* appeared, in the winter of 1835-6, not caring to seem to take the field against his old friend and early literary associate, he gave up all thought of this long meditated task, and did not return to the theme until the Autumn of 1841, a few weeks from the date of his letter to the Langleys. It was then resumed, but soon interrupted by his appointment as Minister to Spain, where he wrote but a few chapters.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER TOLERATED IN VIRGINIA. (*H. M.*, II., ii., 177.)—It is difficult to tell what your correspondent means by "the first newspaper tolerated in Virginia was issued in 1780."

The *Virginia Gazette*, a weekly paper, was issued at Williamsburgh, Virginia, on Friday, the sixth of August, 1736. It was edited by W. Parks, and was published almost without any intermission for fifty years. I had a complete set of it, with the exception of two volumes, extending from the first numbers to 1808 or 1810, which was destroyed with my library, in the fire of the third of April, 1865, at the evacuation of this city.

The *Virginia Historical Register*, Volume VI., (1853) has a lengthy notice of it, with several pages of extracts from its columns.

T. H. W.

RICHMOND, VA. 1867.

XXII.—BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*The origin of M'Fingal*. By Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1868. Octavo, pp. 40.

Our readers will not fail to remember the ap-

pearance, in our January number, of an exceedingly valuable and interesting article, concerning the origin of Trumbull's *M'Fingal*, from the pen of the accomplished scholar who presides with so much propriety over the Historical Society of Connecticut. That article attracted so much attention from scholars and collectors of fine books, that we have prepared and issued two editions in book form, which may be bound with any edition of *M'Fingal* which shall be considered worthy of such an addition.

It is on both tinted and plain paper; and forms a very neat little affair of forty pages.

The edition numbered thirty-six copies on tinted, and fifty-six on white, paper.

2.—*Publications of the Narragansett Club*. (First Series.) Volume III. Providence, R. I. 1867. Small quarto, pp. (iv) xiv, 428.

We have alluded, in former notices, to the valuable series of works which the Narragansett Club is sending out; and in the beautiful volume before us we are furnished with the subject of a similar notice.

This volume is a careful reprint of the first edition of Roger Williams's *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, with a brief Introduction and explanatory Notes, by Professor Caldwell, of Brown University—a very interesting and important work, and a very capable editor.

When we took up the volume we promised ourselves a treat. We said to ourselves that we had undoubtedly found, at last, an ample and faithful record of that great contest between Rome and Jerusalem, which had been waged so relentlessly during the sixteen hundred years which had passed away between the Ascension of our Lord and the writing of this book,—that contest, for "THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE," in which Baptists so well knew how to *suffer* and Rome and her semi-disobedient and protesting children, so well knew how to *inflict punishment*, whether in England or Holland, in Switzerland or Scotland, in Massachusetts Bay or New Netherland. We said to ourselves, also, that we should, probably, now, at least, have something new concerning the "freedom to worship God," in Massachusetts Bay, of which poor Roger and his friends *saw* so little, and we have *heard* so much. We certainly expected to learn something—or at least, to read something we already knew—concerning the particular occasion which led Roger Williams, in the midst of his arduous duties as an Out-door Poor-master, *in London*, to occupy his spare moments, even when on duty, in carrying on a controversy with the learned Teacher of the First Church in Boston, on a subject which seemed to require so little haste; and it never entered our mind to doubt that Mr. Williams's intimate personal rela-

tions with his opponent, in years gone by—so well known to students, but not to the multitude—would receive the careful, although brief, attention of his Editor. But, more than all, we promised ourselves a treat in following the learned Professor through his analysis of Roger's argument, in this, his great work on "Soul freedom;" and we were certain that, at least, the inconsistency of Roger, in his failure to practice what he had previously taught, would be amply explained, by a thoroughly competent hand. In short, we expected such an edition of *The Bloody Tenent*, as would make The Hansard Knollys Society of London ashamed of the volume which it published, twenty years ago, and stamp the pretence of New England scholarship, concerning New England's History, as genuine and well-founded.

All this we expected, when we took up the volume before us; but, as Burns has it,

"The best laid plans of mice and men,
"Aft gang a-gley—"

and we were disappointed—sadly, wholly disappointed.

We have no heart to say a word concerning this particular book, or those whose names are paraded on the title-page; but our duty to our readers requires us to say that Roger Williams has been shabbily treated by his Rhode Island Editor; that the latter has discharged his trust in a most slop-shod and imperfect manner; and that if *The Bloody Tenent* ever needed an Editor, its need of one is no less, now, than it ever has been. Need we say more to the discredit of Professor Caldwell as the Editor of Roger Williams's *Bloody Tenent*? If so, we can easily do so.

The printers, however, have earned credit for the beauty of their workmanship; and if they would enforce a little more diligence on their proof-reader, in learning the difference, in the "old-style" type, between an "f" and a long "s," we should feel bound to yield them even a much higher share of credit among "the trade."

Of this work two hundred copies are printed—we believe that is the entire number.

3.—*Polydori Virgilii de Rerum Inventoribus*; translated into English by John Langley; With an account of the Author and his Works, by William A. Hammond, M.D. New York: Agathynian Club, 1868. Octavo, pp., xvi, 242, xvii.

In this very curious work, we have the second of the issues of the noted "Agathynian Club" of New York City, aided by the ready pen and excellent judgment of our accomplished friend, Professor William A. Hammond, that bold man who, as Surgeon-general of the armies of the United States, dared to strike Calomel from the lists of medicines to be used, and to beard Secretary Stanton without fear.

We find scattered through the work many cu-

rious essays on "The Sciences, Mysteries, Rites, "Orders, and Ceremonies, both Ecclesiastical and "Civil;" and, although we think something which is of more practical, every-day usefulness might have been selected for re-issue, it is undoubtedly very interesting to a large class of readers.

The typography is very creditable to "The "Agathynian Press" of Moorhead, Simpson, & Bond; although there seems to be room for improvement in some portions of the press-work.

The edition numbered one hundred and twenty copies.

4.—*The Brooklyn Water Works and Sewers*. A Descriptive Memoir. Prepared and printed by order of the Board of Water Commissioners. Illustrated by fifty-nine lithographic plates. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1867. Large quarto, pp. xxvi, 160.

As early as 1834, while Brooklyn was yet a country village, Gabriel Furman and James Walters—the former a well known annalist; the latter, if we remember rightly, a plumber—proposed to dig wells near Fort Greene, in order to supply the little community with water; but the little community and its government heeded them not.

Thirteen years afterward, in 1847, David A. Bokee and a few others revived the inquiry, and the accomplished Major Douglass was called upon for his counsel on the subject; but Brooklyn, although no longer a village, nor in the country, was no less wedded to her wells than she had been in 1834; and again the project was abandoned.

In 1849, a third attempt was made to secure this great blessing; but even then, Brooklyn preferred the old pumps on the corners, and an aqueduct was *not* provided for. In 1851, an appropriation was secured, in order to enable the necessary surveys to be made; and an energetic Committee, with Mr. Charles R. Marvin at its head, and Mr. E. B. Litchfield at its foot, was appointed to take charge of the subject. Messrs. Jarvis and McAlpine were employed to examine and report on the sources of supply.

In 1852, further examinations were made, and elaborate Reports were written; but no steps were yet taken to carry the recommendations into effect.

In April of that year, taking advantage of the information obtained by the different Committees, already referred to, a company was organized in Williamsburg, and duly incorporated; and it proceeded to purchase the more important sources of supply which Mr. McAlpine had previously examined and reported on, to the Common Council of Brooklyn. It also employed General Ward B. Burnett as its Engineer; received two Reports from him; and really seemed to have outwitted the authorities of the larger city of the two.

In July, 1853, agreeable to a statute providing

for such action, the burghers in Brooklyn, voted on the subject, and *rejected the propositions, by a vote of nearly two against to every one in favor of the aqueduct*; and, for the time, all proceedings on the subject were suspended.

In 1854, what seems to have been an union of the Common Council of Brooklyn and the Company at Williamsburgh was effected; and General Burnett became the recognized head of the consolidated interests; but the burghers resolutely *rejected the proposition, by a larger relative majority than before*, at a special election, holden in July, 1854; and "the town pumps" were again triumphant.

In 1855, a private corporation was created with the title of THE NASSAU WATER COMPANY, for the professed purpose of doing for Brooklyn what Brooklyn refused to do for herself; but Brooklyn did not yet either swallow the bait, or allow herself to be cajoled into an abandonment of her dear old pumps on the corners.

In November, 1855, a "Vigilance Water Committee" having meanwhile been organized for the purpose of dragooning the city into the measure, the Common Council voted to subscribe One million dollars of the capital stock of this skeleton "Nassau Water Company"—to which only Five hundred dollars of subscriptions had been made—but the breathless skeleton had not enough of vitality in its organization to take the necessary action to secure that liberal accession to its strength.

At length, weary of these various movements, a number of public-spirited citizens—among whom were Messrs. Prentice, Wall, Brevoort, Graves, etc., in April, 1856, sought an interview with the municipal authorities, for the purpose of advancing the project of introducing pure water into the city; and the disinterested efforts of these gentlemen were crowned with complete success.

In May, 1856, a Board was organized, with John H. Prentice as President, and J. Carson Brevoort as Secretary; and, in June, James P. Kirkwood, was appointed Engineer-in-chief of the proposed work.

On the twenty-first of July, 1856, work was begun on the reservoir; and on the twenty-eighth of April, 1859, the completion of the work was officially celebrated.

The works thus completed, with the additions subsequently added, have supplied, in 1866, Twenty-two thousand, two hundred, and forty-four taps, with One million, four hundred and fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and twenty-four gallons of good water, at a cost to the city, exclusive of interest on the cost of the works, of One hundred and sixty-seven thousand, five hundred dollars, and produced rents to the amount of Four hundred and sixty-two thousand, six hundred and nineteen dollars.

In the volume before us, a magnificent quarto,

some one—undoubtedly our friend and contributor, J. Carson Brevoort, Esqr., the Secretary of the Board—has contributed a well-written historical sketch of the progress of the enterprize; and this is followed with an elaborate description of the works themselves, from the pen of the accomplished Engineer of the work, James P. Kirkwood, Esqr. The Sewerage of the city is next described by Mr. Kirkwood; and in an Appendix, we find Reports of various Engineers, concerning the Steam-engines, Pumps, etc., which are employed on the works. The plates are from the establishment of J. Bien, of New York, and reflect great credit on his ability as an artist.

We know of no more important publication, concerning the City of Brooklyn, than this; and the good judgment which has been displayed in its passage through the Press is as honorable to all concerned as the work which it describes is honorable to the city itself.

When shall we see as well-timed, and judicious, and creditable a description of the Croton aqueduct?

5.—*The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-general of the Army of the Revolution.* By George Washington Greene. In three volumes. Vol. I. New York: G. F. Putnam & Son. 1867. Octavo, pp. xxiv, 688.

In the volume before us, we have the first of three, in which the grandson of General Greene proposes to send down the stream of Time, what may be considered the authorized story of the life and services of that great man—great, even in the days of the giants of our country's history.

Of General Greene's masterly abilities and purity of character, no one can justly entertain a doubt; and his grandson, honorably proud of such an ancestor, has earnestly labored, through the best years of his life, to qualify himself for the agreeable duty of permanently recording the narrative of his life and services. Nathanael Greene was truly worthy of all the honors which have been conferred on his memory.

In this volume, we have the narrative of the General's life until his appointment as Quartermaster-general, in 1778—including, of course, those portions on which rest the vexed questions concerning the Battle of Long-island, the Siege of Fort Mifflin, the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, etc.

The story of Nathanael Greene's early life is told with great minuteness in the First Book; and we have read it with much satisfaction. The Second Book, however, is that, in the present volume, which will most certainly command the attention of the careful reader.

In the latter, we have the narrative of the General's early professional career; and those who know what he did and where he did it, insensibly turn to those pages on which Professor Greene

has described the operations around New York and Philadelphia, with the expectation of finding some new light on what has hitherto seemed to be obscure.

The narrative of the siege of Boston is well told; but we find nothing of general interest that Mr. Frothingham has not already laid before the world in his justly celebrated *Siege of Boston*. The Battle of Long-island, too, is glanced at; but General Greene's sickness seems to have led his grandson to suppose that that action and its surroundings are beyond his subject—an opinion in which we cannot agree with him.

We notice, also, very little—we may say that we find nothing—of the details of General Howe's occupation of the City of New York, his successful seizure of the waters of the Hudson and East rivers, his movement into Westchester County, and his operations while he was in the latter neighborhood; yet, if we understand the subject of General Greene's military life correctly, an accurate knowledge of all these is as essential to a correct understanding of that subject as is an acquaintance with the Multiplication table to a proper understanding of an example in Long Division.

The consequence of this serious omission—or what we conceive to be such—is seen in the Professor's unsuccessful attempt to describe, in all its rich detail, the most glorious instance, in his earlier career, of his illustrious Grandfather's unquestionable greatness—we refer to his resolute occupation of Mount Washington and its dependencies, even after the original purpose of its occupation had been frustrated and in the face of the most appalling disadvantages, in order to protect the main army, under General Washington, from annihilation at White Plains or its vicinity, by General Howe and his auxiliaries.

We regret, most deeply, that the Author of this volume has not availed himself of this opportunity to rescue the memory of General Greene from what seems to be the odium which ignorance and sectional intolerance have thrown around it, in this instance; and we regret, yet more, that he seems, by his apologetic tone, to concede that some excuse is necessary in order to relieve his Grandfather's character from censure, because of the loss of Fort Washington. We regret this omission and this concession to error, because we believe that they tend to throw more strength into the hands of historical falsehood; and the latter is already too strongly intrenched to please us.

We are not insensible of the distinguished honor which Professor Greene has paid to us, individually, in his Note on page 274, and we promise ourself much pleasure, one of these days, in overhauling this business; but the work of rescuing General Greene from the hands of the spoilers, of giving him honor where he has now

only shame, and of branding the infamous rascals who are now gaily floating on the tide of popular favor because of virtues which they never possessed, should have been the work of General Greene's grandson rather than that of a stranger. Besides, we have already, through the pages of this Magazine, clearly presented the exact truth to the world, and as clearly indicated wherein the distinguished Quaker had established, at *Fort Washington*, his title to professional pre-eminence; yet our information has been disregarded without even a passing notice. When we shall take up this subject, therefore, we shall be merely a protestant in behalf of what we conceive to be the truth of History; and having filed our objections to the dominant party, in order to save the rights of the Truth which we endeavor to represent and defend, before the tribunal of the World of Letters, we shall leave the subject to the fate which God has assigned to it.

We do not propose to condemn the mere style of any such writer as Professor Greene, whose good name, in that respect, is firmly established and widely known; but, for such a work as this, the style which the Professor has employed in this instance, does not please us. It answers very well, as we understand it, for the lighter literature of the day; but for grave, historical works, wherein the plain Truth rather than a gilded Nothingness should find fit places of repose, our judgment would have led us to select a different style.

We have also seen, or fancied that we saw them, many instances of thoughtlessness on the part of the Author—a fault for which there is little excuse since the work has evidently been written for general circulation rather than for the private use of the studious few.

Thus, like Mr. Bancroft, he too often assumes that many of the least known facts of American history are as well known to all his readers as to himself; and, consequently, many portions of his story, when addressed to the general reader, are only half-told and, very likely, too often will be entirely misunderstood. As an instance, let us refer to the entirely separate action and exercise of their authority by the several Colonies, even in their military affairs, which are only glanced at, on page 89, and most unaccountably left without any notice, when, on page 100, he was quoting the special authorization of Washington to command the Rhode Island troops, which the General Assembly transmitted to him at Cambridge, through its own General commanding Rhode Island's "Army of Observation"—Nathanael Greene. How few there are who will learn from this volume, therefore, that, when before Boston, General Greene was absolutely without a superior officer in the Army, yet, he was, also, without any authority, whenever he went outside the Rhode Island

Camp; and that, until Washington had been formally invested with authority to command the troops from Rhode Island, by Rhode Island's own local authorities, he had less authority among them than any Corporal of their number. Yet such were the facts.

Again: when General Greene would arrest David Mathews, a prominent Loyalist of New York, he did not presume to do so, even by his own troops, until he had obtained a warrant for the arrest, from the local civil authorities; yet the Author of this work sees nothing in that notable instance of his grandfather's recognition of the supremacy of the civil over the military power, even in the midst of a war, as worthy of a syllable of comment, notwithstanding he is very profuse in his admiration of what, in the same case, he regards as "the domination of the strong 'hand and absolute will' of his ancestor. Very much stronger than 'the strong hand,' in this instance, we submit, was General Greene's implicit obedience to the Civil law, even when dealing with a public enemy, in time of Civil War.

We will mention only another instance—that, on page 193, in which the Author speaks of "the 'Park, then open ground and frequently used 'for drill and parades,' on which the General is said to have first seen Hamilton; without indicating *where* that 'Park' was. As New York City had not been referred to, for many pages, no one who was previously unacquainted with the facts would have suspected that that acquaintance was formed, if Professor Greene is correct, on what was then the Common, now "the Park," in New York City.

We mention these as instances of the Author's forgetfulness that the usefulness of his volumes may be greatly impaired by the omission of a very few lines, which are absolutely necessary to enable the general reader to understand the details of the narrative; and we venture to express a hope that this fault may be avoided in the volumes which are to follow.

The typography is very good; but a work of this importance, one would suppose, might have secured a steel-plate portrait of its subject, instead of an ordinary photograph.

6.—*Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861, to April, 1865.* By Adam Badeau, Colonel and Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, Brevet Brigadier-general U. S. Army. Volume I. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1868.

This volume is the first of a series in which only the professional career of General Grant is to be noticed; and it is from the pen of a member of his personal staff having the free use of all the correspondence and documents at Headquarters and the War Department, including the

papers of the enemy which were captured at the close of hostilities. It brings the subject down to the promotion of Grant to the Lieutenant-generalship; and as it is issued with the General's entire personal approbation, it may be considered as nearly Autobiographical.

The authority of this volume, under these circumstances, as far as its relation of facts is concerned, cannot be disputed, even if the expressions of its Author's judgment shall sometimes be open to dissent; and it will continue to be regarded through all time to come, as one of the leading authorities concerning the War of Secession.

It is very beautifully printed, on good paper; and the profuse use of authoritative Maps renders the text much more intelligible to the non-professional reader than is usually the case.

7.—*History of the American Civil War.* By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. In three volumes. Volume I. containing the Causes of the War, and the events preparatory to it, up to the close of President Buchanan's Administration. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 567. Price \$3.50.

In this handsome volume, we have the first of a series in which the learned Author proposes to treat of the causes which led to the recent Civil War, and of the events connected with it, not, he says, in a partisan, but in a philosophical and impartial spirit; which every one will admit is as unusual as it is commendable.

Although this volume is merely introductory, the learned Author unfolds in it the leading features of his system; and, except in his description and discussion of military affairs, we are already enabled to judge of the general course of his reasoning and the general character of his work.

The Doctor maintains, for instance, that the History of the United States may be divided into three distinct Divisions, each relating to a distinct period of what he styles the "American National 'Life'"—the first concerning the period during which the leading feature was "an earnest acceptance of the Idea of Political Unity;" the second concerning the period in which was manifested a tendency to a "Decomposition of the 'Nation which had arisen from that Idea, into 'two Geographical and Opposing Political powers, the North and the South, or the Free and 'the Slave;' and the third concerning 'the Conflict of those two Powers for Supremacy.'" In the volume before us, the Doctor discusses the first two of these subjects; and that of the third is left for the second and third volumes of the series.

In the consideration of this work it may be well to ascertain, FIRST, the standpoint from which the Author has surveyed the Past of our Country and undertaken to describe it, *historically*—for this work claims to be a "*History of*

"the American Civil War"—in order that the Author may be treated justly; and, SECOND, the truth of his leading ideas, so far as his *History* is concerned, in order that his Narrative may be judged from its merits, rather than from the eloquence or the boldness of its Author.

FIRST, then, the Author is a native of England, although a resident of New York during the past twenty or thirty years; and his sympathies, as far as any political sympathy has been manifested in him, have been and are *wholly with the Monarchical system which is seated in London and controls the destiny of his native country.*

With the American system, as it was understood by its Authors, and as it exists, *de jure*, to-day, Doctor Draper has no sympathy whatever; and, not very much unlike others, even among the natives of the country, who belong to the same school, he seems to disregard the *facts of History* concerning that system, even when he professes to be considering the subject as a *Historian*; and he treats the History of the United States and the United States themselves, as if his subject were a Monarchy, governing a consolidated Nation, instead of a Federal Republic, in which the constituents are separate and independent States and "the Government" their limited Agents.

The Doctor affects, therefore, to speak, *Historically*, of the United States after the manner of the Schoolmen, with the addition of a sufficient quantity of the Military upstart, to make his *ipse dixit* appear to be the supreme law. His *theories*, in his volumes, therefore, take the place of *facts*, and not unfrequently peremptorily contradict them, especially when those facts come in conflict with what the Doctor would have us suppose were the plans and the action of the founders of the Republic.

SECOND, in our consideration of the subject, is the Narrative of the Doctor's *History*, in which the controlling ideas are the assumed existence, from the beginning of the Republic, of a deliberate intention on the part of its founders to establish a great Nation, extending from New Brunswick to Florida, and the assumed success of the undertaking, in the establishment of a National Unity, in Political matters, and in the perpetuation to the present time, unimpaired, of that "Political Unity" which, in theory, the Doctor had previously assumed to have been really called into existence. All this would be very pleasing in some branches of Literature; but in what assumes to be a *History*, its propriety may be properly questioned, since *History* can properly deal with nothing but *facts*; and naked speculations, unsupported by facts and generally contradicted by them, as in the instance under consideration, belong to other Departments.

Doctor Draper, occupying such a standpoint as we have described, may very well be expected to

reflect the teachings of the Fathers of the Republic, in Political matters, and to consider as unworthy of his respect the Military operations of both the Fathers and the elder Sons of the Republic, since all these were not in harmony with his well-defined theories; and we need not wonder, for the same reason, that he has considered that "we have *suddenly* become a portent in the eyes "of foreign nations, and have risen to a height "of glory and of power," mainly, if not solely, "through those who have fallen on our battle-fields," in the recent War—all this is very natural, we say, and might reasonably have been expected, in any one who, like Doctor Draper, repudiates the Republican doctrine of "consent "in the Governed," as the corner-stone of the Commonwealth, and substitutes for it the great Feudal principle of "Force," as the true bond of "National Unity," which has recently and *suddenly* become the Supreme law of the land, overriding even the Constitution itself and bidding defiance to even the reserved rights of individuals.

In what we have said concerning Doctor Draper's qualifications as a mere writer of *History*, we desire only to speak of the great underlying principle, in Politics, which controls, insensibly, it may be, his mind and his pen. He knows as well as any one, and admits, the necessity, in a *Historian*, for "fullness of information as to the "facts, and freedom from bias as to persons;" but he seems to regard as less necessary the faithful employment of that "information;" while his "freedom from bias, as to persons" does not seem to be in harmony with what may be assumed to be a similar freedom concerning their actions.

Thus, Doctor Draper does not directly affect to consider the Fathers of the Republic as anything but enemies of a Monarch who, in all the measures which led to Revolution, was only striving to consolidate his legal subjects and to centralize his legitimate power; yet he would have us believe that those same Fathers, at the same time that they resisted that Monarch's theory of a centralized consolidation of all Political authority into the Home Government, as the seat of the Sovereignty, were diligently engaged in laying the foundation of an equally obnoxious centralized power at Washington; that while they strenuously asserted their own inherent right, and the inherent right of every People, *as such*, to give or withhold their "consent" to every "form of Government," which "consent" was said to be necessary in order to give vitality to the measure, they were, at the same time, inconsistently employing their strength in establishing an *undivided* authority in the land, which should disregard, whenever it would, even the Written Law which they were establishing as "Supreme," and whose uncontrolled will, even when violating the unquestionably reserved Rights of the inhabitants, was to be

still more Supreme than "the Supreme Law of the land" and be considered the Crowning Glory of the Country.

Without, himself, recognizing the necessity of their "consent" to the establishment of a consolidated "American Nationality," before it could be legally established in the Republic, and closing his eyes to the positive action, on that specific subject, of successively the Congress, the Convention, and each of the States of the Union, each of the latter acting in its Sovereign capacity—the Congress, when it framed the *Articles of the Confederation*; the Convention when it formally voted on that specific subject while framing the *Constitution*; and each of the States, when they successively gave vitality to those organic Laws of the Confederacy,—Doctor Draper steadily speaks of "the American National Life" and "the American Nation," as if they were existing facts instead of *ideal figures* of his own creation; and, as steadily, he thrusts them into his volume and arrogantly calls it History.

We need not tell the Doctor, since even a Chinese scholar has read it in our History and in our structure as a Republic, that what he untruly calls "the American Nation," is a structure which was framed by those who insisted that what, in Politics, had not received their legal "consent," directly and honestly expressed, was fraudulent, an usurpation, and entirely, a nullity; that these political architects steadily maintained the supremacy within their own Territories, of the several Peoples, thirteen in number, who had withdrawn themselves from the dominion of the King of Great Britain, clothed themselves, each for itself, with sovereign authority, and called themselves "States;" that these Fathers never "consented" to a merger of these *thirteen* several Peoples, nor of their several authorities into *one* consolidated People, vested with *one* Sovereign authority; and that for this very reason, such *one* People—"the American NATION"—never existed, either in Law or in fact, during their existence; that no Amendment to the organic Law of the Republic—the *Constitution for the United States*—has been subsequently submitted to, much less received, the "consent" of, those who have been subsequently the parties to that instrument, by which or through which, directly or indirectly, those *thirteen* have been or may be made *one*, or the Confederacy converted into a *Nation*; that, therefore, such an "American Nation," one and indissoluble, as the Doctor is thus wet-nursing, has not been yet created, is not now existing in Law, and cannot now be treated as a *Historical* fact, without a positive violation of the great principle which should control every *Historian's* pen and permeate every line of what is to be considered and treated as *History*.

It is proper to say, however, that whether the

United States shall be considered as a Confederation or a Nation, two great antagonistic powers have been transplanted from the Old World, and have taken root and gradually accumulated strength in the New; that those powers, *always antagonistic*, yet *never sectional*, have been necessarily involved in a conflict of arms, which originated in an attempt by one great Political party to retain the supremacy in one portion of the Republic, and has been steadily continued to this day, in a similar attempt, by another great Political party, to retain the supremacy in *every* portion of the Republic; that those powers still exist, as antagonistic and as regardless of locality as ever; and that they will probably exist, similarly antagonistic and similarly indifferent to locality, until either "the man on horseback" shall appear and even the semblance of a Republic shall be "crushed out," or the Prince of Peace shall come in his glory and Time and Conflict shall be no longer.

It will be seen that we consider that what Doctor Draper has so boldly advocated elsewhere, as a *Philosophical* question, and as boldly advanced in this work as *History*, has no foundation in fact, if we have been taught correctly by the most reliable existing Records of the Past; and that we unqualifiedly reject it, as entirely unworthy of our consideration, as *matter of History*. We refer, of course, to his assumption of "the Agency of Climate" in effecting "the separation or differentiation of the Nation into two Sections, *conveniently* known as the North and South, or the Free and the Slave powers," by which several terms he knows the great antagonistic elements in the recent Civil War and present contest at Washington.

It will be seen, also, that we conceive it to be matter of *History*, that the recent contest was induced by a love of authority and a dread, on the part of some of the leading Politicians, that that authority, especially within the Southern States, was about to be transferred to other hands; that "climate" had less to do with the insurrection than a greed for office and honor; and that a similar dread would have produced a similar outbreak in a more Northern latitude, where it would have been prosecuted with equal vigor and resolution while a hope for success had remained.

It will be seen, also, that, unlike Doctor Draper, we do not regard Slavery as the moving cause of the revolt, nor "States' Rights" as that for which it was so bitterly prosecuted:—on the contrary, as in the case of the American Revolution, so called, some of the leading Politicians were impatient of control; they thirsted for honors and authority to which, while in the minority, they could not hope to succeed; and they set to work to reverse the position and to cast the control into other hands than those at Washington. In the former case, the

nominal tax on Tea was dragged before the public; and every old lady's appetite was at once enlisted on the side of the revolt: in the latter, slavery was the hobby, and the property rights of the better classes ceased to be in conflict with the poverty of "the poor whites," the height of whose ambition was to own Negroes like their wealthier neighbors and, like them, to live from the proceeds of the involuntary labor of those Negroes.

That all this is true is evident from the teachings of every page of our History; and the speculations of Doctor Draper, when brought to the test which is thus offered, are showed to be without merit, *as matter of History*.

The truth is, climate had nothing to do either in producing or intensifying either what the Doctor assumes to have been the principal cause which led to the revolt or the principal instrumentality by which that revolt was brought about and promoted. Slavery is said to have been the great moving cause of the *Southern* defection, yet he says nothing, in that connexion, of the tenacity with which *New England* had previously clung to the slave-block and the shackles which she had been among the first to introduce into this Country, until the Supreme Law, much against the free-will of her traders, compelled her to turn her affection in a different direction. Had he referred to it, he must have admitted that New England's stubbornness in this instance, proved conclusively that a *Southern* sun was not necessary for either the *production* of that cause or its *promotion*; while her climate, operating less on the disposition of the white man than on the capability of the negro, by rendering *unprofitable* to the Master the labor of his Slaves, co-operated with the Constitution in making Massachusetts a Free State, and led her subjects, not so often to manumit their Bondmen as to ship them to a more Southern market. Then, as now, the *Dollar* rather than *Climate* was Almighty. So, too, was it evident in her resolute enunciation, time after time, of the most ultra tenets of States Rights, and in her very questionable Conventions at Hartford, to say nothing of her emphatic denunciation, until circumstances of commerce altered the case, of the policy of a Protective Tariff—all of these as ultra, and as bold, and as uncompromising in their character, as they would have been if the scene of their enactment had been South Carolina instead of New England, and their dates of 1861, instead of the era of our grandfathers. Who shall say that the cold "climate" of the North was not as much "the agency" in producing this ultra love of Slavery, this tenacious love of a "Section" rather than of the whole country, which prevailed in New England, years ago, as in this volume it is said to have been in "the South," in the earlier days of the recent conflict? We might, also, compare the out-

breaks in New York and Boston, by the disaffected against the Government, in 1770, with that in Charleston and New Orleans, in 1860; the Nullification of the Tea tax, at Boston, in 1773, with that of the Tariff, in South Carolina, in 1832; the seizure of the arms, in Broad-street, New York, in June, 1775, and their subsequent employment in the hands of the First Regiment of New Yorkers, against "the best of Kings," with a similar seizure of arms, at Charleston, in December, 1860, and at Pensacola, Mobile, and Fayetteville, in January, 1861, etc., and their subsequent use, in Dixie, against "the best of governments;" the seizure of the Provincial Treasury of New Jersey, in May, 1775, with the seizure of the Sub-treasury at Charleston, and that of the Mint at New Orleans, in January, 1861; the capture and spoilation of Fort William and Mary, in New Hampshire, in December, 1774, with that of the Navy-yard at Pensacola, in January, 1861; the official conveyance of Rhode Island and Connecticut into rebellion, in 1774-5, by Governors Wanton and Trumbull, with that of Virginia, North and South Carolina, etc. in 1860-1, by Governors Letcher, Ellis, Pickens, &c.; the seizure and continued occupation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in 1775, with that of Forts Pulaski, Morgan, Macon, etc., in the South, in 1861; and divers other similar acts, North and South, and ask wherein "the [warm] "climate" of the one was more instrumental, as an "Agency" in "the separation and differentiation of a Nation," in 1860-4, than "the [cold] "climate" of the other had been, in 1765-1783? Wherein the cold and sterile "North" differs from the more favored regions below "the "January isothermal line of 41°," which "leaves "our coast near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay," in all that relates to "material objects," in all that leads an ambitious man to strike boldly for the object which is nearest to his heart, *when that object outweighs the risk which attends the blow*, is not very apparent to us nor will it be very apparent to the greater number of our readers.

That the leaders of "the South," in 1860, were doubtful of the stability of their existing power, notwithstanding they controlled the Congress and, through the Senate, might have continued to control even the hostile Executive, will be apparent to every one who shall take the trouble to ascertain the facts: and that this doubt of theirs, rather than the Southern sun, was the moving cause of the insurrection, is equally evident in the fact that those who sympathised with the disaffected were scattered not only over the *South*, but also throughout the entire *North*, even as far as Quebec; while those in Europe whose sympathies were most fully employed to their advantage throughout the War, occupied a position as far to the Northward as 52°.

We might go on to the end, in illustrating how little Doctor Draper's speculations fit the most patent facts in our History, and how little reliance, as *History*, can be placed on his volume; but we have not the room to spare for such a purpose.

We admire his boldness, however, although we dispute his accuracy; for he must be a bold man who will advance with only such a speculation, who will jostle the Records of by-gone ages, and who will dispute, concerning their well-earned honors, with those who have made those Records their study and been recognized, the world over and throughout hundreds of years, as HISTORIANS. Indeed, if his theory concerning the character of History and the qualifications necessary to become a Historian are correct, Doctor Draper is the Father of History; and his volume of *Thoughts on the future Civil Policy of America* and the volume which is under notice are the first-fruits of that newly-developed branch of knowledge.

But it is not merely on account of the Doctor's speculation concerning the effect of Climate that we think he is inconsistent with the well-known facts of what is generally known as History. We conceive, as we have already stated, generally, that he is wholly unacquainted with the fundamental principles of Federal Republican Government, as distinguished from a National Monarchy; and we are quite sure that the fundamental principles which underlie the complex system which was established by the Fathers of this "family of States," to say nothing of the details of the history of the Colonization and gradual formation of the Republic, are something which he has never yet examined from the standpoint of an honest, intelligent *Historian*.

We propose, therefore, as opportunity shall offer, to look into the details of this narrative and to bring them to the test of the authorities; and we shall endeavor, from time to time, to lay before our readers some of the results of this examination.

The volume is a beautiful specimen of printing; and it is to be followed speedily with the remaining portions of the work.

8.—*The Day of Doom*; or, a poetical description of the great and last Judgment: With other Poems. By Michael Wigglesworth, A. M., Teacher of the Church at Malden, in New England. 1662. Also, a Memoir of the Author, Autobiography, and sketch of his Funeral Sermon, by Rev. Cotton Mather. From the Sixth Edition. 1715. New York: American News Company. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 120.

The reprint of this quaint old poem of the early Puritan era in New England, crosses like a dark thread the gaily colored literature of the day. It is, indeed, a grim utterance of the past when theology, like other medicines administered to a sinful generation, was anything but sugarcoated. There is probably not at this day,—Doctor Holmes

Bellamy Stoker to the contrary notwithstanding—a preacher in New England who would go to work with his flock in so cool, merciless a way to "shut the gates of "mercy on mankind," as the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth, "Teacher of "the Church at Malden," Massachusetts, in the seventeenth century. Justice, with the terrors of her law, fearfully overshadows Mercy in his poem, which, spite of occasional halting, is really a meritorious composition in its way, written in good vigorous English and sounding rhythm. There are a great many home truths in it, too, which the men of every age would do well to profit by; but it is impossible, after reading the verses, to resist the impression that the writer took a positive delight in picturing the remediless fate of the lost. It is not enough that he exhibits the awful separation of the just and unjust at the final day, but the former must be represented with a deity of ineffable love adding to the miseries of the condemned:

"With Christ they sit, judging it fit
"To plague the impious."

"One natural brother beholds another
"In his astonished fit,
"Yet sorrows not thereat a jot,
"Nor pities him a whit.
"The godly wife conceives no grief,
"Nor can she shed a tear,
"For the sad state of her dear Mate,
"When she his doom doth hear.

"He that was erst a husband pierc'd
"With sense of wife's distress,
"Whose tender heart did bear a part
"Of all her grievances,
"Shall mourn no more as heretofore,
"Because of her ill plight,
"Although he see her now to be
"A damn'd forsaken wight."

The doctrine of election is strenuously insisted upon and unhesitatingly argued out with certain of the impenitent, "an impudent sort" who object to the justice of their damnation, that they were shut out from heaven by an irreversible decree. To this the answer is given, that they were damned not because they were elected or rejected, but because they had broken the laws. In other words, that for all practical purposes they enjoyed perfect freedom of will. Had they chosen to repent, they would have fulfilled the divine decree by swelling the number of the saved.

"You have yourselves, you and none else,
"To blame that you must die;
"You chose the way to your decay,
"And perish'd willfully."

The remonstrance of the condemned infants—"there are babes in hell not a span long," is a saying attributed to a Calvinistic divine—is met in a different way. You would not have complained, they are told, if Adam having never sinned, you had shared in the consequent felicity of

his offspring,—why then object to partake of the consequences of his fall?

"Would you have griev'd to have receiv'd
 "Through Adam so much good,
 "As had been yours for evermore,
 "If he at first had stood?
 "Would you have said, 'We ne'er obey'd,
 "Nor did thy laws regard,
 "It ill befits with benefits,
 "Us, Lord, to so reward?"

"Since then to share in his welfare,
 "You could have been content,
 "You may with reason share in his treason,
 "And in the punishment."

Besides, if they had been in Adam's place, they would have brought themselves into the same miserable condition, and moreover

"If upon one what's due to none
 "I frankly shall bestow,
 "And on the rest shall not think best
 "Compassion's skirt to throw,
 "Whom injure I? will you envy,
 "And grudge at other's weal?
 "Or me accuse, who do refuse
 "Yourself to help and heal?"

There is a partial relenting, however, notwithstanding the irresistible logic.

"You sinners are, and such a share,
 "As sinners may expect;
 "Such you shall have, for I do save
 "None but mine own Elect.
 "Yet to compare your sin with their's,
 "Who lived a longer time,
 "I do confess your's is much less,
 "Though every sin's a crime.

"A crime it is: therefore in bliss
 "You may not hope to dwell;
 "But unto you I shall allow,
 "The easiest room in Hell,"

Which is comparatively comforting.

This was the texture and such were the sentiments of a poem which for a century was circulated in New England, as a kind of popular ballad, printed on a broad sheet, and hawked about the country by Autolycus. It was regarded as a kind of pleasurable entertainment, just as in monkish countries people delight in a good vivid representation of such scenes as Dante has pictured in the *Inferno*. Are they more moral for the show? Not necessarily. The uneducated mind loves strong sensations, and can be recipient of a great deal of highly seasoned aliment, good and bad, without being proportionally more virtuous or more vicious. Yet the lesson has its effects, and men are undoubtedly better or worse in their acts by the formation of their opinions. The grim theology of Wigglesworth is rigorous in its requirements of good conduct; it enforces its demands by the strong persuasives of fear and terror; and while it does so, it steals the mind to certain other emotions of pity and tenderness, the exercise of which is quite as much needed for the welfare of the world. Out of this harsh training sprang a great deal of intolerance; many sweet

charities of life, the best aid and solace to man in his weary pilgrimage, were remorselessly crushed; few gentle flowers of poetry grew in that rocky ground; self, and self-will had a fearful development; the land was filled with perpetual strife and litigation; families were divided; and the Churches themselves experienced incessant quarrels growing out of the spirit of oppression. The Puritan, limited in his sympathies and "armed with his interpretation of the decrees of heaven," was the most intense egotist and bitter tyrant on the face of the earth. When all this was turned in upon himself, as in so many passages of New England history, the result was fearful. The influence culminated and perhaps received its death-blow in the wretched oppressions and murders of the trials for witchcraft, in Boston, Salem, and elsewhere in New England.

"Herod, of Galilee's babe-butchered deed,
 "Lives not on history's blushing page alone;
 "Our skies, it seems, have seen like victims bleed,
 "And our own Ramahs echoed groan by groan:
 "The friends of France, whose cruelties decreed
 "Those dexterous drownings in the Loire and Rhone,
 "Were at their worst, but copyists, second-hand,
 "Of our shrouded, sainted sires, the Plymouth pilgrim band,
 "Or else fibe MATHEW."

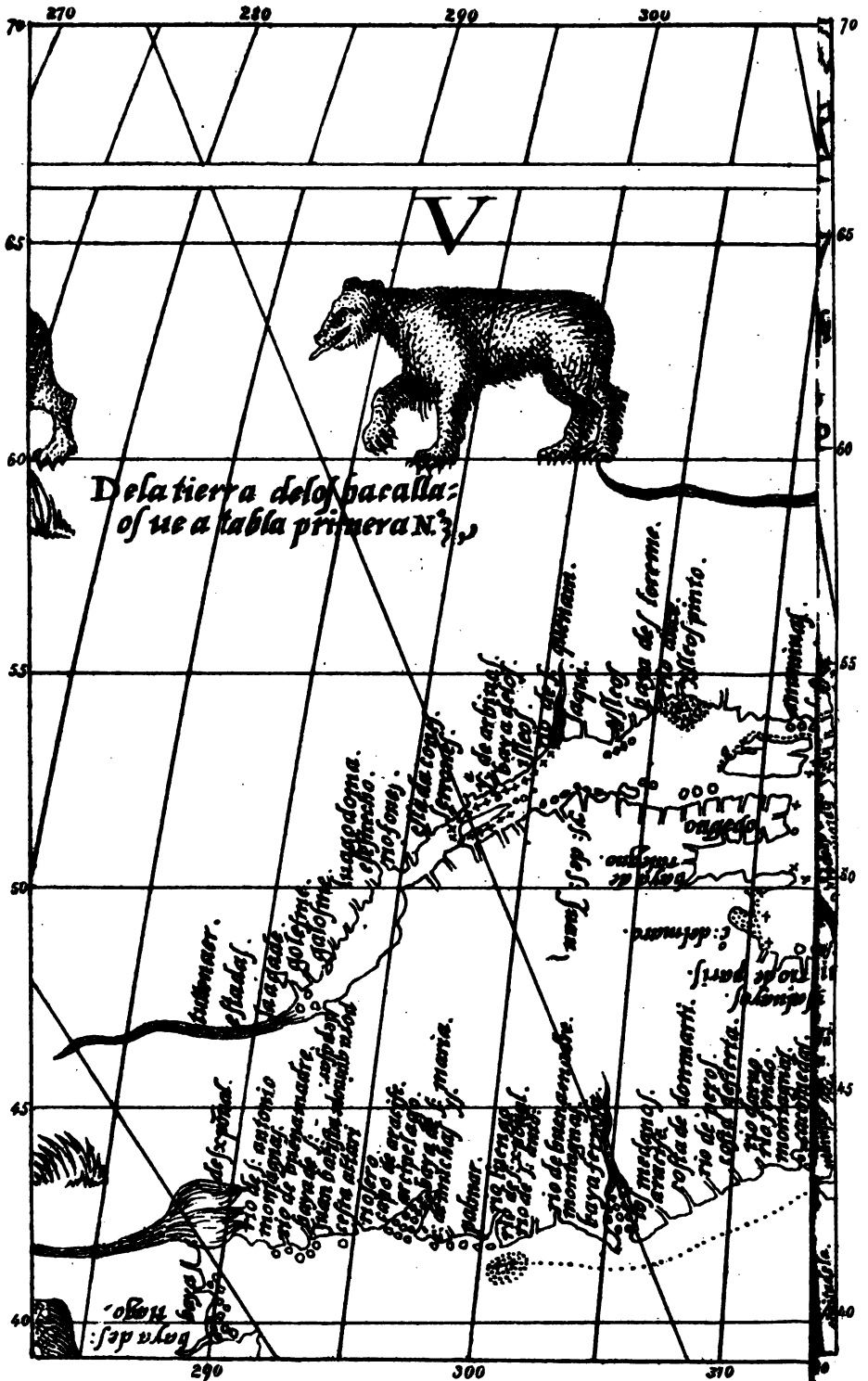
So sang Halleck in his poem *Connecticut*.

Wigglesworth, like most, if not all, of the Puritan divines of his day, was, as might be expected, a firm believer in these Satanic influences. It is curious to note among other congregations of the condemned in his *Day of Doom*, how

"Witches, enchanters, and ale-house haunters,
 "Beyond account there stood."

If it were not for such undoubted practical effects, we should be inclined to think most of such expressions as occurred in the *Day of Doom*, a mere intellectual exercise. Did they not belong to a system, we might attribute them to the melancholy influences of the ill health of the writer, whose life seems to have been one "long disease." Cotton Mather, who admired his genius and revered his piety, speaks kindly of the man's virtues, and tells how his continual weakness and illness "made him an able physician for the body "as well as the soul," which was certainly turning an unhappy lot to good account. It is pleasant to learn from the researches of his biographers, Mr. William Henry Burr, the editor of the present volume, and that thorough and estimable antiquary, Mr. John Ward Dean, that the health of Wigglesworth rather improved as he approached his three score and ten; and that he was assisted in his progress through life by the endearments of three wives, by each of whom his race was perpetuated among the notable families of New England.

E. A. D.



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[No. 3

I.—EARLY VOYAGES FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA.—CONTINUED.

2. JOHN CABOT'S VOYAGE OF 1497.

By J. CARSON BREVOORT.

The disappearance of Sebastian Cabot's papers, which Hakluyt, in his *Divers Voyages* of 1582, says were in the custody of William Worthington, and shortly to be printed, leaves us without a line of information from himself, concerning the real extent and discoveries made by his father, John, the Venetian, or by himself, on the coast of North America. These papers, as suggested by Robert Biddle, in his *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, (Page 221) were probably "*secured by the Spanish Court*," and destroyed, or perhaps deposited in the Archives of Spain, where they may still be found. All that has come down to us, therefore, concerning the North American voyages, is at second hand, and singularly uncertain. These fragmentary notices have been gathered, (though badly quoted,) and commented by Biddle, in a thorough, if not in a very clear manner; but no attempt will be made to review them here.

The object of this paper is to consider the *first voyage only*, in the light that may be shed upon it by the discovery of Sebastian Cabot's *Mapamundi*, recently re-printed among the *Monumens de la Geographie du Mogen Age*, by Jomard, and by some cotemporary letters, recently found and translated, in the English *Calendars of State Papers*, taken from the Venetian and Spanish Archives, appearing in 1862 and 1864.

With these and all other known sources of information in hand, the question resolves itself into an examination of the three following points:

1. What landfall did Cabot make, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1497?
2. What coasts did he explore, between that date and his return to England, in August of the same year?
3. Was he the discoverer of Newfoundland?

1. THE "FIRST LAND SEEN" BY JOHN CABOT, who was, no doubt, the leader of the voyage of 1497, was supposed by Mr. Biddle to be a part of Labrador, but certainly not Newfoundland. One

glance at the *Mapamundi* of Sebastian Cabot, of 1544, above mentioned, and of which an extract is herewith given, settles this question authoritatively. On the North-east end of Cape Breton Island, close to the Easterly portion of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, appears the inscription "*Prima Tierra vista*," written so as to be read with the map held West above, and touching Cape North on the left. It is repeated, as "*Prima vista*," in an opposite direction, with the map held East above, so as to touch Cape North again, on the left. Here Sebastian Cabot has taken especial pains to fix the precise landfall made on the twenty-fourth of June, 1497. It is not Labrador, nor Newfoundland, nor even Cape Breton, as has been recently suggested, but most distinctly Cape North, the North-east end of Cape Breton Island.

Just North-west from this Cape, we find the *Y^a* de S. Juan, which in the Latin Legend, is said to be opposite to, but in the Spanish one, composed probably by Cabot himself, is described as even with, that is, on the same parallel with, the said *Tierra*. Both Legends agree in stating that it was discovered on the same day as the *Tierra*, the Festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, his Patron Saint, which is the twenty-fourth of June, and this in 1497, happened on a Saturday. (For Legends, See APPENDIX A.)

This *large* island, as the Legend has it, went by the name Cabot gave to it until 1758, when it was taken possession of by England, and the name changed to Prince Edward's Island. Cabot gave a long account of the people who inhabited it, but as he did not see a human being on the coast he explored, (See letter in APPENDIX D), he must have described them from observations made on a second voyage. The Island is about one hundred and ten miles long, and of an average breadth of twenty.

It is furthermore certain that Cape Breton was not the point first sighted, if the relative position of the places be considered. The distance between a first sight of Cape Breton and St. John, is fully one hundred and forty nautical miles, of sixty to the degree of Latitude, a space that Cabot's small vessel could not have traversed in one day, coasting along an unknown shore. The

island is only eighty miles from Cape North; and if, as the Legends on the map have it, the Cape was first seen at five o'clock in the morning, it would be easy to sight the Island on the same day. As the sun rises about twenty minutes after four, on the twenty-fourth of June, and the vessel was probably under sail, Cabot had, no doubt, first sighted St. Paul's, a small island thirteen miles North-east of Cape North, and within sight of it. That he had also seen Newfoundland, the nearest point of which, Cape Ray, lies forty miles North-east of St. Paul's, will be shown in the last section of this paper. This, however, is also to be inferred from the course steered after sighting Cape North, which was to the Westward and not to the Southward, for Cabot, no doubt, thought that he was in a strait that might be open to the Spice Islands, and a southerly course would lead him away from his true one. He, therefore, left Cape North on his larboard, or left, and was soon aware that he had got embayed in a large gulf. This brings us to the second point of the inquiry. (See APPENDIX H.)

2. THE COASTS EXPLORED BY CABOT, BETWEEN JUNE 24TH, AND AUGUST, 1497.

Among the many vague notices of the explorations by the Cabots, there are but three that appear to deserve any credit. Two of these seem to have been penned from information derived from Sebastian Cabot, and were published during his lifetime; and the third seems to be equally valuable, though its authority may be less direct. The first one is found in an account of Northern Countries, written by Jacobus Zieglerus, and published in 1532, according to Biddle, but, as we cannot quote from the original work, we use the passage given in Biddle's *Memoir*, Page 31 :

"Id testatur quod non per mare vastum, sed propinquis littoribus in sinus formam comprehensum navigavit, quando ob eadem causam sinus Gothanus concrescat quoniam strictus est, et fluviorum plurium et magnorum ostia salsam naturam in parva copia superant. Inter autem Norduegiam et Islandiam non concrescit ex diversa causa, quoniam vis dulcium aquarum illic superatur a vastitate nature salsae."

The passage is unluckily not given in full, and we can only supply it from Eden's *Decades*, 1555, Folio, 268. Ziegler had just been quoting Peter Martyr, as saying that Cabot, "sayling continually from Englande towards the north, folowed that course so farre that he chaunsed uppon greate flakes of Ise in the mooneth of July : and that disurtyng from thense, he folowed the coaste by the shore bendynge towarde the South," etc. He then says : "And albeit, as touchynge the mooneth of July, I wyll contend it is not well rehersed, no althowghe he had

"sayled under the pole, for such reasons as wee have declared before to the contrary, neuertheless, that at sum tyme he sayled by Ise, this testifieth in that he sayled *not by the mayne sea*, but in places nere unto the lande, comprehend- yng and imbrasyng the sea in forme of a goulfe," etc. Eden, who was well acquainted with Sebastian, adds a note of his own : "Cabote tould me that this Ise is of fresshe water, and not of the sea." This passage from Ziegler is so valuable, that we regret not being able to quote it from the original text. Its sense and its application, however, can hardly be misunderstood.

A second notice bearing on the subject, is to be found in the first volume of Ramusius, Edition of 1554, in the "*Discorso Sopra li viaggi delle Spetierie*," at Folio 415 A, where a learned person is speaking as having heard Cabot himself say : "cominciai a nauigar verso maestro, pensando di non trouar terra se non quella doue e il Cataio, & di li poi voltar verso le Indie : ma in capo d'alquanti giorni la discopersi, che correua verso tramontana, che mi fu d'infinito dispiacere. & pur andando dietro la costa per vedere s'io poteua trouar qualche golfo, che voltasse, non vi fu mai ordine," etc. He then adds that he went North, as far as Latitude fifty-six North, and that finding the land still turning Eastward, he turned and sailed South, as far as "*what is now called Florida*." The speaker or the writer, has evidently confounded a subsequent voyage with the one of 1497, in the rest of the paragraph. In the Introduction to Volume III., Edition of 1556, Folio 4, where Ramusius says that, "*Cabot had written to him many years since*," there is also a confusion of accounts; but some confirmation of the account in Ziegler is found in the passage where Cabot is said to have sailed, "*dietro queste Isole*,"—behind those Islands,—that is, behind the Islands of which Ramusius thinks New France is composed. He had just before stated, that, at the time he was writing, it was not certain from Cartier's accounts, whether this was the case, or whether New France was conected with the mainland of Florida. The curious and rough map, at Folios 424 and 425, copied by Mons. Rame, in his first Edition of Cartier's Voyage of 1534, shows Newfoundland as a group of large Islands, with *Terra Nova* on one of them only; while *Nova Francia*, or *Nurumbega*, is represented as a large Island, West of this group, and separated, by a long narrow strait, from a *Parte Incognita*, to the North-west.

A third notice is found in the Portuguese, Galvano's, *Treatise on the various ways by which the Spice Islands have been sought*, etc., published in Lisbon, in 1563, and of which a translation, procured by Hakluyt, appeared in 1601. We quote

from the transcript made from Mr. John Carter Brown's copy, and published, together with the Hakluyt version, in 1862, by the Hakluyt Society: "No anno de 1496 [1497] achandose hum Venezano por nome Sebastiano Gaboto em Inglaterra, & ouuindo noua de tam nouo descobrimento como este era: & vendo em huma poma como estas jlhas acima ditas estano quasi em hum paralelo & altura, & muyto mais perto de sua terra huma a outra, que de Portugal nem Castella, o amostrou a el Rey dom Annrique o septimo de que elle ficou tam satisfeito que mandou logo armar dous nauios, partio na primavera com trezentos companheiros, fez seu caminho a Loeste a vista da terra, & quarenta & cinco graos d'altura da parte donorte, forano por ella ate sessenta onde os dias sam de dezoyto horas, & as noytes muy claras & serenas. Auia aqui muyta frialdade & illhas de neuue que nao achauam fundo em setenta, oitenta, cem bragas, mas achauam grandes regelos, do que tambem se arreceauam. E como daqui por diania tornasse a costa ao levante, fizeramose na outra volta ao longo della descobrindo toda a baya, rio, enseada, p'ra ver se passaua da outra banda, & foram assi diminuindo n'altura ate trinta & oyto graos, donde se tornaram a Inglaterra. Outros querem dizer que chegasse a ponta da Florida que esta em vinte cinco graos."

We quote the whole passage because it has not before appeared in Portuguese in this country, and because the English version is not quite correct. This is the only account which gives the Latitude of the Landfall. It also states that Cabot found the coast running to the Eastward; but, as in the case of Ramusius, the author has connected the explorations made on a subsequent voyage with this one, an error derived from Martyr's account, who wrote in 1515, and who seems to have misunderstood Sebastian Cabot, who was then in Spain, and about to sail on his second voyage to Brazil. This is remarkable, for he says: "*Fa-miliarem habeo domi Cabottum ipsum, & con-tubernalem interdum.*" While Cabot was absent, the erroneous account appeared, and was never corrected. Until the discovery of the second Patent to John Cabot, of the third of February, 1498, by Mr. Biddle, this account of Martyr's was accepted by all writers on American discovery, as a true account of the only voyage the Cabots were supposed to have made towards the North American shores.

These passages are the only ones that furnish a clue to the course taken after sighting the Island of St. John, and appear conclusive, two of them being written by men who had conversed or corresponded with Sebastian. When examined, with the positive knowledge we now possess of the position of Cabot's *Prima Tierra Vista*, they show that his subsequent explorations, during this

voyage, were confined to a coasting voyage around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from South to North. He, no doubt, steered from point to point only, and did not sail behind the Islands of St. John and Anticosti. Judging from his map only, he may have passed to the South of the first of these, but as he represents the Sound behind Anticosti as closed by rocks, he probably did not pass to the North of it. He landed only once or twice, probably for water, and saw no natives. (See APPENDIX D.)

It is not clear whether he met with icebergs on this or on the next voyage. If he saw them in 1497, it may have been on the Banks, or in the Straits of Belleisle. He, no doubt, passed out of the Gulf through these Straits; and as it is well known that icebergs drift into the Gulf, through them, in summer, he may thus have met them, and, as he says, in water one hundred fathoms deep. No floating ice is ever found in the Gulf, in summer, except from the source above mentioned, and this rarely drifts far inside. (See APPENDIX G.)

It is not probable that he continued his explorations outside of the Straits to the Northward. Two strong and sufficient reasons forbid any assumption that he did more than we have supposed. The first one is, that he was short of provisions, as stated in Pasqualigo's letter. (See APPENDIX D.) The second one, however, is the most convincing. Several accounts limit the duration of his voyage to three months. Now we know that he reached his *Prima Vista* on the twenty-fourth of June, having sailed sometime in May, from Bristol. We have letters, recently published and given in the Appendix, dated August twenty-third and twenty-fourth, from London, which speak of his being then at home. These were written, most probably, after the King had presented Cabot to the foreign ministers near his court, some days after his arrival. In confirmation of this, we have a Privy-Purse entry of the tenth of August, (See APPENDIX C), which no doubt records a gratuity of ten pounds to Cabot, just after his return. Allowing him about four weeks for his voyage home, and supposing that he landed there on the eighth of August, we confine his time spent in exploration to a space of three weeks only, short enough for a *periplus*, such as he made of the Gulf. Pasqualigo says, he coasted for one hundred leagues, which, if leagues of seventeen and a half to the degree are meant, would be three hundred and forty-two nautical miles only. Coasting the Gulf, inside of the Islands above mentioned, from Cape North to the Isle of Belleisle, he would have sailed seven hundred and eighty miles; and thirty more if he passed behind St. John. Allowing for the usual delays, this would have taken just about three weeks to accomplish, and left him

no time to pursue any explorations outside of the Gulf. He could not, therefore, on this voyage, have been further South than Latitude forty-seven, nor further North than fifty-two, on the American coast.

3. WAS CABOT THE DISCOVERER OF NEW-FOUNDLAND?

That Cabot did not discover Newfoundland, is a corollary of the first two Sections. He did not allude to it, as his discovery, in his communications to those who have handed his narratives down to us; nor did he designate it on his Map or in his Legends, as a discovery made by his father or by himself. In the Legends, on the Map, he seems to have given the name *bacallaos* to the mainland only; and so it appears in Martyr; Decade III. Book VI., "*Bacallaos Cabottus ipse terras illas appellavit.*" Just before this, also, he says; "*Is ea littora percurrens, quae Bacallaos appellavit,*" evidently applying the name to the mainland only.

Sebastian Cabot considered Newfoundland as a group of Islands only, and applied to them no names of his own. He adopted the series of names supposed to have been given by Gaspar Cortereal, in 1501, including an *Y. de bacallos*, (now Bacalieu Isle), to the points on the East coast of Newfoundland. *Bacallaos* is the name given by the nations of the South of Europe to the dry codfish; and is not a native American name, as has been often stated. It appears, with the other Spanish or Portuguese names, on the early Maps; but is not mentioned in the letters of 1497 and 1498, describing the discoveries of Cabot, nor in the Patent of 1498. He had no time to fish nor to notice the abundance of Cod in those seas, on his first voyage; else he would not have been short of provisions. The question as to who first discovered the Bank fisheries is not to be investigated here; but it certainly was not a result of Cabot's first voyage.

That he probably saw and sailed by the Southern shores of Newfoundland, will appear evident on an inspection of a good Chart. Whether he first saw Cape Breton or Cape North, he must have crossed the banks, sailing for hundreds of miles over them. His only way of avoiding soundings of less than one hundred fathoms, was by an approach in a direct South-east line for five hundred miles from the Atlantic; and even then, he would have noticed signs of them on his right, for the whole distance, and on his left for two hundred miles, running in a channel-way, seventy miles wide.

His own chart, however, places two fabulous islands, *S: cruz* and *de Juaninos*, [Juan Estevan?] directly across this path.

It seems, therefore, impossible to resist the con-

clusion that he was fully aware of the existence of a large Island, just North-east of his *Prima Vista*, or that he really approached it as being a well known land to be avoided, and South of which he would be likely to find a strait or open sea, to the West. Had he made his Landfall on its eastern coast, (which, by the bye, he seems, from his Map, not to have explored,) he would have wasted a fortnight, coasting its unknown shores; but he appears to have lost no time, and we have not the first hint that he considered it as his discovery.

Cape Ray, as before stated, is fifty-eight miles, North-east of Cape North, and one thousand, five hundred, and seventy feet high—visible therefore fifty-four miles off, and certainly visible from the high ground on Cape North, where he appears to have landed and planted banners, as a sign of taking possession. But he took no notice of it, as being a land already discovered.

On his passage out of the Gulf, he again fell in with Newfoundland, and coasted it for eighty miles, when, if he had considered it as a discovery of his own, he would have landed and taken possession of it for the crown of England. Even the Island of Belleisle, at the mouth of the Straits, which he must have seen, is recognised as the *I. de dimonios*, on his Map. This Island appears on maps as early as those of the Pizigani, in 1357; and Cabot, as a navigator, having seen it on more recent charts, would not give a name to such a well known point.

We do not mean to analyse Sebastian Cabot's Map any further at present, though it opens a tempting field for investigation; but will close this paper with some remarks on the claims set up by the Spaniards, to a previous discovery or possession of the lands explored by Cabot.

The first statement of such a claim appears in a letter from the Spanish Sovereigns to their Minister in England, dated the twenty-eighth of March, 1496, more than a year before Cabot sailed on his first voyage, (*See APPENDIX B.*) It is remarkable that attention should not have been drawn to this curious document before.

The next is in Ayala's letter of the twenty-fifth of July, 1498, and is interesting in several particulars. The Cabots, it seems, had prepared a Chart on which their discoveries were estimated to be four hundred leagues from England, or about one thousand, four hundred miles,—a pretty near estimate to the real distance, one thousand, six hundred miles. They were absent on their second voyage when this letter was written; and the King had been often conversing with Ayala, concerning the explorations Westwardly. Ayala, an intelligent gentleman, suggested that the land laid down by Cabot was only certain islands already in the possession of Spain. This surmise opens a wide field for conjecture, based on but little evidence of a nature that carries conviction with

it. Did Ayala refer to the Islands of the Seven Cities and of St. Brandan, as identical with Cabot's new lands, or did he mean that these last were only islands off the East coast of Asia, beyond the Papal line of demarcation, and, therefore, Spanish in that sense? Pasqualigo, who seems to have looked at the Chart also, which apparently had the above Islands laid down on it, as on the one of 1544, says Cabot *saw* them; but he probably misunderstood him, though his remark that they were left on the starboard, or right, seems to prove that he came home in Latitude fifty-two, almost direct from the Straits of Belleisle. Raimundo states, also, that Cabot had seen the Seven Cities; so that Cabot's track, on his Chart, must have been placed close to these fabulous islands.

Peter Martyr, in 1515, remarked in the passage where he alluded to Cabot; "*Ex Castellanis non desunt, qui Cabottum primum fuisse Bacallao-rum repertorem negent: tantumque ad Occidentem tetendisse minime assentiuntur.*"* Gomara remarks, also, in 1553; "*qui en mas noticia trazo desta tierra fue Sebastian Gaboto;*" etc.—he who brought more certain notices of this land was Cabot, etc.—These vague detractions, however, written by men biassed in favor of Spanish enterprise, deserve no attention, except from the fact that they appeared during Sebastian's lifetime, and were not contradicted by him. There can be no doubt that rumours of a land to the *maestro*, or North-west, in Latitude forty-six degrees, were current, previous to 1497; and it will be our duty to examine this subject hereafter, after having advanced the theory in this paper, that John Cabot was not the discoverer of Newfoundland.

APPENDIX.

A.

TITLE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT'S *MAPAMUNDI*, OF 1544.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL BY MR. BUCKINGHAM SMITH, AND KINDLY FURNISHED FOR USE HERE.

"Rotulos del autor con giestas razones de la nareacion que haze el agua de marear con la estrella del Norte.
 "Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor de la S. c. c.
 "m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nascimo de nro Salvador Jesu Christo de M. D. XLIIII.
 "annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus nientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte el Ptolomeo, y en parte a los modernos descubridores, assi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierta, por donde *[donde]* podra nauegar como por carta de marear," &c.

LEGEND IN SPANISH, RELATING TO THE DISCOVERY, NO DOUBT THE ONE REFERRED TO ON THE MAP AS ON "TABLA PRIMERA No. 3," COPIED ALSO BY MR. SMITH.

"Esta tierra fue descubierta por Juan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de M.CCCC.XCIIII. a naitate y quatro de Junio por la manana, a la qual pusieron nombre prima tierra uista, y a una isla grande que esta par de la dha tierra, le pusieron nombre Sant Joan, por

"auer sido descubierta el mismo dia la gente della andan uestidos de pieles de oros plancos y ciervos muy grandes como canaleos, y otras muchas animales, y semeianta-mete ay pescado infinito, sollos salmoe, lenguados muy grandes de uara en largo y otras muchas diversidades de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen bacallaos, y asi mismo ay en la dha tierra Falcones prietos como cuervos Agullas, Perdices, Pardillas, y otros muchas aues de diuersas maneras."

LATIN LEGEND, QUOTED FROM MR. CHARLES DEANE'S "RE-MARKS ON SEBASTIAN CABOT'S *Mappe Monde*."

In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1861.

"Terra olim nobis clansam, aperuit Joannes Cabotus Venetus, neonon Sebastianus Cabotus eius filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494, die nero 24 Iulij, hora 5, sub diluculo, quam terram primum uisam appellarunt et insulam, quando magna ei opposita Insula diuio Ioannis nominarunt, quippe quae Solenni die festo diui Ioannis Operto fuit."

MR. G. M. ASHBE, in his *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, published by the Hakluyt Society, in 1860, (Page 260,) states that the Legends on Sebastian Cabot's *Mapamundi* of 1544, in the Imperial Library in Paris, are printed in Spanish and Latin, and pasted on each side of the Map. They are so voluminous as to fill twenty pages of the *Itinerum Deliciae* of Chytraeus, of 1594. No further comments on the erroneous date of 1494, instead of 1497, nor on the impossible twenty-fourth of July, in the Latin Legend, will be necessary here. Mr. Deane handled these points clearly and conclusively in his paper, and they are not pertinent here. Chytraeus gives 1549 as the date of the Map he saw in Oxford, in 1566; and Hondius the same. Hakluyt speaks of an Extract from this Map, cut by Clement Adams, which is not known to exist now. The *Mapamundi* of the Paris Library, was not known to Humboldt nor to Mr. Biddle, and was thought by M. Jomard to be the only copy known; but another has been found recently, in Germany, about which we have no further details. Perhaps others will be found; for several copies of the map are spoken of as existing, previous to the year 1800. For the full texts and legends of this and of other Maps in the *Momumens de la Geographie*, as well as a commentary on all of them, we await most impatiently the matter prepared by the late M. Jomard, and now being completed by the distinguished geographer, Davezac.

B.

[From the *Calendar of Letters, etc., preserved in Simancas*, Volume I., 1862. Pages 83, 89. No. 128.]

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, MARCH 23, 1496.

"Have received the letter of De Puebla, dated the 21st of January:"

After writing about other matters, the Sovereigns proceed: "You write that a person like Columbus has come to England for the purpose of persuading the King to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain and Portugal. He is quite at liberty. But we believe that this undertaking was thrown in the way of the King of England by the King of France, with the premeditated intention of distracting him from his other business. Take care that the King of England be not deceived in this or in any other matter. The French will try as hard as they can to lead him into such undertakings, but they are very uncertain enterprises, and must not be gone into at present. Besides, they cannot be executed without prejudice to us and to the King of Portugal."

This curious paragraph, given by Mr. Bergenroth, in full, from the original Spanish draft, does not seem to have attracted attention. It evidently refers to John Cabot, who had just procured a Patent, dated the fifth of March, 1496, for his voyage, undertaken in 1497. Perhaps it reached England in time to cause the delay of a year, hitherto unexplained, in Cabot's departure. At the time the letter was written, Columbus had been absent two years and a half, with seventeen ships, on his second voyage, from which he returned in June, 1496. The frank and honest intentions of the Sovereigns were not as disinterested as they appear, for the Bull of Partition, granted by Alexander the Sixth, on the

* Quoted from the Cologne Edition of 1574.

* This letter was not found.

"deciphering made by Almazan," (*Secretary of State to the Sovereigns*), "that 't was necessary to decipher it again "from the original despatch in cipher."

The Introduction to this Volume must be read, to appreciate the labors of Mr. Bergenroth, a notice of which appeared in 1863, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Much as we regret not being able to give this Despatch, as well as the others quoted from the same Volume, there can be no doubt that we have the words of the original, but it is to be hoped that we shall have them before long in their genuine form, as first written.

Allusion is made to information already furnished to the Sovereigns, mostly by De Puebla, but no despatch of such a nature was found. Ayala calls Cabot "a Genoese like Col-umbus," a mistake as we know, but revealing the fact that the greater discoverer was known, in 1498, to be a Genoese.

The *Mapa mundi* of John Cabot, prepared in 1497-8, is unknown. Copies of it may yet be found, but at present it must rank with many lost charts, spoken of by historians, among which are those prepared by Columbus, and the one by Toscanelli, which induced him to undertake his voyage into the depths of the Atlantic. The Sovereigns, be it observed, read only a brief of this paragraph, prepared by Almazan, which shows, when the voluminous details in the same volume are conned over, how small a space the great geographical discoveries of the day occupied in the minds of men.

Ayala speaks, rather positively, of previous voyages by Cabot, covering a space of seven years; but we have no record nor the slightest allusion to any other, besides the one of 1497. He must here have been misinformed, though it is barely possible that Cabot may have been to Newfoundland, before 1497. If so, it would account for his bold approach to the shores of the mainland, in 1497, apparently avoiding Newfoundland, as a well known barrier in his progress westward. He certainly treated it, on his first voyage of which we have any record, in such a light, as we think is shown in the above paper.

G.

The following Note is from the *Sailing Directions for Newfoundland and Labrador*, London, 1862, Page 75.

Captain Bayfield, says: "The prevalent current from the "northward comes from Belle Isle and the coast "of Labrador. It is often at the temperature of the freeze- "ing point, bringing many icebergs into the strait, and "frequently carrying them through it many miles up the "Gulf. Some of these bergs ground in deep water, whilst "others are continually changing their position. They are "much more numerous in some seasons than in others, as I "have seen 200 bergs and large pieces of ice in the strait in "the month of August, in one year, whilst there were not "above half a dozen to be seen in the same month of the "following season.

"The depth of water, (in the strait), varies in different "parts from between 60 and 70 to 20 fathoms," &c.

H.

The late Thomas C. Haliburton, in his account of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1899 i. 4, note), throws out the conjecture that Cabot entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He was led to this conclusion after noticing the statement made by Galvano, that Cabot discovered land in forty-five degrees North Latitude, and then coasted Northwardly, which fact he found stated by Prince in his *Annals of New England* (Boston, 1736, page 80).

II.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

PREPARED BY E. H. GILLET, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D. REV. EPHER WHITAKER, REV. GEORGE FOOT, AND OTHERS.

[A large part of the following Sketches was originally prepared for insertion in Gillett's *History of the Presby-*

terian Church in the United States. But the limits of that work rendered its insertion inadvisable, while the multiplicity of items contained in the numerous Sketches of individual Churches seemed to require that revision which could only be secured by their publication in their present form. Derived, as the materials have been, from a great variety of sources, it would be strange indeed if the opportunities of local knowledge and personal information enjoyed by individuals, did not afford them the means of modifying or correcting many statements in the articles. Portions of them have been revised indeed, already, by able hands, as the Churches of Delaware, by Rev. Geo. Foot of Delaware, and those of Long Island, by Rev. Ephr Whitaker of Southold; while the account of those of East Jersey has been entirely rewritten by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D. Any corrections of statements given in this historical Sketch will be gratefully received by the Editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

Eighty-three years elapsed between the organization of the first Presbytery in this country, and the meeting of the first Presbyterian General Assembly, in 1789. But several years before the first Presbytery was formed, Presbyterian Churches had been organized and Presbyterian ministers had been laboring in the field. It was about the year 1684, or very nearly a century before the meeting of the first General Assembly, that Francis Makemie, the founder of American Presbyterianism, gathered the Presbyterian Church of Snow Hill, Maryland. An Irishman by birth, he was sent out, as a Missionary, by the Dissenting ministers in and around London; and for several years he seems to have been, with the single exception of Archibald Riddell of East Jersey, (*Dec. 1685-June, 1689*), the only Presbyterian minister in this country. His first co-laborer in the field appears to have been a fellow countryman, Josias Mackie, supposed by Dr. Handy (*Presb. Mag.* May, 1856) to have come over to this country with Makemie, but who took the oath of fidelity and received permission to preach at designated places, in 1692. For some twenty years, he labored at different places on Elizabeth River. In 1692, he obtained permission to preach and hold public worship in "a house at Mr. Thomas Joy's, in Eastern Branch; "a house belonging to Richard Phillpot, in Farmer's Creek Precinct; and a house belonging to "John Roberts, in the Western Branch. In 1696, "he certified that he had selected another place "of meeting for preaching the Gospel." This was at the house of Mr. John Dickson, in Southern Branch. Under the subsequent intolerance to which Dissenters were subjected by the laws of Virginia, it is doubtful whether any of the original congregations (if, indeed, they were organized as such) to which Mackie preached, continued long after his decease. Indeed it is not improbable that by his death, having been left unsupplied, they soon dwindled away.

By Rev. Dr. Macdonald, the Historian of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, L. I., it is claimed that that church is the oldest Presbyterian Church in America. Several other churches which subsequently became Presbyterian, were gathered at various places on Long Island, many years be-

fore Makemie arrived in this country. In Delaware and in New Jersey several others date from a period either anterior to, or nearly contemporary with, his arrival.

In noting briefly the history of the different Presbyterian Congregations in this country, gathered before the War of the Revolution, we commence with

DELAWARE.

By E. H. GILLET.

In Delaware, the earliest Presbyterian minister of whom we find any account, is Samuel Davis, mentioned by George Keith, who visited him at Lewes, in 1692. Although engaged in trade, he continued for many years to supply the Congregation. Of his antecedents, we know nothing. His name is not found in the *Nonconformist Memorial*, nor on the catalogue of Harvard College. He seems to have supplied the Congregation, simply because it could procure no one else; and on this account it declined to release him. In 1707, the Presbytery endeavored to secure Alexander Colding from Scotland for them, but did not succeed in the effort. In 1715, Davis united with the Congregation in a request to the Presbytery—as doubtless he had done previously—that a minister might be procured for them. It is not at all improbable that the request was made with a view to securing the services of John Thomson, who came over from Ireland in the summer of that year. Although a licentiate only, he was recommended to the people of Lewes by the Presbytery; and soon after commenced his labors among them. The next year, a call was presented for his settlement; and he was installed on the first Wednesday of April, 1717. Meanwhile, Davis had removed to Snow Hill, Maryland, where he succeeded John Hampton, who had left on account of feeble health, and where he continued to preach until his death, in 1725.*

In 1723, a church edifice of brick was erected; but such was the poverty of the people that, in 1729, Thomson left for want of support.

In 1730, Robert Cathcart was temporary supply. Previous to 1734, he had been succeeded by James Martin, from Ireland, who remained until his death, in 1743,† and who is said to have organized the Church at Cool Spring. His successors—if any—previous to 1755, are unknown; but in that year, Matthew Wilson was ordained Pastor of Lewes and Cool Spring. In 1768, Indian River, where John Harris had been settled for twelve years, was added to his charge.‡ Wilson died in 1790, and was succeeded by his son, James P.

Wilson, subsequently distinguished as the able Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

The congregation of Newcastle was gathered previous to 1702, when John Wilson was preaching in the Court-house. But, as early as 1686, William Huston, by his last Will, gave three hundred acres on Christiana Creek, to John Wilson and his successor.* Wilson however does not seem to have sustained the Pastoral relation; and “not being contented,” left Newcastle, in 1702.† He returned, however, in the following year, to the dissatisfaction of some of the people, who became anxious for the services of a Churchman. How long, or rather how steadily, he continued at Newcastle is uncertain;‡ but the people are said to have given a call to George Macnish, who came over to this country with Makemie and Hampton, in 1705. This call was, however, declined, and in 1708, Wilson was directed to preach alternately at White Clay and also, for a small portion of his time, at Apoquinimy. The Meeting-house at White Clay Creek, was§ considered as a chapel-of-ease, the people in that neighborhood being regarded as a part of the Newcastle Congregation. In 1705, the town had become quite large, its population being estimated at two thousand five hundred. ||

In 1710, Wilson was succeeded by James Anderson, who remained until called to New York, in 1716. He was succeeded, in 1717, by Robert Cross,¶ who continued as Pastor until called to succeed Macnish, at Jamaica, in 1723. The church subsequently does not appear to have had a regular Pastor till the settlement of Daniel Thom (1757-1763.)

Meanwhile, Wilson continued to supply White Clay Creek, until his death, in 1712. In the fol-

* WEBSTER, 311.

† The Church at Newcastle was the continuation of the old Dutch organization, metamorphosed into Presbyterian—date uncertain. Rev. Dr. Spotswood, of Newcastle, has published a History of the Congregation.—FOOR.

‡ As Wilson was one of the earliest ministers of the Presbyterian denomination in this country, some interest more than ordinary, attaches to the question of his nativity. He was in Delaware in 1686, and not improbably he had been there some years before. If so, he was in the field before Makemie himself. Whence did he come? His name is not on Harvard College Catalogue. Increase Mather speaks of one of the same name who came over to New England; and Calamy mentions four John Wilsons among the Nonconformists, of one of whom he knows absolutely nothing except the fact that he was a Nonconformist. It seems, therefore, not improbable that John Wilson, of Newcastle, was an ejected English minister, who, engaging in trade, was led to locate at Newcastle, and there supplied the Congregation which he found destitute.

§ White Clay Creek was a part of the Newcastle Congregation till 1708, and Mr. Wilson was directed to preach there and at Apoquinimy; but that direction, in a little time, resulted in an independent Congregation and separate places of worship.—FOOR.

|| *Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 68.

¶ WEBSTER, 367.

* WEBSTER, 311, 322, 355.

† *Id.* 431.

‡ *Id.* 620, 670.

lowing year, George Gillespie was ordained, having received a call from White Clay Creek. Red Clay, Brandywine, and Elk River were also united with White Clay, to constitute this pastoral charge; and he is said also to have organized the Congregation of the Head of Christiana, serving it until his death, in 1760.* Meanwhile, Brandywine and White Clay had Robert Laing (1722-4); Thomas Craighead, (1724-36), who, till 1728, devoted one-third of his time to Brandywine, and afterwards one-fifth; and Charles Tennent, whose pastorate extended from 1737 to 1763. During his ministry, a separation of the Congregation took place,† the Old Side uniting with the Elk River, where George Gillespie had been succeeded by Joseph Houston, from 1724 to about 1740, and by Alexander McDowell, who, upon the union of the two Synods, gave up the charge of Elk, and it united with East Nottingham, under James Finlay.‡

From 1708, Apoquinimy formed for several years a portion of the charge of John Wilson, of Newcastle. After his death, in 1712, Robert Wotherspoon was called; and, in 1714, was installed. A house of worship was erected in 1711;§ and the ministry of Wotherspoon continued until his death, in 1718. His successor was Henry Hook, whose labors, commencing in 1722, continued until his death in 1741.¶ Together with Apoquinimy, Drawyers formed a part of his charge.¶ The latter place had been supplied as early as 1718, by Samuel Young. His death occurred in 1721; and, in the following year, Drawyers was temporarily supplied by Alexander Hutcheson, who soon after accepted a call to Bohemia Manor** and Broad Creek, Cecil County, Maryland. The settlement of John Rodgers, at St. George, served to deplete the Drawyers Congregation; but, in 1753, Hector Alison became the Pastor of it, and so remained till 1758.†† For a portion of the time, at least, it is probable that White Clay formed a part of his charge. From 1763 to 1798, Thomas Read had charge of the church. He was installed in 1772.

* Such is the statement of Webster, 340. Rev. Mr. Foot, of Delaware, says, "I do not suppose that George Gillespie had charge of White Clay Creek. I have no evidence that Gillespie ever had charge of White or Red Clay Creek. His place was at the Head of Christiana, where his dwelling still stands. I found there some of his papers, and one manuscript Sermon."

† Webster, 446.

‡ *Ib.* 468.

§ *Ib.* 347.

¶ *Ib.* 363.

¶ Apoquinimy and Drawyers in the same Congregation.

—Foot.

** "The Bohemia Church stood near Taylor's Bridge, and remained until 1809; only the tombstones are left now." Webster, 376. On this, Mr. Foot remarks, "Not so. It was ten miles distant. There was a church near that bridge, organized by Thomas Read, about 1770, out of some of Drawyers people and others on the South-eastern extremity of Drawyers, in the Thoroughfare Neck, which lasted till about 1809."

†† Webster, 496.

The Congregation of St. George's, where a Welch Episcopal Church had been established early in the century, seems to have been gathered out of the ruins of its predecessor.* It is said to have been organized by the joint labors of Whitefield and William Robinson, the latter of whom was the first Pastor (1743-4.)† It was composed of a portion of the New Side element of Drawyers Congregation, who withdrew in 1742. In 1749, Robinson was succeeded by Dr. John Rodgers, who took charge also of the Forest Church, near Middletown. The latter, also, like St. George's, had been formed from Drawyers, by another portion of the New Side element, strengthened by others from Back Creek, Bohemia Manor; and it had one-third of Rodgers' time.

The St. George's Meeting-house was built in 1750; and persons who had been hearers and elders in Hutcheson's church at Bohemia, united in erecting the building, under the style of the Congregation of "Bohemia and Apoquinimy."‡ Upon the removal of Rodgers to New York, in 1765, Elihu Spencer was called to succeed him; and his Pastorate of "St. George's and Apoquinimy" continued for four years. Previous to 1789, John Burton had been settled over St. George's.

St. James applied for aid as early as 1723; and Henry Hook, who afterwards settled at Drawyers and Apoquinimy, was sent to supply them. For several years, his appointment was renewed.§ Long previous to this "the desolate condition of the people of Kent"—"embracing Dover, St. Jones, and Murder Kill"—had attracted the attention of the Presbytery, (1714.) Anderson was sent them as a monthly supply; and, in 1715, Gelston was sent them as a candidate. The next year, they had occasional supplies in connection with Cedar Creek, in Sussex. Cross preached for them, monthly, for several years; and they were visited by Hook, Evans, Steward, and Hutcheson.¶

In 1727, Archibald McCook was called and ordained, but died within a few months. After his death, the places had supplies for several years.¶

* Rev. Mr. Foot remarks, "There is no evidence that the Welch church ever formed part of St. George's, though that Congregation died out about this" (*time of the organization of the Presbyterian Church*) "date. There is evidence that Pigeon Run Church, some four miles North-east, did go to St. George's. St. George's and Apoquinimy were the Forest Church of later times; and it is thus known now."

† Webster, 376.

‡ *Ib.* 590.

§ *Ib.* 364.

¶ *Ib.* 397.

¶ *Ib.* 397. 'St. Jones,' 'The people of Kent,' and 'Kent County,' are the same, and the Church is now 'Dover. Kent County was originally 'St. James County,' in Penn's Patent from the Duke of York. Murder Kill was a separate thing at some distance, and afterwards had its own Church and Pastor.—Foot.

In 1789, William McKee was Pastor of Murder Kill, St. James, and Three Rivers.

At Dutch Creek, where Welsh Baptists had settled at an early period, a Presbyterian Meeting-house was built in 1733. The congregation was gathered by Henry Hook, when ordered to supply St. Jones, "Kent," Kent County. In 1734, Robert Jamison commenced his pastorate here—closed by death in 1744. The congregation having neglected to secure the land by deed, it reverted to the family of the donor upon his death; and by them, in 1771, was made over to the Baptists.* In 1747-8, John Miller commenced his labors at Dutch Creek, and gathered the congregation of Dover. His pastorate of both places continued until his death, in 1791. Soon after this, the Congregation at Dutch Creek, since known as Smyrna, erected for themselves "a handsome church."†

Red Clay formed a part of George Gillespie's charge, soon after his settlement at White Clay, in 1713. Before May, 1756, William McKennan was settled over the two Congregations of Red Clay and Wilmington.‡ Of the latter, he retained charge till 1794; and of the former, till his death, in 1809.

At Wilmington, Robert Cathcart began to preach, in 1740.§ In 1736, Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker, said of the place, "it is a newly settled town "on Christiana Creek, which I believe will be a flourishing place, if the inhabitants take care to live in the fear of God." Under Cathcart the Congregation divided; and the New Side church of Lower Brandywine was formed—the other portion taking, in process of time, the name of Red Clay. Cathcart died in 1754; and on the reunion, the way was open for the settlement of McKennan.

MARYLAND.

By E. H. GILLET.

The early churches gathered by Makemie in Maryland, were mainly supplied by him until the arrival of Hampton and Macnish, in 1705-6. Snow Hill and Pitts' Creek formed the charge of Hampton, from 1706 to 1717. Upon his resignation, on account of feeble health, he was succeeded by Samuel Davis, who had labored at Lewes, Delaware, but whose death occurred in 1725. His successors were Hugh Stevenson, from 1729 to about 1738; and James Scongall, who had charge of Snow Hill and "the Ferry," from 1743, until his death, in 1746.¶ Shortly after this, a powerful revival prevailed at "the Ferry,"—sub-

sequently known as Buckingham, and now as Berlin—and from 1763 to 1771, Charles Tennent was Pastor here, and possibly of Snow Hill. In 1789, Samuel McMaster was Pastor of Snow Hill, Pitts' Creek, and Rehoboth.

At Monokin and Wicomico, George Macnish commenced his labors in 1705; and continued them until his removal to Jamaica, in 1710. In 1711, Thomas Bratton succeeded him, but died in October, 1712. His place was supplied by Robert Lawson, who survived but a few months. The next minister was William Steward, whose pastorate extended from 1718 till his death in 1734. His successor at Monokin was Patrick Glasgow, (1736-41;) and at Wincomoco, John Rodgers was a temporary supply, in 1747, previous to his settlement at St. George. In 1751, Hugh Henry was settled over Monokin and Wicomico, to which Rehoboth* was now conjoined; and here he remained till his death, in 1763. His successor at the two first was Jacob Ker, whose pastorate extended from 1764 till his death, in 1795.

Rehoboth, which thus formed a part of his charge, had before the close of the preceding century, enjoyed the labors of Makemie himself.† Upon his death, he was succeeded by John Henry, (1710,) who died before September, 1717. In 1719, John Clement preached to the people of "Rehoboth on Pocomoke;" and, in 1724, William McMillian was "settled in Virginia;" and the fact that in March after his licensure, Coventry petitioned for supplies, renders it not improbable that he was Clements' successor.‡

Church Hill, in Queen Anne's, was a place where William Robinson and Samuel Davis bestowed a portion of their labor, and which was repeatedly visited by Rodgers. On one occasion, at this place—where the labors of the two former had been greatly blessed—the latter is said to have baptized twenty-nine adults, while many others were, at the same time, admitted to the Communion.§ Kent County also repeatedly applied for and obtained supplies. Patapsco, from its English trade, drew the attention of Dr. Reynolds, of London, who sent over a contribution for the support of the Gospel; and, through his agency, Hugh Conn came over to be their minister. He was called by the people and installed, in the fall of 1715; but after a pastorate of four years, he obtained leave to demit his charge from "the paucity of his flock."¶ He immediately removed to supply the people on the East branch of Potomac and Pomonkey, who had applied for a minister. This field of labor is now known as

* WEBSTER, 481.

† *Id.* 619.

‡ He is said by Sprague, (iii., 274.) to have been settled over Red Clay, White Clay, and Wilmington.

§ WEBSTER, 409.

¶ *Id.* 485.

* WEBSTER, 616.

† The place is sometimes called Coventry, and sometimes Rehoboth, on Pocomoke.

‡ WEBSTER, 880.

§ *Id.* 578.

¶ *Id.* 852.

Bladensburg; and here Mr. Conn remained till his sudden death, while addressing his people from the pulpit, in 1752. In 1789, James Hunt, mentioned in the life of William Wirt, was Pastor of Bladensburg.

At Chestertown, John Hamilton was the minister, in 1750. He had previously been Pastor of the Old Side Congregation of Rehoboth and Monokin. He died in 1756. Howell Powell is said to have formed an Independent Congregation at a much earlier period; and, in 1727, a grant of land for the use of the church was made to "Mr. Samuel Exhill.*

Somewhere about the year 1690, a settlement was made on the Patuxent, and was known subsequently as Upper Marlborough. The first Pastor of the Congregation, which, according to tradition, came from Scotland, was Nathaniel Taylor, who became one of the original members of the First Presbytery, and had probably been located on the Patuxent for several years previous. His name appears, for the last time, on the Minutes in 1709.† In the following year Macnish was called as his successor, but preferred to accept the call to Jamaica. In 1713, Daniel McGill was received as a member of the Presbytery, and doubtless had already commenced his labors on the Patuxent. After two or three years, his relations to the people ceased to be harmonious; and, in 1719-20, he removed to Potomoke and put the people in "church order." He labored for the remainder of his days, till his death in 1724, in Delaware; and his successor, sent over by the request of the Congregation from London, was John Orme, whose Pastorate continued from 1720 to 1758.

The first church of Baltimore was formed in 1763, and its first Pastor was Dr. Patrick Allison, (1763-1802.) His successor was Dr. James Inglis.

NEW JERSEY.

By REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D.

Elizabeth Town was settled in 1665. The land was purchased from the Indians of Staten Island, in the autumn of 1664. In the course of the winter and spring following, the associate purchasers, in considerable number, mostly from Long Island, took possession of the ground, and laid out their lots. At the close of the ensuing

summer, Captain Philip Carteret, the Governor appointed by Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the English proprietors, arrived with a company of servants, and became one of the town associates.

Nearly all of the first settlers had previously resided in New England, where some of the younger of them were born. The religious character of many of them is matter of record. They were of the prevailing faith, Calvinists and Independents. A large proportion of them had been members of the Independent churches of Southampton, Easthampton, and Southold, on Long Island, and of New Haven, Wethersfield, and Stamford, Connecticut.

Before their removal from the East end of Long Island, they had prevailed upon the Rev. Thomas James, Pastor of the church of Easthampton, to emigrate with them and become their Pastor. At the last hour, he yielded to the solicitations of his people, and gave up all thoughts of removal.

At what point of time the first settlers organized their church cannot now, in the absence of documentary and traditionary information, be determined. Their well known character as religious men makes it certain that it was one of the first concerns that engaged their attention. It is safe to say that it was not later than the summer of 1665. It was, undoubtedly, the first church constituted by English people, in the Province of New Jersey, antedating the church of Newark at least two years.

At this period, Presbyterianism had not been transplanted, organically, to the Western world, save in connection with the Reformed Dutch Church in the Colony of New Netherland. The churches planted by the New England emigrants were all of the type to which they had been accustomed at home. They were both Congregational and Independent, being designated generally by the latter name. Such was the ancient church of Elizabeth Town.

Among those who had emigrated from Connecticut, and founded, in 1667, the town of Newark, was the Rev. JEREMIAH PECK. He was the eldest son of Deacon William Peck, of New Haven, but was born in London, England, about 1623. Mather, in his *Heccatompolis*, mentions him among the graduates of Harvard College, in 1654, but his name is not found in the *Triennial Catalogue*. He, probably, was a student there, from 1637 to 1639, but did not graduate, as the family, at the latter date, removed from Boston to New Haven. Or he may have been there at a later period. In 1656, he taught school at Guilford, where, on the twelfth of November, he married Joanna, daughter of Robert Kitchell. After his marriage, he taught, in 1660-1, "Latin, "Greek, and Hebrew," at the Grammar School

* WEBSTER, 345. Mr. Powell is meant, probably.

† The Church of Upper Marlborough has been the subject of earnest controversy between Dr. Hill and Dr. Hodge. The latter rested his case at first on a manuscript history of Dr. Balch, of Georgetown, which Dr. Hill has shown to be quite unreliable. The zeal of the latter, however, (or that of his advocate SIMPLEX) has carried him too far on some points. The pure Scotticism of the Church is by no means proved by Dr. Hodge. The Balch letter is at best tradition, which historical criticism is forced to regard with some measure of distrust; while Macnish, who was called to succeed Taylor and McGill, and Orme, who did, in fact, succeed him, had the London ministers not only as correspondents but patrons, and not one of them was sent out from Scotland.

no time to pursue any explorations outside of the Gulf. He could not, therefore, on this voyage, have been further South than Latitude forty-seven, nor further North than fifty-two, on the American coast.

3. WAS CABOT THE DISCOVERER OF NEWFOUNDLAND?

That Cabot did not discover Newfoundland, is a corollary of the first two Sections. He did not allude to it, as his discovery, in his communications to those who have handed his narratives down to us; nor did he designate it on his Map or in his Legends, as a discovery made by his father or by himself. In the Legends, on the Map, he seems to have given the name *baccallaos* to the mainland only; and so it appears in Martyr; Decade III. Book VI., "*Baccallaos Cabottus ipse terras illas appellauit.*" Just before this, also, he says; "*Is ea littora percurrrens, quae Bacallaos appellauit,*" evidently applying the name to the mainland only.

Sebastian Cabot considered Newfoundland as a group of Islands only, and applied to them no names of his own. He adopted the series of names supposed to have been given by Gaspar Cortereal, in 1501, including an *Y. de bacallos*, (now Bacalieu Isle), to the points on the East coast of Newfoundland. *Bacallaos* is the name given by the nations of the South of Europe to the dry codfish; and is not a native American name, as has been often stated. It appears, with the other Spanish or Portuguese names, on the early Maps; but is not mentioned in the letters of 1497 and 1498, describing the discoveries of Cabot, nor in the Patent of 1498. He had no time to fish nor to notice the abundance of Cod in those seas, on his first voyage; else he would not have been short of provisions. The question as to who first discovered the Bank fisheries is not to be investigated here; but it certainly was not a result of Cabot's first voyage.

That he probably saw and sailed by the Southerly shores of Newfoundland, will appear evident on an inspection of a good Chart. Whether he first saw Cape Breton or Cape North, he must have crossed the banks, sailing for hundreds of miles over them. His only way of avoiding soundings of less than one hundred fathoms, was by an approach in a direct South-east line for five hundred miles from the Atlantic; and even then, he would have noticed signs of them on his *right*, for the whole distance, and on his *left* for two hundred miles, running in a channel-way, seventy miles wide.

His own chart, however, places two fabulous islands, *S: cruz* and *de Juaninos*, [Juan Estevan?] directly across this path.

It seems, therefore, impossible to resist the con-

clusion that he was fully aware of the existence of a large Island, just North-east of his *Prima Vista*, or that he really approached it as being a well known land to be avoided, and South of which he would be likely to find a strait or open sea, to the West. Had he made his Landfall on its eastern coast, (which, by the bye, he seems, from his Map, not to have explored,) he would have wasted a fortnight, coasting its unknown shores; but he appears to have lost no time, and we have not the first hint that he considered it as his discovery.

Cape Ray, as before stated, is fifty-eight miles, North-east of Cape North, and one thousand, five hundred, and seventy feet high—visible therefore fifty-four miles off, and certainly visible from the high ground on Cape North, where he appears to have landed and planted banners, as a sign of taking possession. But he took no notice of it, as being a land already discovered.

On his passage out of the Gulf, he again fell in with Newfoundland, and coasted it for eighty miles, when, if he had considered it as a discovery of his own, he would have landed and taken possession of it for the crown of England. Even the Island of Belleisle, at the mouth of the Straits, which he must have seen, is recognised as the *I. de dimonios*, on his Map. This Island appears on maps as early as those of the Pizigani, in 1357; and Cabot, as a navigator, having seen it on more recent charts, would not give a name to such a well known point.

We do not mean to analyse Sebastian Cabot's Map any further at present, though it opens a tempting field for investigation; but will close this paper with some remarks on the claims set up by the Spaniards, to a previous discovery or possession of the lands explored by Cabot.

The first statement of such a claim appears in a letter from the Spanish Sovereigns to their Minister in England, dated the twenty-eighth of March, 1496, more than a year before Cabot sailed on his first voyage, (*See APPENDIX B.*) It is remarkable that attention should not have been drawn to this curious document before.

The next is in Ayala's letter of the twenty-fifth of July, 1498, and is interesting in several particulars. The Cabots, it seems, had prepared a Chart on which their discoveries were estimated to be four hundred leagues from England, or about one thousand, four hundred miles,—a pretty near estimate to the real distance, one thousand, six hundred miles. They were absent on their second voyage when this letter was written; and the King had been often conversing with Ayala, concerning the explorations Westwardly. Ayala, an intelligent gentleman, suggested that the land laid down by Cabot was only certain islands already in the possession of Spain. This surmise opens a wide field for conjecture, based on but little evidence of a nature that carries conviction with

it. Did Ayala refer to the Islands of the Seven Cities and of St. Brandan, as identical with Cabot's new lands, or did he mean that these last were only islands off the East coast of Asia, beyond the Papal line of demarcation, and, therefore, Spanish in that sense? Pasqualigo, who seems to have looked at the Chart also, which apparently had the above Islands laid down on it, as on the one of 1544, says Cabot saw them; but he probably misunderstood him, though his remark that they were left on the starboard, or right, seems to prove that he came home in Latitude fifty-two, almost direct from the Straits of Belleisle. Raimundo states, also, that Cabot had seen the Seven Cities; so that Cabot's track, on his Chart, must have been placed close to these fabulous islands.

Peter Martyr, in 1515, remarked in the passage where he alluded to Cabot; "*Ex Castellanis non desunt, qui Cabottum primum fuisse Baccalarum repertorem negent: tantumque ad Occidentem tetendisse minime assentiuntur.*"* Gomara remarks, also, in 1553; "*qui en mas noticia trazon desta tierra fue Sebastian Gaboto;*" etc.—he who brought more certain notices of this land was Cabot, etc.—These vague detractors, however, written by men biased in favor of Spanish enterprise, deserve no attention, except from the fact that they appeared during Sebastian's lifetime, and were not contradicted by him. There can be no doubt that rumours of a land to the *maestro*, or North-west, in Latitude forty-six degrees, were current, previous to 1497; and it will be our duty to examine this subject hereafter, after having advanced the theory in this paper, that John Cabot was not the discoverer of Newfoundland.

APPENDIX.

A.

TITLE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT'S MAPAMUNDI, OF 1544.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL BY MR. BUCKINGHAM SMITH, AND KINDLY FURNISHED FOR USE HERE.

"Rotulos del autor con glerias razones de la uarcagon que haze el agula de marear con la estrella del Norte.
"Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor de la S. c. e.
"m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey
"nuestro senor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno
"del nascimo de nro Salvador Jesu Christo de M. D. XLIII.
"annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus
"uientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte el Ptolomeo, y en parte a los modernos descubridores, assi Espanoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por
"el descubierta, por donde *(donde)* podra nauegar como por
"carta de marear," &c.

LEGEND IN SPANISH, RELATING TO THE DISCOVERY, NO DOUBT THE ONE REFERRED TO ON THE MAP AS ON "TABLA PRIMERA "No. 3," COPIED ALSO BY MR. SMITH.

"Esta tierra fue descubierta por Juan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de M.CCCC.XCIII. a veinte y quatro de Junio por la manana, a la qual pusieron nombre prima tierra nista, y una isla grande que esta par de la dha tierra, le pusieron nombre Sant Joan, por

"auer sido descubierta el mismo dia la gente della andan vestidos de pieles de oros plancos y ciervos muy grandes como caualcos, y otras muchas animales, y semeianta mete ay pescado infinito, sollos salmoes, lenguados muy grandes de uara en largo y otras muchas diversidades de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen bacallaos, y asi mismo ay en la dha tierra Falcones prietos como cuervos Aguillas, Perdices, Pardillas, y otros muchas aues de diuersas maneras."

LATIN LEGEND, QUOTED FROM MR. CHARLES DEANE'S "REMARKS ON SEBASTIAN CABOT'S *Mappe Monde*."

In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1867.

"Terra olim nobis clausam, aperuit Joannes Cabotus Venetus, necnon Sebastianus Cabotus eius filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494, die uero 24 Iulij, hora 5, sub diluculo, quam terram primum usam appellarunt et insula quanda magna ei opposita Insula dñi Ioannis nominarunt, quippe quae Solemni die festo dñi Ioannis Operto fuit."

MR. G. M. ASHBE, in his *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, published by the Hakluyt Society, in 1860, (Page 260,) states that the Legends on Sebastian Cabot's *Mapamundi* of 1544, in the Imperial Library in Paris, are printed in Spanish and Latin, and pasted on each side of the Map. They are so voluminous as to fill twenty pages of the *Itinerum Delicias* of Chytraeus, of 1594. No further comments on the erroneous date of 1494, instead of 1497, nor on the impossible twenty-fourth of July, in the Latin Legend, will be necessary here. Mr. Deane handled these points clearly and conclusively in his paper, and they are not pertinent here. Chytraeus gives 1549 as the date of the Map he saw in Oxford, in 1866; and Hondius the same. Hakluyt speaks of an Extract from this Map, cut by Clement Adams, which is not known to exist now. The *Mapamundi* of the Paris Library, was not known to Humboldt nor to Mr. Biddle, and was thought by M. Jomard to be the only copy known; but another has been found recently, in Germany, about which we have no further details. Perhaps others will be found; for several copies of the map are spoken of as existing, previous to the year 1800. For the full texts and legends of this and of other Maps in the *Monumens de la Geographie*, as well as a commentary on all of them, we await most impatiently the matter prepared by the late M. Jomard, and now being completed by the distinguished geographer, Davezac.

B.

[From the *Calendar of Letters, etc., preserved in Simancas*, Volume I., 1862. Pages 88, 89. No. 128.]

FERRDINAND AND ISABELLA TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, MARCH 28, 1496.

"Have received the letter of De Puebla, dated the 21st of January:"

After writing about other matters, the Sovereigns proceed: "You write that a person like Columbus has come to England for the purpose of persuading the King to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain and Portugal. He is quite at liberty. But we believe that this undertaking was thrown in the way of the King of England by the King of France, with the premeditated intention of distracting him from his other business. Take care that the King of England be not deceived in this or in any other matter. The French will try as hard as they can to lead him into such undertakings, but they are very uncertain enterprises, and must not be gone into at present. Besides, they cannot be executed without prejudice to us and to the King of Portugal."

This curious paragraph, given by Mr. Bergenroth, in full, from the original Spanish draft, does not seem to have attracted attention. It evidently refers to John Cabot, who had just procured a Patent, dated the fifth of March, 1496, for his voyage, undertaken in 1497. Perhaps it reached England in time to cause the delay of a year, hitherto unexplained, in Cabot's departure. At the time the letter was written, Columbus had been absent two years and a half, with seventeen ships, on his second voyage, from which he returned in June, 1496. The frank and honest intentions of the Sovereigns were not as disinterested as they appear, for the Bull of Partition, granted by Alexander the Sixth, on the

* Quoted from the Cologne Edition of 1574.

* This letter was not found.

fourth of May, 1493, gave to the Spaniards all West of a meridian, drawn one hundred Spanish miles West of the Azores; and they considered a passage to the Spice Islands by the West, as an encroachment on their Domain.

C.

[From PALFREY'S *History of New England*, I., 61. Note.]

"A manuscript in the British Museum, (*Additional MSS.*, 7099,) is a copy, by Mr. Craven Orde, from the original entries, preserved in the Remembrancer office, of the Privy Purse expenses of Henry the Seventh.

"Ang. 9, [1497,] For garnishing of a Salette		
<i>helmet</i>	£38	0 16
" 20 Jacquetts of the best sorte	19	6 4
" Browdering of the same		
Jacquetts	18	0 0
" For the King's Horse Har-		
nesse	21	4 10
" Garnishing of the King's		
Sword	6	10 7
10 " <i>To him that found the new</i>		
<i>isle</i>	10	0 0 "

This small sum, equal in its purchasing power, then, to perhaps ten times as much as now, was but a poor gratuity from a King, nor was it sufficient, "*to amuse himself till then*," that is, to support his family until May, 1493. The King was a close financier, judging from Ayala's account of him, in the same dispatch, where he says, "*He spends all the time he is not in public, or in his Council, in writing the accounts of his expenses with his own hand.*" However, he paid four times more for the garnishing of his helmet and sword than for a new Continent. To be sure the Prince of Wales was about to marry a Spanish princess; and he had just captured the pretender, Perkin Warbeck. We take it to be a present made at the first interview with the King, after the arrival home, a few days before. The King was at Shene, on the twenty-fifth of July, (See *Spanish Calendar*, No. 189,) and on the seventeenth of August, was at Woodstock. (See *Venetian Calendar*, No. 750.)

D.

[From the *Calendar of Venetian State Papers* : I. 262, No. 752.]

LORENZO PASQUALIGO TO HIS BROTHERS ALVISE AND FRANCESCO.

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the grand cham (*gram cam*). He coasted for 300 leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the King certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with the intelligence.

"The King has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The King has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the great admiral. Vast honour is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.

"The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of S. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield.

London, 28 August 1497."

"[*Italian, Entered in the Diaries on 11 September, 1497. Translated and printed for the Philobiblon Society.*]"

These Diaries were kept by Marin Sanuto for the Republic of Venice, from 1497 to 1653, and fill fifty-eight folio vol-

umes, closely written, of about five hundred pages each. He extracted from the despatches received, all their information, in brief, (See Preface, page xviii, *et seq.*) but in some cases, as perhaps in the above, gave them more fully.

The originals of the Despatches, thus condensed by Sanuto, are believed to have been destroyed by fire, in May, 1574. (Page xxiv.) The Diaries were removed to Vienna in 1805; and those used in the English Calendar are translated from a copy now in the Marcian Library, made by Francesco Dona, who died in 1816. The original may vary somewhat from the copy, and it is very desirable to have the Italian version from Sanuto's own hand. It will probably be included among the documents that are now being printed for the Maine Historical Society.

E.

[From the same Volume: 259, 260. A portion of No. 750.]

(From the Sforza Archives in Milan.)

The letter, dated from England, the twenty-fourth of August, 1497, is endorsed *Raimundus*, and was no doubt written by Raimondo do Soncino, Envoy from the Duke of Milan, Ludovic Sforza, to Henry VII. (Note by the Editor.)

"Also, some months ago, his Majesty sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having likewise discovered the seven cities, 400 leagues from England, on the western passage. This next spring his Majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships."

It will be noticed that the distance of four hundred leagues is here given as that of the *Seven Cities* from England. Ayala speaks of four hundred also, but does not clearly state from whence he reckons.

F.

[From the *Calendar of Letters, &c., preserved at Simancas* : I., 1862. Pages 176, 177. No. 210.]

THE PROTHONOTARY, DON PEDRO DE AYALA, TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

This long Despatch occupies ten and a half pages in the printed volume before us, and towards its close, appears the following interesting paragraph:

"I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents, which he was informed some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese, like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon, asking assistance for his discoveries. The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships (*caravelas*), in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of the Genoese. The King determined to send out [*ships*], because, the year before, they brought certain news that they had found land. His fleet consisted of five vessels, which carried provisions for one year. It is said that one of them, in which one Friar Buil went, has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage. I have seen, on a chart, the direction which they took, and the distance they sailed; and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September. I write this because the King of England has often spoken to me on this subject, and he thinks that your Highnesses will take great interest in it. I think it is not further distant than four hundred leagues. I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of your Majesties; but though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them. I believe that your Highnesses are already informed of this matter; and I do not now send the chart or *mapa mundi* which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question was north of said islands."

[*Indorsed* : "To Your Highnesses, 1498, From Don Pedro de Ayala, 25th July, '98." In Spanish.

The Editor of the volume, Mr. G. A. Bergenroth, adds in a note that "This paragraph is to much curtailed in the

"deciphering made by Almazan," [*Secretary of State to the Sovereigns*], "that it was necessary to decipher it again "from the original despatch in cipher."

The Introduction to this Volume must be read, to appreciate the labors of Mr. Bergenroth, a notice of which appeared in 1863, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Much as we regret not being able to give this Despatch, as well as the others quoted from the same Volume, there can be no doubt that we have the words of the original, but it is to be hoped that we shall have them before long in their genuine form, as first written.

Allusion is made to information already furnished to the Sovereigns, mostly by De Puebla, but no despatch of such a nature was found. Ayala calls Cabot "a Genoese like Columbus," a mistake as we know, but revealing the fact that the greater discoverer was known, in 1498, to be a Genoese.

The *Mapa mundi* of John Cabot, prepared in 1497-8, is unknown. Copies of it may yet be found, but at present it must rank with many lost charts, spoken of by historians, among which are those prepared by Columbus, and the one by Toscanelli, which induced him to undertake his voyage into the depths of the Atlantic. The Sovereigns, be it observed, read only a brief of this paragraph, prepared by Almazan, which shows, when the voluminous details in the same volume are conned over, how small a space the great geographical discoveries of the day occupied in the minds of men.

Ayala speaks, rather positively, of previous voyages by Cabot, covering a space of seven years; but we have no record nor the slightest allusion to any other, besides the one of 1497. He must here have been misinformed, though it is barely possible that Cabot may have been to Newfoundland, before 1497. If so, it would account for his bold approach to the shores of the mainland, in 1497, apparently avoiding Newfoundland, as a well known barrier in his progress westward. He certainly treated it, on his first voyage of which we have any record, in such a light, as we think is shown in the above paper.

G.

The following Note is from the *Sailing Directions for Newfoundland and Labrador*, London, 1862, Page 75.

Captain Bayfield, says: "The prevalent current from the "northward comes from between Belle Isle and the coast "of Labrador. It is often at the temperature of the freezing point, bringing many icebergs into the strait, and "frequently carrying them through it many miles up the "Gulf. Some of these bergs ground in deep water, whilst "others are continually changing their position. They are "much more numerous in some seasons than in others, as I "have seen 200 bergs and large pieces of ice in the strait in "the month of August, in one year, whilst there were not "above half a dozen to be seen in the same month of the "following season.

"The depth of water, (in the strait), varies in different "parts from between 60 and 70 to 20 fathoms," &c.

H.

The late Thomas C. Halliburton, in his account of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1829 i., 4, note), throws out the conjecture that Cabot entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He was led to this conclusion after noticing the statement made by Galvano, that Cabot discovered land in forty-five degrees North Latitude, and then coasted Northwardly, which fact he found stated by Prince in his *Annals of New England* (Boston, 1736, page 80).

II.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

PREPARED BY E. H. GILLET, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D. REV. EPHER WHITAKER, REV. GEORGE FOOT, AND OTHERS.

[A large part of the following Sketches was originally prepared for insertion in Gillett's *History of the Presby-*

terian Church in the United States. But the limits of that work rendered its insertion unadvisable, while the multiplicity of items contained in the numerous Sketches of individual Churches seemed to require that revision which could only be secured by their publication in their present form. Derived, as the materials have been, from a great variety of sources, it would be strange indeed if the opportunities of local knowledge and personal information enjoyed by individuals, did not afford them the means of modifying or correcting many statements in the articles. Portions of them have been revised indeed, already, by able hands, as the Churches of Delaware, by Rev. Geo. Foot of Delaware, and those of Long Island, by Rev. Ephraim Whitaker of Southold; while the account of those of East Jersey has been entirely rewritten by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D. Any corrections of statements given in this historical Sketch will be gratefully received by the Editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

Eighty-three years elapsed between the organization of the first Presbytery in this country, and the meeting of the first Presbyterian General Assembly, in 1789. But several years before the first Presbytery was formed, Presbyterian Churches had been organized and Presbyterian ministers had been laboring in the field. It was about the year 1684, or very nearly a century before the meeting of the first General Assembly, that Francis Makemie, the founder of American Presbyterianism, gathered the Presbyterian Church of Snow Hill, Maryland. An Irishman by birth, he was sent out, as a Missionary, by the Dissenting ministers in and around London; and for several years he seems to have been, with the single exception of Archibald Riddell of East Jersey, [Dec. 1685-June, 1689], the only Presbyterian minister in this country. His first co-laborer in the field appears to have been a fellow countryman, Josias Mackie, supposed by Dr. Handy (*Presb. Mag.* May, 1856) to have come over to this country with Makemie, but who took the oath of fidelity and received permission to preach at designated places, in 1692. For some twenty years, he labored at different places on Elizabeth River. In 1692, he obtained permission to preach and hold public worship in "a house at Mr. Thomas Joy's, in Eastern Branch; "a house belonging to Richard Phillpot, in Farmer's Creek Precinct; and a house belonging to "John Roberts, in the Western Branch. In 1696, "he certified that he had selected another place "of meeting for preaching the Gospel." This was at the house of Mr. John Dickson, in Southern Branch. Under the subsequent intolerance to which Dissenters were subjected by the laws of Virginia, it is doubtful whether any of the original congregations (if, indeed, they were organized as such) to which Mackie preached, continued long after his decease. Indeed it is not improbable that by his death, having been left unsupplied, they soon dwindled away.

By Rev. Dr. Macdonald, the Historian of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, L. I., it is claimed that that church is the oldest Presbyterian Church in America. Several other churches which subsequently became Presbyterian, were gathered at various places on Long Island, many years be-

fore Makemie arrived in this country. In Delaware and in New Jersey several others date from a period either anterior to, or nearly contemporary with, his arrival.

In noting briefly the history of the different Presbyterian Congregations in this country, gathered before the War of the Revolution, we commence with

DELAWARE.

By E. H. GILLETT.

In Delaware, the earliest Presbyterian minister of whom we find any account, is Samuel Davis, mentioned by George Keith, who visited him at Lewes, in 1692. Although engaged in trade, he continued for many years to supply the Congregation. Of his antecedents, we know nothing. His name is not found in the *Nonconformist Memorial*, nor on the catalogue of Harvard College. He seems to have supplied the Congregation, simply because it could procure no one else; and on this account it declined to release him. In 1707, the Presbytery endeavored to secure Alexander Colding from Scotland for them, but did not succeed in the effort. In 1715, Davis united with the Congregation in a request to the Presbytery—as doubtless he had done previously—that a minister might be procured for them. It is not at all improbable that the request was made with a view to securing the services of John Thomson, who came over from Ireland in the summer of that year. Although a licentiate only, he was recommended to the people of Lewes by the Presbytery; and soon after commenced his labors among them. The next year, a call was presented for his settlement; and he was installed on the first Wednesday of April, 1717. Meanwhile, Davis had removed to Snow Hill, Maryland, where he succeeded John Hampton, who had left on account of feeble health, and where he continued to preach until his death, in 1725.*

In 1723, a church edifice of brick was erected; but such was the poverty of the people that, in 1729, Thomson left for want of support.

In 1730, Robert Cathcart was temporary supply. Previous to 1734, he had been succeeded by James Martin, from Ireland, who remained until his death, in 1743,† and who is said to have organized the Church at Cool Spring. His successors—if any—previous to 1755, are unknown; but in that year, Matthew Wilson was ordained Pastor of Lewes and Cool Spring. In 1768, Indian River, where John Harris had been settled for twelve years, was added to his charge.‡ Wilson died in 1790, and was succeeded by his son, James P.

Wilson, subsequently distinguished as the able Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

The congregation of Newcastle was gathered previous to 1702, when John Wilson was preaching in the Court-house. But, as early as 1686, William Huston, by his last Will, gave three hundred acres on Christiana Creek, to John Wilson and his successor.* Wilson however does not seem to have sustained the Pastoral relation; and “not being contented,” left Newcastle, in 1702.† He returned, however, in the following year, to the dissatisfaction of some of the people, who became anxious for the services of a Churchman. How long, or rather how steadily, he continued at Newcastle is uncertain;‡ but the people are said to have given a call to George Macnish, who came over to this country with Makemie and Hampton, in 1705. This call was, however, declined, and in 1708, Wilson was directed to preach alternately at White Clay and also, for a small portion of his time, at Apoquinimy. The Meeting-house at White Clay Creek, was§ considered as a chapel-of-ease, the people in that neighborhood being regarded as a part of the Newcastle Congregation. In 1705, the town had become quite large, its population being estimated at two thousand five hundred. ¶

In 1710, Wilson was succeeded by James Anderson, who remained until called to New York, in 1716. He was succeeded, in 1717, by Robert Cross, ¶ who continued as Pastor until called to succeed Macnish, at Jamaica, in 1723. The church subsequently does not appear to have had a regular Pastor till the settlement of Daniel Thom (1757-1763.)

Meanwhile, Wilson continued to supply White Clay Creek, until his death, in 1712. In the fol-

* WEBSTER, 311.

† The Church at Newcastle was the continuation of the old Dutch organization, metamorphosed into Presbyterian—date uncertain. Rev. Dr. Spotswood, of Newcastle, has published a History of the Congregation.—FOOT.

‡ As Wilson was one of the earliest ministers of the Presbyterian denomination in this country, some interest more than ordinary, attaches to the question of his nativity. He was in Delaware in 1686, and not improbably he had been there some years before. If so, he was in the field before Makemie himself. Whence did he come? His name is not on Harvard College Catalogue. Increase Mather speaks of one of the same name who came over to New England; and Calamy mentions four John Wilsons among the Nonconformists, of one of whom he knows absolutely nothing except the fact that he was a Nonconformist. It seems, therefore, not improbable that John Wilson, of Newcastle, was an ejected English minister, who, engaging in trade, was led to locate at Newcastle, and there supplied the Congregation which he found destitute.

§ White Clay Creek was a part of the Newcastle Congregation till 1708, and Mr. Wilson was directed to preach there and at Apoquinimy; but that direction, in a little time, resulted in an independent Congregation and separate places of worship.—FOOT.

¶ *Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 66.

¶ WEBSTER, 367.

* WEBSTER, 311, 322, 355.

† *Ib.* 431.

‡ *Ib.* 620, 670.

lowing year, George Gillespie was ordained, having received a call from White Clay Creek. Red Clay, Brandywine, and Elk River were also united with White Clay, to constitute this pastoral charge; and he is said also to have organized the Congregation of the Head of Christiana, serving it until his death, in 1760.* Meanwhile, Brandywine and White Clay had Robert Laing (1722-4); Thomas Craighead, (1724-36), who, till 1728, devoted one-third of his time to Brandywine, and afterwards one-fifth; and Charles Tennent, whose pastorate extended from 1737 to 1763. During his ministry, a separation of the Congregation took place,† the Old Side uniting with the Elk River, where George Gillespie had been succeeded by Joseph Houston, from 1724 to about 1740, and by Alexander McDowell, who, upon the union of the two Synods, gave up the charge of Elk, and it united with East Nottingham, under James Finlay.‡

From 1708, Apoquinimy formed for several years a portion of the charge of John Wilson, of Newcastle. After his death, in 1712, Robert Wotherspoon was called; and, in 1714, was installed. A house of worship was erected in 1711;§ and the ministry of Wotherspoon continued until his death, in 1718. His successor was Henry Hook, whose labors, commencing in 1722, continued until his death in 1741.|| Together with Apoquinimy, Drawyers formed a part of his charge.¶ The latter place had been supplied as early as 1718, by Samuel Young. His death occurred in 1721; and, in the following year, Drawyers was temporarily supplied by Alexander Hutcheson, who soon after accepted a call to Bohemia Manor** and Broad Creek, Cecil County, Maryland. The settlement of John Rodgers, at St. George, served to deplete the Drawyers Congregation; but, in 1753, Hector Alison became the Pastor of it, and so remained till 1758.†† For a portion of the time, at least, it is probable that White Clay formed a part of his charge. From 1768 to 1798, Thomas Read had charge of the church. He was installed in 1772.

* Such is the statement of Webster, 340. Rev. Mr. Foot, of Delaware, says, "I do not suppose that George Gillespie had charge of White Clay Creek. I have no evidence that Gillespie ever had charge of White or Red Clay Creek. His place was at the Head of Christiana, where his dwelling still stands. I found there some of his papers, and one manuscript Sermon."

† WEBSTER, 446.

‡ *Id.* 463.

§ *Id.* 347.

|| *Id.* 363.

¶ Apoquinimy and Drawyers in the same Congregation.

—Foot.

** "The Bohemia Church stood near Taylor's Bridge, and remained until 1809; only the tombstones are left now." WEBSTER, 376. On this, Mr. Foot remarks, "Not so. It was ten miles distant. There was a church near that bridge, organized by Thomas Read, about 1770, out of some of Drawyers people and others on the South-eastern extremity of Drawyers, in the Thoroughfare Neck, which lasted till about 1809."

†† WEBSTER, 496.

The Congregation of St. George's, where a Welch Episcopal Church had been established early in the century, seems to have been gathered out of the ruins of its predecessor.* It is said to have been organized by the joint labors of Whitefield and William Robinson, the latter of whom was the first Pastor (1743-4).† It was composed of a portion of the New Side element of Drawyers Congregation, who withdrew in 1742. In 1749, Robinson was succeeded by Dr. John Rodgers, who took charge also of the Forest Church, near Middletown. The latter, also, like St. George's, had been formed from Drawyers, by another portion of the New Side element, strengthened by others from Back Creek, Bohemia Manor; and it had one-third of Rodgers' time.

The St. George's Meeting-house was built in 1750; and persons who had been hearers and elders in Hutcheson's church at Bohemia, united in erecting the building, under the style of the Congregation of "Bohemia and Apoquinimy."‡ Upon the removal of Rodgers to New York, in 1765, Elihu Spencer was called to succeed him; and his Pastorate of "St. George's and Apoquinimy" continued for four years. Previous to 1789, John Burton had been settled over St. George's.

St. James applied for aid as early as 1722; and Henry Hook, who afterwards settled at Drawyers and Apoquinimy, was sent to supply them. For several years, his appointment was renewed.§ Long previous to this "the desolate condition of 'the people of Kent'—'embracing Dover, St. Jones, and Murder-Kill'—had attracted the attention of the Presbytery, (1714.) Anderson was sent them as a monthly supply; and, in 1715, Gelston was sent them as a candidate. The next year, they had occasional supplies in connection with Cedar Creek, in Sussex. Cross preached for them, monthly, for several years; and they were visited by Hook, Evans, Steward, and Hutcheson.||

In 1727, Archibald McCook was called and ordained, but died within a few months. After his death, the places had supplies for several years.¶

* Rev. Mr. Foot remarks, "There is no evidence that the Welch church ever formed part of St. George's, though 'that Congregation died out about this' (*time of the organization of the Presbyterian Church*)" date. There is evidence that Pigeon Run Church, some four miles North-east, did go to St. George's. St. George's and Apoquinimy were the Forest Church of later times; and it is thus known now."

† WEBSTER, 578.

‡ *Id.* 590.

§ *Id.* 364.

|| *Id.* 397.

¶ *Id.* 397. 'St. Jones,' 'The people of Kent,' and 'Kent County,' are the same, and the Church is now 'Dover. Kent County was originally 'St. James County,' in Penn's Patent from the Duke of York. Murder Kill was a separate thing at some distance, and afterwards had its own Church and Pastor.—Foot.

In 1789, William McKee was Pastor of Murder Kill, St. James, and Three Rivers.

At Dutch Creek, where Welsh Baptists had settled at an early period, a Presbyterian Meeting-house was built in 1733. The congregation was gathered by Henry Hook, when ordered to supply St. Jones, "Kent," Kent County. In 1734, Robert Jamison commenced his pastorate here—closed by death in 1744. The congregation having neglected to secure the land by deed, it reverted to the family of the donor upon his death; and by them, in 1771, was made over to the Baptists.* In 1747-8, John Miller commenced his labors at Dutch Creek, and gathered the congregation of Dover. His pastorate of both places continued until his death, in 1791. Soon after this, the Congregation at Dutch Creek, since known as Smyrna, erected for themselves "a handsome church."†

Red Clay formed a part of George Gillespie's charge, soon after his settlement at White Clay, in 1713. Before May, 1756, William McKennan was settled over the two Congregations of Red Clay and Wilmington.‡ Of the latter, he retained charge till 1794; and of the former, till his death, in 1809.

At Wilmington, Robert Cathcart began to preach, in 1740.§ In 1736, Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker, said of the place, "it is a newly settled town "on Christiana Creek, which I believe will be a "flourishing place, if the inhabitants take care to "live in the fear of God." Under Cathcart the Congregation divided; and the New Side church of Lower Brandywine was formed—the other portion taking, in process of time, the name of Red Clay. Cathcart died in 1754; and on the reunion, the way was open for the settlement of McKennan.

MARYLAND.

By E. H. GILLET.

The early churches gathered by Makemie in Maryland, were mainly supplied by him until the arrival of Hampton and Macnish, in 1705-6. Snow Hill and Pitts' Creek formed the charge of Hampton, from 1706 to 1717. Upon his resignation, on account of feeble health, he was succeeded by Samuel Davis, who had labored at Lewes, Delaware, but whose death occurred in 1725. His successors were Hugh Stevenson, from 1729 to about 1738; and James Scongall, who had charge of Snow Hill and "the Ferry," from 1743, until his death, in 1746.¶ Shortly after this, a powerful revival prevailed at "the Ferry,"—sub-

sequently known as Buckingham, and now as Berlin—and from 1763 to 1771, Charles Tennent was Pastor here, and possibly of Snow Hill. In 1789, Samuel McMaster was Pastor of Snow Hill, Pitts' Creek, and Rehoboth.

At Monokin and Wicomoco, George Macnish commenced his labors in 1705; and continued them until his removal to Jamaica, in 1710. In 1711, Thomas Bratton succeeded him, but died in October, 1712. His place was supplied by Robert Lawson, who survived but a few months. The next minister was William Steward, whose pastorate extended from 1718 till his death in 1734. His successor at Monokin was Patrick Glasgow, (1736-41;) and at Wicomoco, John Rodgers was a temporary supply, in 1747, previous to his settlement at St. George. In 1751, Hugh Henry was settled over Monokin and Wicomoco, to which Rehoboth* was now conjoined; and here he remained till his death, in 1763. His successor at the two first was Jacob Ker, whose pastorate extended from 1764 till his death, in 1795.

Rehoboth, which thus formed a part of his charge, had before the close of the preceding century, enjoyed the labors of Makemie himself.† Upon his death, he was succeeded by John Henry, (1710,) who died before September, 1717. In 1719, John Clement preached to the people of "Rehoboth on Pocomoke;" and, in 1724, William McMillian was "settled in Virginia;" and the fact that in March after his licensure, Coventry petitioned for supplies, renders it not improbable that he was Clements' successor.‡

Church Hill, in Queen Anne's, was a place where William Robinson and Samuel Davis bestowed a portion of their labor, and which was repeatedly visited by Rodgers. On one occasion, at this place—where the labors of the two former had been greatly blessed—the latter is said to have baptized twenty-nine adults, while many others were, at the same time, admitted to the Communion.§ Kent County also repeatedly applied for and obtained supplies. Patapsco, from its English trade, drew the attention of Dr. Reynolds, of London, who sent over a contribution for the support of the Gospel; and, through his agency, Hugh Conn came over to be their minister. He was called by the people and installed, in the fall of 1715; but after a pastorate of four years, he obtained leave to demit his charge from "the paucity of his flock."|| He immediately removed to supply the people on the East branch of Potomac and Pomonkey, who had applied for a minister. This field of labor is now known as

* WEBSTER, 431.

† *Id.* 619.

‡ He is said by Sprague, (*ill.* 274.) to have been settled over Red Clay, White Clay, and Wilmington.

§ WEBSTER, 409.

|| *Id.* 485.

* WEBSTER, 616.

† The place is sometimes called Coventry, and sometimes Rehoboth, on Pocomoke.

‡ WEBSTER, 380.

§ *Id.* 573.

|| *Id.* 352.

Bladensburg; and here Mr. Conn remained till his sudden death, while addressing his people from the pulpit, in 1752. In 1789, James Hunt, mentioned in the life of William Wirt, was Pastor of Bladensburg.

At Chestertown, John Hamilton was the minister, in 1750. He had previously been Pastor of the Old Side Congregation of Rehoboth and Monokin. He died in 1750. Howell Powell is said to have formed an Independent Congregation at a much earlier period; and, in 1727, a grant of land for the use of the church was made to "Mr. Samuel "Exhill.*

Somewhere about the year 1690, a settlement was made on the Patuxent, and was known subsequently as Upper Marlborough. The first Pastor of the Congregation, which, according to tradition, came from Scotland, was Nathaniel Taylor, who became one of the original members of the First Presbytery, and had probably been located on the Patuxent for several years previous. His name appears, for the last time, on the Minutes in 1709.† In the following year Macnish was called as his successor, but preferred to accept the call to Jamaica. In 1713, Daniel McGill was received as a member of the Presbytery, and doubtless had already commenced his labors on the Patuxent. After two or three years, his relations to the people ceased to be harmonious; and, in 1719-20, he removed to Potomoke and "put the people in "church order." He labored for the remainder of his days, till his death in 1724, in Delaware; and his successor, sent over by the request of the Congregation from London, was John Orme, whose Pastorate continued from 1720 to 1758.

The first church of Baltimore was formed in 1763, and its first Pastor was Dr. Patrick Allison, (1763-1802.) His successor was Dr. James Inglis.

NEW JERSEY.

By REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D.

Elizabeth Town was settled in 1665. The land was purchased from the Indians of Staten Island, in the autumn of 1664. In the course of the winter and spring following, the associate purchasers, in considerable number, mostly from Long Island, took possession of the ground, and laid out their lots. At the close of the ensuing

summer, Captain Philip Carteret, the Governor appointed by Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the English proprietors, arrived with a company of servants, and became one of the town associates.

Nearly all of the first settlers had previously resided in New England, where some of the younger of them were born. The religious character of many of them is matter of record. They were of the prevailing faith, Calvinists and Independents. A large proportion of them had been members of the Independent churches of Southampton, Easthampton, and Southold, on Long Island, and of New Haven, Wethersfield, and Stamford, Connecticut.

Before their removal from the East end of Long Island, they had prevailed upon the Rev. Thomas James, Pastor of the church of Easthampton, to emigrate with them and become their Pastor. At the last hour, he yielded to the solicitations of his people, and gave up all thoughts of removal.

At what point of time the first settlers organized their church cannot now, in the absence of documentary and traditionary information, be determined. Their well known character as religious men makes it certain that it was one of the first concerns that engaged their attention. It is safe to say that it was not later than the summer of 1665. It was, undoubtedly, the first church constituted by English people, in the Province of New Jersey, antedating the church of Newark at least two years.

At this period, Presbyterianism had not been transplanted, organically, to the Western world, save in connection with the Reformed Dutch Church in the Colony of New Netherland. The churches planted by the New England emigrants were all of the type to which they had been accustomed at home. They were both Congregational and Independent, being designated generally by the latter name. Such was the ancient church of Elizabeth Town.

Among those who had emigrated from Connecticut, and founded, in 1667, the town of Newark, was the Rev. JEREMIAH PECK. He was the eldest son of Deacon William Peck, of New Haven, but was born in London, England, about 1623. Mather, in his *Heccatompolis*, mentions him among the graduates of Harvard College, in 1654, but his name is not found in the *Triennial Catalogue*. He, probably, was a student there, from 1637 to 1639, but did not graduate, as the family, at the latter date, removed from Boston to New Haven. Or he may have been there at a later period. In 1656, he taught school at Guilford, where, on the twelfth of November, he married Joanna, daughter of Robert Kitchell. After his marriage, he taught, in 1660-1, "Latin, "Greek, and Hebrew," at the Grammar School

* WEBSTER, 345. Mr. Powell is meant, probably.

† The Church of Upper Marlborough has been the subject of earnest controversy between Dr. Hill and Dr. Hodge. The latter rested his case at first on a manuscript history of Dr. Balch, of Georgetown, which Dr. Hill has shown to be quite unreliable. The zeal of the latter, however, (or that of his advocate SIMPLEX) has carried him too far on some points. The pure Scotticism of the Church is by no means proved by Dr. Hodge. The Balch letter is at best tradition, which historical criticism is forced to regard with some measure of distrust; while Macnish, who was called to succeed Taylor and McGill, and Orme, who did, in fact, succeed him, had the London ministers not only as correspondents but patrons, and not one of them was sent out from Scotland.

in New Haven. In 1661, he was settled as Pastor of the church of Saybrook, Connecticut, remaining there until 1666, when he returned to Guilford; and the next year, with his wife and five children, accompanied his father-in-law to Newark. As the venerable Pierson was in charge of the Newark church, and Mr. Peck's ministerial services were not needed there, he was induced, in 1668, the year after his coming, to remove to Elizabeth Town, and thus became their first Pastor, continuing to serve as such until the autumn of 1678, when he accepted a call to the newly-organized church of Greenwich, Connecticut. In 1690, he became the first minister of the church of Waterbury, Connecticut, being then in the sixty-eight year of his age. In this position he continued until his death, on the seventh of June, 1699. The numerous family of Pecks in Fairfield county, Connecticut, and their branches all over the land, are his descendants.

The second pastor of the church of Elizabeth Town was the Rev. SETH FLETCHER. He had been settled in the ministry at Wells and Saco, in Maine, and at Southampton, Long Island. He had previously resided in New Hampshire, being a member of the church of Hampton. The date and place of his birth are not certainly known. He was the son of Robert Fletcher, of Concord, Massachusetts, but was born, probably, in England. He married before 1655, Mary, daughter of Brian Pendleton, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, afterwards of Winter Harbor, Maine. His sister, Hope Fletcher, was married, before 1650, to Rev. Samuel Stone, of Middletown, Connecticut. He settled at Wells, in 1655, and at Saco, in 1662. The Indian War of 1675 compelled his removal from that part of the country. At the close of 1676, or early in 1677, he came to Southampton, Long Island, and continued in charge of the church there until 1679, when, or soon after, he removed to this town. His ministry here was short. In his correspondence with President Increase Mather, he complains, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1681, of being "much molested with Quakers," led on by "a 'schooler,' of Scotch extraction, who had previously been 'a Popish Priest,' 'by name 'John Urquhart.'" In the May following, he married, as his second wife, Mary, the widow of Henry Pierson, of Southampton, Long Island. In August, 1682, he was removed by death. His estate was valued at five hundred and fifty-nine pounds, five shillings, and eight pence, of which his books were estimated at one hundred and seventy-five pounds four shillings and four pence. His library must have been large for the times.

Who succeeded Mr. Fletcher, during the next five years, is not known. The church was, probably, dependent upon temporary supplies. In 1687, they united in a call to the Rev. JOHN HAR-

MAN, of New Haven, Connecticut, then in the fortieth year of his age, and the father of six children. His ministry here began on the thirtieth of September, 1687, and was continued nearly eighteen years.

He was born at New Haven, where he was baptized on the twenty-fourth of January, 1647-8. He was trained from childhood under the eye of that rigid old Puritan, Rev. John Davenport. In his thirteenth year he came under the instruction of Jeremiah Peck, the first Pastor of that church, at that time Principal of the Grammar School at New Haven. He graduated in 1667, at Harvard College, his name standing at the head of his class. During the next twenty years he was occupied, at one time as Principal of the Hopkins Grammar School in his native town; at other times as a preacher at New Haven, East Haven, and Wallingford, Connecticut, also at Southampton, Long Island, and again as a practical surveyor. As early as 1673, he married Hannah, the daughter of Richard Bryan, the richest man in Milford, Connecticut, who survived him several years.

His salary was sixty pounds a year. He received, also, a grant of one hundred acres of land, which, as well as his parish, he cultivated diligently. He was a man of great exactness and regularity. One of his account books, a long, narrow folio, has survived, in good condition, the ravages of time. This book covers the period from 1694 until his death. It has a debtor and creditor account with each of his parishioners, in which every particular of produce, etc., received in payment of his salary, is duly entered, and from which may be gathered much of the domestic history of the town, at the close of the seventeenth century. He remained in charge of the church until his death, which occurred suddenly, on Monday, the twentieth of August, 1705.

Their fourth minister was the Rev. SAMUEL MELYEN. He was a grandson of the old Patroon of Staten Island, Cornelius Melyn, who figures so largely in the history of Peter Stuyvesant, and his predecessor, William Kieft. Jacob, the father of Samuel, was one of the founders of the town, and a man of considerable influence. He removed to New York, in 1674, and, some fifteen years later, to Boston, where he died in December, 1706.

Samuel was baptized, with a brother and sister, on the seventh of August, 1677, in the Dutch Church, New York. He was born about 1675, at New York; and, on the removal of the family to Boston, entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1696. In 1700, he was the teacher of the Grammar School of Hadley, Massachusetts. Possibly, he studied theology with Mr. Harriman, as he was residing here in December, 1702. He was ordained on the twentieth of May, 1704, as a

colleague of Mr. Harriman and, at his decease, was left in sole charge of the congregation. Just before this date, an Episcopal missionary found his way to the town and succeeded in gathering a small congregation. Previous to this, for forty years, the town and the parish were coterminous, the affairs of the latter being transacted in "town meeting, according to the New England custom."

The ministry of Mr. Melyen seems not to have been successful or acceptable. His connection with the church terminated in 1707, although he continued to reside with the people until his decease, in May, 1711. His last years were passed under a cloud. Tradition charges him, and not improbably, with intemperance. An indictment against him, for some misdemeanor not on record, was pending at his death. He died unmarried, leaving his property mostly to his sister, Abigail, of Boston, afterwards the second wife of Chief-justice Samuel Sewall.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—ANALOGY BETWEEN THE PROPER NAMES IN JAPAN, AND THE INDIAN PROPER NAMES IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

With regard to the original peopling of this Continent, so far as the evidence of language goes, Whitney, *On the Study of Language*, remarks (Page 331): "The linguistic condition of America and the state of our knowledge concerning it being such as we have here seen, it is evident how futile must be at present any attempt to prove by the evidence of language the peopling of our Continent from Asia, or from any other part of the world outside. We have already noticed that a relationship is asserted to exist between the Eskimo branch of American language and a dialect or two in the extreme North-east of Asia; but the fact that it is a specifically Eskimo relationship is sufficient to prove its worthlessness as a help to the explanation of the origin of American language in general, and to make it probable that the communication there has been from America to Asia, not the contrary." "I do not myself expect that valuable light will ever be shed upon the subject by linguistic evidence."

In the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1866, (Page 345,) the Honorary Secretary, Joseph Henry, remarks, "The migrations on the American continents have principally been from the North to South, and it is an interesting

"fact, fully confirmed by the observations of the explorers of the route for the Russian-American telegraph, that the waters of Behring's Straits are frozen over probably every year as late as April, and that intercourse, at present, is constant by means of canoes in summer between the Asiatic and American sides. As another fact relating to the same question, we may state that, while the Asiatic projection, near Behring's Straits is almost a sterile rocky waste, the opposite coast presents a much more inviting appearance, abounding in trees and shrubs. Moreover, the climate, when we pass southward of the peninsula of Alaska, is of a genial character, the temperature continuing nearly the same, as far down as Oregon.

"We may add to the foregoing, that the present inhabitants of the countries contiguous to Behring's Straits, on the two sides, in manners, customs, and physical appearance, are almost identical."

The language of the Japanese is represented as isolated, and as "having no representatives, or near kindred on the main land." "It is of a simple phonetic structure (its syllables being almost always composed of a single consonant with the following vowel), and fluent and easy of utterance."* And without knowing anything about either that or the Indian languages of this country; and looking only at the forms and endings of the words, their *ring* and *sounds* when uttered, we could not but notice the striking similarity, in these respects, between the proper names as found on the map of Japan, and many of the names given to places, rivers, etc., in this country, by the aboriginal inhabitants. We think that any person reading the following table of these names in parallel columns, must be struck with the astonishing similarity; and if the references to the States and Territories where our Indian words are found, were removed, some persons, at least, would find it difficult to determine which belonged to one Continent and which to the other. More than that, let a person take an Atlas, and, commencing with Eastern Asia, except on the coast, come West through Siberia and Europe, and in the Russian, Slavonic, Teutonic, Celtic, Greek and Latin names, he will not find those of the same prevailing form, ending, and general sound. He will find sk, ik, sky, ny, ov, ska, burg, borg, berg, feld, stadt, heim, ville, wick, ich, caster, chester, field, bridge, ham, stead, ford, ton, don, town, &c., &c.

Let him look through the immense catalogue of Greek and Latin proper names in Webster's *Dictionary*, and he will find very few like these: the nearest, in form and sound, we think, will be found on the map of South-eastern Africa.

* Whitney, *Study of Language*, 323.

Proper Names in Japan. *Proper Names among the Indians, mostly in the United States.*

Akune.	Aquone, N. C. ; Oconee, Yokony, Miss.
Baugo, Atago, Jonago.	Conewaugo, Pa ; Conewago, Pa. ; Chicago ; Chisago, Minn. ; Owego, N. Y. ; Winnebago, Ill. ; Oswego, N. Y. ; Sebago.
Itaigawa, Mikawa.	Ottawa, Ill. ; Oshawa, Minn. ; Ojebbewa, Chippewa.
Kanagawa, Kanazawa.	Kanhawa, Va. ; Netawaka, Kansas ; Tuscarawas, Ohio.
Goto.	Otto, Ill. ; Toto, Ind. ; Oteo, Neb. ; Wyandot, Mo.
Togo, Hiogo, Noyaoka, Naheoka.	Tioga, Pa. ; Ladoga, Ind. ; Anakoka La. ; Neoga, Ill. ; Cahoka, Mo. ; Ioka, Ind. ; Timoka, Fla. ; Canoga, Saratoga, N. Y. ; Auoka, Minn. ; Conestoga, Pa. ; Garoga, N. Y. ; Witoga, Minn. ; Cuyahoga, O.
Kaga.	Tucasaga, N. C. ; Onondago, N. Y. ; Wawaka, Ind.
Tsikugo, Usuki.	Mikasuki, Ark. ; Muskoki.
Fiuga, Suruga.	Cayuga, Miss. ; Iuka, Miss. ; Chattanooga, Tenn. ; Chattanooga, Ga.
Tanega.	Talladega, Ala. ; Waseka, Minn. ; Omaha.
Nagasaka, Susaki.	Lahaska, Pa. ; Itaska, Minn. ; Onalaska, Wis. ; Alaska, Nebraska.
Takasaki, Itaka.	Chuquisaka.
Iwami.	Miami, O. ; Itawamba.
Kotok, Sikok, Xicoco.	Otok, Neb. ; Poutotok, Miss. ; Ottokee, O. ; Keokuk, Aroostok, Me. ; Currituk, Okrakoke, N. C. ; Neddock, Sagadahock, Me. ; Hockhocking, O. ; Okonoko, Wahalak, Orinoko, Roanoke.
Koroma.	Sonoma, Cal. ; Tullahoma, Coahoma, Tuscalooma, Tallahoma, Miss.
Yokuhama.	Tehama, Cal. ; Alabama.
Wakajama, Tokajama.	Wahjamega, Bahama, Atakama.
Amakusa.	Tuscalusa, Ala. ; Appanuse, Ind. ; Atacosa, Tex. ; Coosa, Ala.
Fitojosi, Idsusi.	Winooski, Wis. ; Sanduski, O. ; Yalabusha, Miss. ; Marissusa, Cal.
Takada, Tukasada.	Canada, Towanda, Pa. ; Wanda, Ill.

Akida, Neda.	Oneida.
Wakasa, Takase.	Wabasha, Minn. ; Waukesha, Wis. ; Kaskasia, Ill.
Wodawara, Kokara, Kamakura.	Niagara, Waushara, Wis. ; Tuscarora, N. Y. ; Oktoraro, Pa. ; Koro, Wis. ; Niobrara, Neb. ; Socorro, N. Mex.
Iamato, Iodo, Nagato, Kuboda.	Dacota ; Tecolota, N. Mex. ; Toronto, Wiscotta, Wis. ; Zumbrota, Minn. ; Wiota, Mich. ; Minnesota.
Nakasima, Hali-ma.	Waukesma, Mich. ; Neshamok, Pa.
Japan, Nippon.	Wauseon, Mohegan, Waukeegan, Ill. ; Wawpun, Wis.
Kinkwasan.	Ozan, Ark. ; Wiskonsin ; Owatanna, Minn. ; Susquehanna, Pa.

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August, 1966, (I, x., 243,) are given some proper names from the Seminole and Mikasuke languages, of the same general form and sound as the above—Istopoga, Halpatioka, Wewika, Pilatka, Oclawaha, Homosasa, Alaqua, Etawa, Oklokue, etc.

It would be very strange, indeed, if there were no relation between our Indian languages and that of Japan, when the prevailing form, ending, and sound of proper names are so near alike in both countries. E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

IV.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

By GEORGE H. MOORE, Esq., LIBRARIAN OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

12.—REV. NATHANIEL WARD—HIS MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMON IN 1641 AND HIS SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1647. HIS REPLY TO GORTON IN 1647.

WINTHIOP's *Journal* furnishes the only account of the Election Sermon preached by the *Simple Cabler*, in 1641, of which we have any knowledge. "Some of the freemen, without the consent of the magistrates or governour, had chosen Mr. Nathaniel Ward to preach at this court, pretending that it was a part of their liberty. The governour (whose right indeed it is, for till the Court be assembled the freemen are but private persons) would not strive about it, for though it did not belong to them, yet if they would have it, there was reason to yield it to them. Yet they had no great reason to choose him, though otherwise very able, seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was

"now no minister by the received determination of our churches. In his sermon he delivered many useful things, but in a moral and political discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbours, and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and observation, it is probable that by all these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, &c., of those heathen Commonwealths. Among other things, he advised the people to keep all their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honour or power to one than to another, which is easier to advise than to prove, seeing it is against the practice of Israel (where some were rulers of thousands, and some but of tens) and of all nations known or recorded. Another advice he gave that magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause before it came to public hearing. This was debated after in the general Court, where some of the deputies moved to have it ordered. But it was opposed by some of the magistrates upon these reasons: 1. Because we must then provide lawyers to direct men in their causes. 2. The magistrates must not grant out original process, as now they do, for to what end are they trusted with this, but that they should take notice of the (cause of the) action, that they might either divert the suit, if the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course, if it be good. 3. By this occasion the magistrates hath opportunity to end many differences in a friendly way, without charge to the parties, or trouble to the court. 4. It prevents many difficulties and tediousness to the court to understand the cause aright (no advocate being allowed, and the parties being not able, for the most part to open the cause fully and clearly, especially in public.) 5. It is allowed in criminal causes, and why not in civil. 6. Whereas it is objected that such magistrate is in danger to be prejudiced, answer, if the thing be lawful and useful, it must not be laid aside for the temptations which are incident to it, for in the least duties men are exposed to great temptations." *History of New England*: ii., 35, 36.

Mr. Savage very justly observes that "the advice of the preacher was good, notwithstanding the above formidable array of arguments against it." We could well exchange a good many scraps of theology, etc., of the time, even from the writings of Winthrop himself, for a copy of the "moral and political discourse" grounded on the Greek and Roman history with which the "some time pastor of Ipswich and still a preacher"

instructed the Massachusetts General Court, edifying the representatives of the people, if not some of the magistrates. Such a commentary on the code of laws (of which he was also the author) adopted in the same year, would indeed be invaluable as disclosing the foundations of the civil and ecclesiastical polity which it established. Especially in view of the fact that those laws have directly or indirectly entered into, and powerfully influenced, the entire subsequent legislation of a majority of the United States.

Ward went to England in the winter of 1646-47. On the ninth of June, 1647, he was appointed to preach before the House of Commons, on the next day of public humiliation. Mr. Daniel Cawdrey, who had been appointed on the twenty-sixth of May, had just been excused. The other preacher for the day was Dr. Thomas Manton. Ward appears to have given as little satisfaction to the House of Commons, in England, in 1647, as he had, six years before, to the Magistrates in Massachusetts. Mr. Manton received the thanks of the House, and was requested to print his sermon, with the usual privilege, but no further notice of Mr. Ward appears upon the Journal of the House.

Rushworth refers to the various preachers upon the occasion—two before the Lords "and Mr. Ward and Mr. Manton (*sic*) before the Commons, who had Thanks, and ordered to print their Sermons, save only Mr. Ward, who gave Offence." *Historical Collections*: vi. 596.

Fortunately, however, we are not left to conjecture as to the character of his discourse and the causes of offence. The sermon was printed and, although extremely rare, is still accessible.*

"A | Sermon | preached | before the Honourable
House of | Commons | at their late Monethly
Fast, being on | Wednesday, June 30, 1647. |
By Nathaniel Ward, Minister of Gods Word,
| London, | Printed by R. I. for Stephen
Bowtell at the signe | of the Bible in Pope's-
head Alley | 1647."

Stephen Bowtell the Bookseller, informs the Reader that he publishes this sermon, which by a special providence came into his hands without the knowledge or consent of the author. Indeed, the author, in a letter to some friends accompanying a copy of the Sermon, expressly desires that none may take a copy "but such as are wise, and friends to me, and have no itch to publish it." He found the chief "things which pleased not," were his interest in the King and his criticism of the doings of the Army. It will not surprise any who are familiar with his other writings, that some of his phrases met with little

* The copy we use belongs to the very valuable library of S. L. M. BARLOW, Esq., to whose kindness we are always indebted as often as he has the opportunity to show it.

favor. In his "persuading so much to lament the "King," he acknowledges that he "let fall one "redundant expression."

Respecting the exceptional usage he met with at the hands of the House, he says, "I trust I shall "not be grieved that I was not thanked or "ordered to print. I am not only above, but "averse to both. I have had more thanks than I "can tell what to do with, and many justifie "me I feare too much, and more importunity to "print it than I have or shall listen to, for I see "the nakednesse of it well enough, this I acknow- "ledge grieves me sadly, that comming a hard "Winter voyage over the vast Raging Seas* to "doe what service I could to my Country, in pre- "serving Truth and promoting Peace; I am ob- "structed so far as I am. I am not ignorant that "there are some troubled at my being here, and "watching an opportunity to weaken me and my "worke, which I have attended faithfully, meek- "ly and not without some successe, but I am "not altogether discouraged."

The Sermon is from *Ezekiel* xix, 14, and is replete with characteristic wit and wisdom. "When "a State hath brought itself to that passe that the "scepters of authority, and powers of Government "are wasted and weakened, it is a lamentation, and "shall bee for a lamentation. With the failure of "Dominion or Authority, all political order failes—"Religion failes—Justice failes—Strength failes—"Wealth failes. When good Government failes, "then the beauty and honour of a state failes—"Peace failes which is the soile of all felicity."

His application is in lamentation for the Royal Scepter—the King; the National Scepter, or the Parliament; and especially that "its constitution "is so Heterogeneous, dissimular and Contramixt" and its deficiencies in administration so apparent. His lamentation for the Martiall Scepter, or the Army, is very striking and emphatic; and he condemns them very strongly, as having begun so vast and strange an enterprise without warrant, doubtless referring especially to the seizure of the King. He continues the burden of his cry to the whole State and people, and prefaces his conclusions by saying, "I had thought to have spoken "somewhat of Ecclesiasticall and Domesticall "Scepters, and how weakned Scepters might be "restored to their strength, so far as belongs to a "Divine: But fearing that the State is at this "present in too violent and hot a Paroxisme to "take physick, and that it would cost more time "than can be allowed, I shall here conclude with "these few conclusions, which I take to be ever- "lasting truths.

"I. That the highest honour, and weightiest

"charge, God hath betrustrd any of the sonnes "of men with, is publick authority.

"II. That no man can sinne a greater sinne "against God and Men, then to cast the honour "and power of authority in the dust: The sinne "against the Holy Ghost excepted.

"III. That besides the Mal-Administrations of "government by Magistrates themselves, there is "no readier way to prostitute it, then to suffer vile "men to blaspheme and spit in the face of au- "thority.

"III. That if Rulers once lay publick authori- "ty wast, they will find it the difficultest piece of "work that ever mortal men tooke in hands to "raise it up again to its due height, and true "strength."

His main point in all was that of his text—the want of "the Strong Rod, to be a Scepter to "rule;" and his main offence undoubtedly was in his favor towards the King. "Yet," said he, "if I "may believe myself, hot or cold, I am farre "from being a Malignant as any man that heard "me." Other interesting passages might be cited, which would illustrate the character and principles of the man, but we forbear—trusting to see the volume in a reprint, which it richly deserves.

Nearly a century after its appearance, it was brought forward again in the discussions which grew out of the publication of Neal's *History of the Puritans*. Dr. Zachary Grey, in his *Examination* of that work, answering a statement of Richard Baxter, refers to Ward's Sermon of 1647. Baxter had said that "in all the Fast-Sermons that "I have read for some years after the beginning "of the War, I have met with no Reflections "upon the Person of the King, but a Religious "observation of that Political Maxim, The King "can do no wrong." Dr. Grey proceeds to show that Baxter was wrong, by copious extracts from the Public Fast Sermons from 1640 to 1648, and challenges the production of more than one single instance in which there is such a regard for the King, as asserted by Mr. Baxter. He continues:

"There is but one Instance of this kind, that "I can find in the Sermons preached before "the two Houses; and that is of Mr. *Nathaniel "Ward*, who spoke favourably of the King, and "of bringing him back again to his Parliament, "in the following words: [Fast-Sermon before "the Commons, June 30, 1647. printed without "any Order of that House:] 'Let us lament and "mourn for our Royal Sceptre, that he is "weakened, and unfitted to rule; let us lament "his personal Sorrows; Pity should be shewn "to him that is in Affliction: let us lament that "he is deprived of his Royal Consort, and "Children, the Supports and Delights of Nature, "the sweet Objects of Human Affection; "deprived of his wonted Honour and Attend- "ance, his Nobility and Compeers; deprived of

*This passage confirms the opinion that Ward sailed from Massachusetts, with Winslow, in December, 1646.—*Winthrop*, II., 167, note.

"his wonted menial Servants, and attended with military Guards, (unwelcome and ungrateful to him;) deprived of his wonted Liberty; these things must needs make him a *Man of Sorrows*; however his Heart is supported, he cannot but look upon himself as a Man under God's *Black Rod*. If God would soften our Hearts, to lament him as we ought, it is probable he would soften his Heart to lament his Subjects as he ought.' They did not present him with a piece of Plate as usual, (especially where Treason and Rebellion were the main drift of the Discourse) nor desire him to print his Sermon, or return him Thanks for the great Pains he took, according to Custom: a Favour that I am confident was scarce ever refused to any one before, in the Compass of seven Years; as appears from a compleat Collection of the Sermons before the two Houses, from November 1640, to February 1648, now in the publick Library at Cambridge." GREY's *Impartial Examination* &c., 401-2.

Another spicy performance of this venerable Puritan belongs to the same year in which his *Simple Cocker* and the *Sermon before the Commons* were printed. Samuel Gorton's famous tract against the authorities of Massachusetts had been published not long before Ward arrived in England. In it Gorton accused Ward among those who had insidiously attempted to "get occasion against them," when he was imprisoned with his followers by the Massachusetts authorities, in 1643.

"Old Mr. Ward, once Lecturer at St. Michael's, in Cornhill, London, came to the prison window, and called to him, one of our society, namely Richard Carder, who had once lived near together in Essex. Mr. Ward seemed to be much affected, being a man knows how to put himself into passion, desired the said Richard, that if he had done or said anything that he could with good conscience renounce, he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the Court would be very merciful; and saith he, it shall be no disparagement unto you; for here is our reverend elder; Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year, that the next year he publicly repents of, and sheweth himself very sorrowful for it to the Congregation; so that (saith he) it will be no disgrace for you to recant in such a case." *Simplicities Defence, etc.—Rhode Island Historical Collections* ii. 122. note.

"Old Mr. Ward's" notice is to be found in the rare tract published by Edward Winslow, in answer to Gorton's appeal to the public through the press—from the accusation and censure of "that Seven-Headed Church Government united in New England." The entire tract is very able; but no portion of it could be more to the point—for

Ward was in London and furnished it himself: Winslow says—

"In pag. 53, as he abuseth others, so Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ward, in affirming that Mr. Ward put himself into a passion, and stirred up Carder to recant, &c., as being no discredit to him, because Mr. Cotton ordinarily preached that publickly once a yeare, which the next year he recants, &c. But Mr. Ward being in Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee thanks, and returned this answer to it *verbatim*: Samuel Gorton having made mee a Margent note in the 53 page of his Booke, I hold myself called to make this answer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a man as Richard Carder, nor that ever I had any speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in New-England, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one Robert Potter who went in the same Ship with mee into New England, and expressing by the way so much honesty and godlinesse as gained my good opinion and affections toward him: I hearing that hee was affected with Samuel Gortons blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him, I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many teares might happily move me to expresse my affection to him, which Samuel Gorton called passion: After some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: That hee should doe well and wisely to make such acknowledgement of his errours as his Conscience would permit; telling him that Mr. Cotton whom hee had so much revered in Old England, and New, had given a godly example in that kinde, by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemn First day with many teares; That in the time when errours were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulness of his brethren the Elders, &c. hee might have slept on; and blessed God very Cordially for awakening him, and was very thankfull to his Brethren, for their watchfulness over him, and faithfulness towards him: wherein hee honoured God not a little, and greatly rejoiced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would bee no shame for him to doe the like.

"Concerning Mr. Cotton, were I worthy, I would presume to speake that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not

"worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace,
"learning and industry in the worke of God.

"For the Author Samuel Gorton, myself and
"others farre more judicious, take him to bee
"a man whose spirit is starke drunk with blas-
"phemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the
"Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever
"he comes: I intreat him to read Titus I. 13,
"with an humble heart, and that is the greatest
"harm I wish him." "N. W."

"Thus much" (adds Winslow) "of the
"Answer and Testimony of that Reverend and
"Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how
"Mr. Gorton abuseth all men, by casting mire
"and dirt in the faces of our best deserving In-
"struments." *Hypocrisis Unmasked*: 76, 77.

13.—GILES FIRMIN AND HIS VARIOUS WRITINGS.*

Calamy's notices of Giles Firmin, in his *Ac-
count of the Non-conformists* (Page 295) and the
Continuation (Page 458) furnish the principal
source of information respecting his personal his-
tory. He received his education in that famous
"nursery for the Puritans," the University of Cam-
bridge, and with Dyer's *Mad Puritan* he could say

"In the house of Pure Emanuel
"I had my education."

Ackermann's *History of the University of Cam-
bridge*, contains a brief sketch of his life.

"Giles Firmin, M. D. born in Suffolk 1617,
"educated at this college [Emanuel] from whence
"he repaired to New England, 'to enjoy,' as he
"said, 'liberty of conscience,' and there practiced
"as a physician, with great success. He after-
"wards returned, entered into orders, and became
"minister at Shalford, in Essex, whence he was
"ejected by the Act of Uniformity: and resum-
"ing his former occupation, continued to practice
"it till his death at the age of 80, in 1697. He
"was a considerable writer in the controversial
"divinity of the day." *Ackermann*: ii. 254-5.

The *Serious Question Stated, &c.*, 4to. London,
1651, appears to have been his first publication.
We have met with the title *A Sermon against
the Quakers*: 4to. London. 1650—but this is
probably an error in the date of a sermon after-
wards published against that sect. The *Serious
Question* is "that little Tract upon this question
"[denying some Children Baptism] which the
"uncivill carriage of some, in the Congregation,
"when I had delt lovingly with them in private
"before, forced me to print." *Separation Ex-*

aminated: Page 44. He speaks elsewhere of this—
"I would not baptize all in a Parish, though
"I was affronted openly in the Church." *Brief
Review*: Page 27.

The *Serious Question* was followed in the next
year (1652) by *Separation Examined*, etc., a
highly interesting tract. Most of his writings
contain references to New England or his New
England experiences, and occasionally throw a
stray gleam of light into obscure points. In his
Epistle Dedicatory to this tract, he says of the
champions of Independency, "I have observed
"few people that come to stand up for Inde-
"pendency, but they grow very tender (as they
"call it) towards corrupt Opinions, if not
"leavened with them themselves, not allowing a
"Minister to speak against them." And again
he says (Page 19) "There was a report when
"I was in *New England*, that a Carpenter re-bap-
"tized Mr. *Williams*, and then he did re-baptize
"the rest: I do not stand to defend the thing
"whether it be true or no, but it was like enough
"to be true, and suitable to the other opinions
"and practises of that wilde generation. Where
"are we now?" We have here also the authority
of Firmin for the statement that he heard Norton
say—"That if the Congregational Govern-
"ment did make the government of the Church
"democratical, he would give up the cause."
(Page 100.) This may be taken as conclusive
testimony that Norton could not approve that the
ruling of Church affairs should be by popular
suffrage, or that the People should govern their
officers. Yet he doubtless believed in the Con-
gregational way to the extent that the People had
just rights and privileges that were not to be in-
fringed. But he held that it was the Pastor's or
Elder's part to rule, and the People's part to obey,
and could well say, as he did to Firmin, upon
another occasion, "'Tis no wonder Independents
"be unruly." A just biography of John Norton
would throw new light upon the history of his
times in Massachusetts. The Quakers whom he
had persecuted recorded his death as a judgment
of God: history will one day acknowledge that
he was a victim to the pious duplicity of the peo-
ple among whom he ministered.

Firmin also discussed that knotty question, how
to deal with heretical Congregations, after excom-
munication, etc., they still going on in their heres-
ies, and says: "Indeed our *New England Divines*
"will teache us a way how to helpe it, viz: if a
"Synod hath declared against an Hereticall Con-
"gregation, being pertinacious, and so hath pro-
"ceeded to non-communication, they will call in the
"Civill power to help * * * And thus it was
"in *New England*; when the Synod (at which the
"Civill power was present, as to hear, so to keep
"Civill order) had confuted and condemned the
"Errors and Heresies, and so was broke up, then a

* These memoranda were chiefly intended for the use of
Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston (whose liberal and consci-
entious fidelity to History makes it at once a pleasure and a
duty to serve him) and at his suggestion and request are
printed here.

"Generall Court was called, which soon suppressed these Heresies and brought the Churches to peace again." (Page 105.)

In 1652, Daniel Cawdrey, whom Calamy notes as "a Considerable Man, of eminent learning, and a noted Member of the Assembly of Divines," wrote against Firmin, *A Sober Answer to a Serious Question respecting Baptism*. 4to. London. Firmin responded in *A Sober Reply to the Sober Answer of Mr. Cawdrey; also the Question of Mr. Hooker cleared with a Postscript to Mr. Blake*. 4to. London. 1653, which appears to have ended the controversy.

In 1656, came forth his onslaught on the Quakers: *Stablisbing against Shaking: or a Discovery of the Prince of Darknesse* (scarcely transformed into an Angel of Light, powerfully now working in the deluded people called Quakers: with a sober Answer to their railings against Ministers for receiving maintenance from their people. Being the substance of one Sermon preached Feb. 17. 1655, at Shalford, in Essex. By Giles Firmin (Pastour of the Church there) upon occasion of the Quakers troubling those parts. 4to. London. 1656. This is a quarto tract, with an Epistle Dedictory to the Worshipfull Dudley Templer, Esq., Justice of the Peace in Essex, dated the twenty-eighth of February, 1655, (2 leaves) To the Reader (1 leaf) and the Sermon (pp. 1, to 54.) It appears that the author had "resolved against meddling with this sect," but was "forced to it"—having been twice interrupted as he was preaching.

Edward Burrough, a voluminous Quaker writer, replied to this sermon, in a quarto pamphlet of four sheets, printed in the same year, entitled: *Stablisbing against Quaking Thrown down, and overturned, and no Defence found against it, or an Answer to a Book called Stablisbing against Quaking*, put forth by Giles Firmin, a Professed Minister in Essex. London. Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West End of Paula. 1656. It was reprinted in Burrough's Works: Page 153.

In 1637, Firmin edited a sermon of the celebrated Stephen Marshall, whom he "knew in life" and attended in death, on *The Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion vindicated: the Extent of his Power determined . . . before the First Parliament, on a Monthly Fast Day*. Firmin's part in this was in the shape of a Preface and Notes to the discourse which was on 1 Tim. ii. 2. The Preface is quoted in Neal's *History of the Puritans*: iv. 19.

In 1658, he published *A Treatise of Schism, etc.*; in 1659, *Tithes Vindicated, etc.*; in 1660, *Presbyterial Ordination Vindicated*; and in the following year, he entered the lists against John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter; the author of the

famous *Icon Basilike*. Gauden had published *Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England*. 4to. London. 1661. Firmin's work was entitled, *The Liturgical Considerator Considered: or a brief Examination of Dr. Gauden's Considerations . . . with a Preface by Zachary Crofton*. 4to. London. 1661.

In 1670, he published his *Real Christian*. Cotton Mather's warm expressions of respect and admiration, both for the book and its author, may have had something to do with its subsequent reprint in Boston, in 1742. "More might be written of Mr. Giles Firmin, who visited New England in his younger years, but afterwards became, in England, an eminent preacher of the gospel, and a writer, as well as a preacher of it. Among the rest of his books, that golden one, which is entitled. '*The Real Christian*,' does really prove the title to be his own character; and the rest, as well as that, prove him to be an able scholar, as well as a real Christian. I suppose him to be yet living, in a fruitful old age, at Ridgewel in Essex: but such demonstrations he hath still given of his affections to New-England, on all occasions, that he might justly have resented it, as an injury, if he had been wholly omitted in the catalogue of them that have deserved well of that Country." *Magnalia*: Book III, Part IV, Chapter II.

Some expressions in this work led to a brief controversy between the author and his much more famous contemporary—Richard Baxter. Firmin appears to have thought that Baxter carried his views of meditation too far, in his *Saints' Rest*. Baxter says: "At this time, [1670] Mr. Giles Firmin, a worthy minister that had lived in New-England, writing against some Errors of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Shepheard, Mr. Daniel Rogers and Mr. Perkins, gave me also a gentle reproof, for tying Men too strictly to Meditation; where-to I wrote a short answer, called *A Review of the Doctrine of Meditation*." *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*: Part III. 74. This answer was entitled: *The Duty of Heavenly Meditation reviewed by Richard Baxter, at the Invitation of Mr. Giles Firmin's Exceptions; in his Book entitled "The Real Christian."* 4to. London. 1671. Firmin soon replied with *Meditations upon Mr. Baxter's Review*. 4to. n. p. 1672.

A subsequent notice by Baxter, referring to it, is as follows: "Mr. Giles Firmin, a Silenced Minister, writing somewhat against my Method and Motions for Heavenly Meditation, in my '*Saints' Rest*, as too strict, and I having Answered him, he wrote a weak Reply, which I thought not worthy of a Rejoinder." *Ibid*. 102.

A later reference to Baxter by Firmin shows the substantial Christian union of these brethren, notwithstanding minor differences—especially as against those terrible heretics, the Antinomians of

that day. Referring to "*Holy Mr. Corbet, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Joseph Allen, Mr. Anthony Burges, etc.*" Firmin says "when I dye, I choose rather 'to have my Soul gathered with theirs then with 'any Antinomian in England, though I question 'not the salvation of some of them.'" *Brief Review*, 29.

The Questions between the Conformists and Non-conformists truly stated and briefly discussed, in answer to Dr. Falkner, and the Friendly Debate. 4to. 1681.

Cotton Mather gives an extract from this pamphlet in his *Magnalia*; in the Appendix to his Life of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Book III, Chapter XIV.

A Plea for the Children of Believing Parents. 8vo. London. 1683.

In 1687, Thomas Grantham published his *Presumption no Proof of Mr. Petto's arguments for infant baptism, answered*: whereunto is prefixed an answer to two questions by Mr. Firmin about infants church-membership and baptism. 4to. London. 1687. To this, Firmin responded in his *Scripture Warrant sufficient Proof for Infant Baptism*, being a Reply to Mr. Grantham's *Presumption no Proof*. 12mo. London. 1688; and another pamphlet, in the following year, *An Answer to Mr. Grantham's vain Question*. etc. 4to. 1689.

His *Weighty Questions Discussed*. etc. 4to. London, 1692, is advertised among the works on Divinity, in a Catalogue of Books continued, Printed and Published in London, in Michaelmas-Term, 1693, as follows:

"35. Weighty Questions discussed, whether 'Imposition of Hands in separating a Person to 'the work of the Ministry be necessary: Also 'whether the teaching Elders, and the Members, 'ought to meet always in one place. Whereunto 'is added a prediction of Mr. Daniel Rogers, 'Minister in Essex long before the beheading K. 'Charles the First, and Arch-Bishop Laud, 'foretelling that they should not dye a Natural 'Death; by Giles Firmin Author of the Real 'Christian, 4to. price 6d."

This "little pamphlet greatly pleased" George Porter, Canon of Christ Church and sometime Proctor of the University at Cambridge.

Another work of his was *Some Remarks upon the Anabaptists Answer to the Athenian Mercuries*. 4to.

By far the most interesting (to us) of all the writings of Firmin which have fallen under our notice is the following:

Παραπύα A Brief Review of Mr. Davis's Vindication: giving no Satisfaction. Being For the greatest part of it, no direct Answer to what is charged upon him; but meer Evasions, to deceive his Reader. Things that tends to prac-

tise, are chiefly insisted upon: Other things but lightly touched. To which is added, Remarks upon some Passages of Mr. Crisp in his Book, Entituled, *Christ alone Exalted*. The Reason of the Author's Engaging in this Controversy, is given in the Preface to the Reader. By Giles Firmin, one of the United Brethren. Mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have Learned, and avoid them. Rom. 16.17. The God of Peace, shall bruise Satan under your Feet shortly. Ibid. v. 20. London. Printed for John Lawrence, at the Angel in the Poultry. 1693.

The Author's Preface to the Reader presents in some passages a graphic picture of the dissensions in Massachusetts, in 1637; and his personal references are the more striking in view of the scarcity of such memorials of the actors in those scenes. The tract is so rare that we need make no apology for reproducing all this part of it.

"TO THE READER.

"THE Book Entituled, the Horrible Plague 'begun at Rowel, &c., was sent to me, by 'an unknown Hand: When I read it, I found my 'Name mentioned, p. 14. my Brethren might have 'named others, far better than my self; but they 'were pleased to mention my Name alone. I had 'no thoughts to meddle with the Controversy; but 'reading Mr. Davis Vindication* of himself, and 'observing he found fault with that, for which 'they named me: I resolved to defend that Doctrine, which I had delivered; and for which they 'quoted me.

"As for these Antinomian Tenets, vented by Dr. Crisp,† and Mr. Davis, I have Reason to be acquainted with them: First living in an Antinomian Family, about 66 years since, when I was a School-Boy. During the three years of my living there, [giving them their Opinions,] it was as well ordered a Family, as any in the Town, strictly observing the Lords Day. One Notion I observed there, which I never heard before, nor since: It was the Interpretation of the Revel. 12. 1. It was a Manuscript fastned to a board. 'I saw a Woman Clothed with the Sun. [That is, the Church Clothed with the Righteousness of Christ, to her Justification] and the Moon, [that is, Sanctification] under her Feet.

* DAVIS, RICHARD, *Truth and Innocency vindicated against Falsehood and Malice expressed in a late Pamphlet entituled: A True Account of a most Horrid and Dismal Plague begun at Rothwell, &c., to which is added, Mr. Robert Betson's Answer to so much as concerns him in the said Libel.* 4to. London. 1693.

† CRISP, SAMUEL, *Christ alone Exalted*, in Dr. Tobias Crisp's Sermons, in Answer to Mr. D. Williams Preface to his Gospel Truth stated. 4to. London. 1695.

Tobias Crisp, the father of this writer, was the author of the volume entituled "Christ alone Exalted, etc." a 12 mo. volume, published in London, in 1643.

"After I went from thence to Cambridge, and from thence to New-England; upon my return hither, I visited the family: As to their Morals, they held very sober: But as to their Opinions, more corrupt.

"The Lords Day, which they did so strictly observe before, and did not now openly profane it, yet the Morality now is denied; and one of the Company, who did answer his Name, (Mud was his Name, and a very Muddy Fellow he was) brought them to these Opinions;

"1. If there were any such thing, as Sin in the World, God was the Author of it; [as for Sin, being Res or Ens, they did not understand that.]

"2. As dyeth the Beast, so dyeth Man, denying a Future State. *I alledged that in 1 Cor. 15.*

"19. If in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men, the most Miserable: They told me, that was a Text something hard to answer; but they thought it might be answered: But there I left them, and never saw them more: When we can make nothing of lesser Errors, God may give us up to them, which are gross.

"When I returned to New-England; before our Ship came into Harbour, a Shallop coming of Shore to us, the Men told us, the Churches were on fire. I was amazed to hear it; for I left them all in Unity and Peace. When I came on Shoar, I was told, the Heat, the Animosities were so high, that they were ready to lay Hands on their Swords, to draw one against another. Mr. Wheelwright a Minister, acted his part there, as Mr. Davis doth here. All the Discourse was about Justification, and the Assurance of it by the immediate Testimony of the Spirit, or an absolute promise applied by the Spirit. To speak of Conditional promises, Sanctification, or Marks, was a Mark of one under the Covenant of Works; a person to be despised.

"A Zealot, whose Name I see in the Book put forth by Mr. Weld; I asked him, I pray thee tell me, what is Justification, thou art so hot only upon it? He answered me, truly 'tis so great a thing, that I do not know what it is. As for any inherent work wrought by the Spirit. in the Hearts of sound believers, this was slighted. It fell out so, when I came on shoar, that the Governor with whom I lived before, was not at home*: Our Pastor, was gone with the Souldiers, to the Pequitt War.† I could not tell whether to go; but Mrs. Hutchison's Son‡ being my Mes-

"mate in the Ship, he carryed me to his Mothers House, where I eat my first Meal: Discoursing of several things at Table [though I had not seen Mr. Cotton our Teacher; being chosen to Office, while I was in England,*] I told them, I heard such things charged upon Mr. Cotton; which I did believe, he would never own; [he told me himself how he was abused by them, when I grew acquainted with him] Mrs. Hutchison, asked me, what it was? I told her, that he should say, there was no difference between the Graces wrought in a child of God, and what was wrought in an Hypocrite: Several at the Table said, they never heard Mr. Cotton deliver any such thing; yes said Mrs. Hutchison, he hath delivered something like it: Will, said she, any Body say there is? Then she and I fell to our work; she was soon put to silence; this was the first and the last Discourse, that ever I had with her. Mr. Dyer, the Husband of her that brought forth that horrid Monster;† he would have Christ to be the New Creature, and would prove it from the Greek Text, 2 Cor. 5. 17. *ἢ τίς ἐν χριστῷ, καὶν κτίσις* joining *καὶν κτίσις* with *χριστῷ* by Apposition, and so would read it thus: If any Man be in Christ, the New Creature; had he been at school, his false Grammar, might have cost him a lash.‡ Our Pastor Mr. Wilson, a precious Saint, he was despised by them; though a Man of a singular Spirit. Our Governour, old Mr. John Winthrop, § a Man for Grace, high apprehensions of God, Self-denial, spending all his Estate for the Common good, was one of a thousand, he was slightly esteemed by them. One of this Antinomian Gang, because he was a Member of the Church; in the Debates they had in the Church, calls him Brother Governour, when he speaks to him. I think, Christianity doth not teach Men to deny Civil Re-

the arrival of a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, concerning whom Mr. Savage says "what ship he came in, who he was, or where he lived, are all unknown." SAVAGE'S WINTHROP: I. 233.

* John Cotton was ordained Teacher, on the tenth of October, 1633.

† In *H. M. Public Record Office, Colonial Papers*, Vol. 1x. 74, is a "Description of a monstrous birth at Boston in New England, brought forth by Mary, wife of William Dyer, sometime milliner in the New Exchange in London. Certified by John Winthrop, gent. of the Massachusetts, who saw it." *Sainsbury's Calendar*: 259. Compare Savage's *Winthrop*: I. 261-263.

‡ "The work of inherent holiness which maketh us new Creatures, is a distinct thing from Christ his person: though among our New England notions, this was received when the errors raged there, that Christ was the new Creature; but for the 2 Cor. 5. 17 they made miserable Grammar of the 'verse," etc. *Stablishing against Shaking*: p. 85. Compare also Hubbard's notice of this specimen of "Familism," in his account of the Synod of 1637. *General History of New England*, Second Edition, 303.

§ Firmin refers to Winthrop in another work—"that worthy and honourable man Mr. Winthrop, who was a solid man, a good scholar, and natural Philosopher, fitted to speak excellently, and did sometimes, before Mr. Cotton went over to New England, when the officers desired him, but I never heard whether he did, after Mr. Cotton came." *Separation Examined*, 87.

* On the twenty-third of June, 1637, Governor Winthrop made a progress to Sagus, and so to Salem and Ipswich, returning on the twenty-eighth. Two ships arrived from London during his absence. SAVAGE'S WINTHROP: I. 227.

† John Wilson, the Pastor of the Boston Church, was appointed by lot, on the seventeenth of May, 1637, "to go fourth with the souldiers against the Pequits," *Mass. Records*: I. 195. He returned from the expedition on the fifth of August, 1637. SAVAGE'S WINTHROP: I. 235. Compare the *Short Story*, etc., London, 1644, Page 25.

‡ Winthrop notices, under date of the twelfth of July, 1637,

"spect, and Honour to Magistrates: But thus did our Troubles continue, till the Synod having Condemned their Errors, Mrs. Hutchison Excommunicated, Mr. Vaughan [who when Governor, was the great Favourer and Maintainer of these Errors, and did animate that Faction] by the Free-Men cast out from being so much as an Assistant; so he and Mr. Wheelwright left us: The Heads of that party removed from us, then our Troubles began to cease, Sanctification came to be in some Request again; and there were Notes and Marks given of a good Estate: I took Notice when the word was first used, and what the Mark was. The Insolent, Proud Carriages of that Party in New-England, makes me to have no good Opinion of them in England. What woful work, the Turbulent Spirit of Mr. Davis, with His Gospel [not Christs] hath made, we hear from several parts. The Pastor of a Church near us being dead, word was sent there were two Ministers, whose Churches Mr. Davis had broken, they might have which they would; with divers others besides. Many things I read in Mr. Davis with Abhorrency, and would have spoken to them; but that I saw my Sheets increased beyond my Intention: I chose rather to speak to them, which were more practical. If in the close of my Days, I may do any Service to the Church of Christ, [while others who have better Parts and Grace, will do more:] I shall have cause to walk humbly and thankfully before the Lord for it.

"The unworthiest of

"Christians Ministers.

"Giles Firmin.

"Redgwell

"April 24.93."

Such vivid recollections, after the lapse of more than half a century crowded with the most stirring events of the history of his country, clearly show how sharp and distinct the original impressions must have been in the mind of the youthful Puritan, as he moved among the stern men and earnest women who laid the foundations of New England. Such reminiscences as those of Winthrop, and Wilson, and especially the writer's encounter with that "Master-piece of Women's wit," Anne Hutchinson, lend a new interest to the history of his own career. Would that we could find, somewhere, her version of this "first and last discourse" with the young physician, in which "she was soon put to silence." It is difficult to believe that a strange youth of twenty could achieve such a triumph over such a woman, among a large company, in her own house, and at her own table. Yet he undoubtedly thought he had the best of the argument; and if he ruled his own spirit, certainly won a victory, which the impartial verdict of History can not ascribe to the lay and clerical tormentors who worried the brave

woman through examinations so long that they were nearly "sick with fasting," before they pronounced the sentence of banishment, evidently agreed upon before-hand.

There are several other piquant references to the Antinomians of New England, scattered through this tract, of which the latter portion, "Against Lay Preachers," is very cogent and spicy. The writer's New England acquaintances and experiences constantly reappear; and his anecdotes are always highly pertinent and well applied—though some of them would hardly bear repetition here. Both Old and New England were mightily disturbed in his time, by "gifted brethren," who found ample opportunity to exercise their gifts, when any man might become a preacher, and almost any preacher could collect a congregation. Firmin tells us that Mr. Ward called it *exorcising* their gifts—*apropos* of an unsavory story about one "bog-fellow," whose name he conceals.

"As for your *Mechanicks*, which you have sent out, as your Apostles, I look upon them, as I do upon all these *Lay Preachers* in England, now risen up in this boundless Liberty, to be but the Devils Design, first to *Debase* the Ministry, and then to *overthrow* it. I can remember the time very well, when the Ministry of England was in Honour, and Converting work went on: No such Debauchery was known or heard of in the Gentry and Ministry, as is now. But when Bp. Laud and his party fell to Persecuting, Silencing, and driving Ministers out of the Nation, and Wars following, Buff-Coats and Red-Coats getting into Pulpits, the Religious were they, that gave the first blow to the Ministry; with our Armies, rose up an Army of Errors, and these did the business, having got the Sword in their Hand, to trample upon the Ministry. When the King came in and almost Two Thousand Ministers cast out in one day. For the generality, they were filled up with such, that they who Honoured the Minister, could not Honour them; and how many such are there at this day: then came in this boundless Toleration, that I have been told by such Magistrates, that are our Friends they have been ashamed, when they sate in the Court, to see what fellows came in, and demanded Licenses. And this is another fruit of the *English* Independency, they have done no Service to the Church, that have written and pleaded for the *gifted Brethren*, and bring in this Confusion; Had it not been for Learned Men, there had not been one Lay Preacher in England: poor Men, they could not have understood two words of the Bible: But now, Learned Men have given them the Bible in their own Language, they insult our Learned Men, and despise Learning. But

"better all your gifted Brethren, and your Books with them, were buried in the Earth, then Learning should be lost. It was not Godliness, but Learning, which God used immediately, to rescue us out of the Papal darkness: And if Learning once were gone, soon would the Popish party make a prey of England."

Firmin also quotes passages of letters to him "out of New England" from Mr. Shephard, whom he calls "a Master-Workman," and from "that *Acute, Learned and Godly* Divine, Mr. Norton. Both these passages he had printed before, the former in the *Real Christian*, (Page 55. Compare Pages 19, 214.); and the latter in the Epistle before the *Treatise of Schism*.

He concludes this tract with a pithy criticism upon the "high commendation" his antagonist had given of himself, and contrasts his pride with the humility of "that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. *Thomas Hooker* in New England. " . . . This Holy Man kept up the Assurance of God's love above twenty years, walking with God: *I won it by Fasting and Prayer, and if I loose it, I will loose it by Fasting and Prayer, said he*; and as I was informed by a worthy gentleman, when he lay on his Death-Bed, his Church came to him standing about his Bed; and now came to hear the last words of their Eminent Pastor, what he would leave with them: This Eminent Man, making a pause a while, he breaks out with the Publican: "*Lord have Mercy upon me, a Sinner*. O Gracious, Humble Heart."

This is an interesting addition to Cotton Mather's account of the death of "*The Light of the Western Churches*"—one of "*The First Three*."

V.—LETTER FROM THE MARYLAND CLERGY TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

FROM THE "FULHAM MSS. UNBOUND," COPIED FOR THE ARCHIVES OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE LATE REV. FRANCIS LISTER HAWKS, D.D., LL.D., AND NOW IN THE CARE OF THE REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, SECRETARY OF THE HOUSE OF CLERICAL AND LAY DEPUTIES OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

MARYLAND, PORT ANNAPOLIS,
May 18, 1696.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—

We your Lordships most dutiful inferior Clergy of the Church of England living in His Majesty's Province of Maryland being removed

at so great a distance from your Lordship's personal inspection and care over us, that we are debarred the privilege of making our frequent applications to your Lordship for advice and instruction in the managing our selves in our Cures where Providence hath placed us, do humbly presume to trouble your Lordship with an account of our present state in relation to the following particulars which we do with all deference to your Lordships great judgment here lay before you.

When His Excellency, Governor Nicholson, came into the Country in the year 1694 there were but 3 Clergymen in Episcopal Orders, besides 5 or 6 popish priests who had perverted divers idle people from the Protestant Religion. There was also a sort of wandering pretenders to preaching that came from New England and other places; which deluded not only the Protestant Dissenters from our Church, but many of the Churchmen themselves by their extemporary prayers and preachments, for which they were admitted by the people and got money of them.

The 3 Episcopal Clergymen having made a hard shift to live here some time after they came hither, did afterwards marry and maintain their families out of the Plantations they had with their wives.

And tho' the better and most responsible persons of the neighbouring Plantations that owned themselves to be of the Communion of the Church of England, subscribed their names to some small Contributions for their officiating amongst them, that those Clergymen could not get the half and sometimes not the fourth part of their subscription notwithstanding they endeavoured to acquit themselves to the best of their powers in a constant and conscientious discharge of their ministerial functions.

His Excellency upon his arrival with several of us that waited on him to his Government in Maryland continued those 3 Clergymen in their places where he found them. And he, having (as we are bound in confidence to God and must in honour to his Excellency's name confess) with all possible care and expedition erected Churches in most Parishes proportionable to the quantity of those summes of Tobacco that were in arrears in the Sheriffs' or Vestrymens' hands ever since the Act for 40lbs Tobacco p. poll made in Governor Copley's days, placed us in the best vacancies (as he hath since done by others coming with your Lordships permit) that were not convenient for the more general serving of the Country And that your Lordship may have a just appreciation of the said annual Incomes by virtue of the Act for 40lbs p. poll we have made bold to trouble your Lordship with the enclosed Paper concerning them

Tobacco being the one and only staple com-

modity of the Country is that out of which our small incomes are paid the manner of which is thus, every planter for himself and his male children and White Servant Man as also for his Negro Slaves (both male and female) after their age of 16 years, is assessed 40^{lb} of Tobacco p. poll, demandable in the Winter Quarter upon execution by the Sheriff; 3^{lb} on the hundred being deducted for his trouble in collecting it. And 1000^{lb} by a late Act of Assembly being also deducted towards the maintenance of a Parish and Vestry Clerk which was not provided for in the Act made for the support of a regular Clergy, in Governor Copleys time but some of us are forced to give 2000^{lb} to the Clerks by reason of their going so far to do their Dutys on the Lords Day.

The Tobacco which is raised by the Public levy of the 40^{lb} p. poll, your secular Offices and other charges of the Country is generally freighted by the English Merchants being not reckoned (when received) to be worth above one fourth part of that (quantity for quantity) which the Planters cure (as they term it) or manage for their own freight and Sale, the reason for which the Public Tobacco is generally freighted is that the Planters coll the best of their crop for their own freighting, or Selling it for Goods or Bills of Exchange; and kept the refuse and discoloured Tobacco to pay the Sheriffs for their taxes and Duty.

The merchants are not for meddling with this Tobacco, not only because it is much worse than the other, but because it is generally very troublesome for them to get it paid in any reasonable time, and that often they cannot get it at all, wholly losing their time and labour in going from place to place to demand it of those Planters to to whom the Sheriffs sends them.

That it is a great and inevitable damage and fore bodes a total disappointment of such as have their dependance on the public pay of the Country.

The extent of our Parish is generally very large. Some of them being about 20 from 30 miles in length; by reason of the Inhabitants of this Country having (many of them) vast tracts of land, live at least a mile asunder from their next neighbours. This large extent of Parishes obligeth us to keep one, or sometimes two horses to ride on. The charges of our Board and keeping our Horses, take up one fourth of our greatest Income, and the remaining 3 parts (considering the rate we pay for English goods in the Stores and that the Merchants will allow us in goods at prime cost, very rarely a penny, and sometimes but an half-penny or a farthing a Pound for our Tobacco in bartering with them) will hardly find us with clothes and other necessaries. If we have any overplus when our necessities and conveniences are

served its hazardous for us to freight it lest it should prove a drug in the English or Holland Markets and by paying from 10 sometimes to 16^{lb} Sterling per ton for freight besides the Kings custom &c, it should bring us in debt

So that should some of us that have Wives in England, send for them, and go to house keeping, we could not tell how to maintain them here not yet being provided any a Ministers house and Gicbe except at St Mary's where one Mr Nobbs lately arrived and having a wife, is by his Excellency placed

But notwithstanding that small provision which is made for your Lordships Clergy and the precariousness and great uncertainty of the tenure of what we have, the Papists and Quakers (of both which there are some of the richest men in the provence are much dissatisfied)

And we have lately received very certain advice from London, that those of our Quakers that went for England in the last Maryland and Virginia fleet have petitioned the Lords of the Committee of trade and foreign Plantations to have the 40^{lb} p^r poll taken off as a burden upon their estates and (as we suppose they might pretend) upon their conferences too

Should they obtain their petition only for themselves the incomes of some of the best Parishes in respect of the Tobacco raised by the 40^{lb} p^r poll would be so impaired that there would not be left a tolerable subsistence for a single Clergyman and his horse, and one horse at least we must all of us of necessity keep ready by us not only to ride to Church on Sundays; but to ride all over our Parishes to Christenings, Weddings, visiting the Sick and burials on the Week days when, or wherever we are sent for

Could the Quakers clear themselves of the 40^{lb} p^r poll the papists might all pretend to do so too, because they have Priests of their own to provide for and could both these parties effect their designs the Clergy and Church of England would be left in a very naked and poor condition here besides that we might expect many that have their religion still to chose, would turn either papists or Quakers and refuse to pay too for many of them look upon the Sacraments as needless impositions and go neither to the Papist's Mass nor the Quakers meetings, and seldom or ever to Church.

Now we be come most humble petitioners to your Lordship that if there should be occasion (as we have reason to fear there is) your Lordship would be pleased to espouse our cause, and intercede with his most Gracious Majesty that we may not be wholly discouraged from staying in those parts of the English Empire and preaching the gospel here, as well as the Papists and Presbyterians and Quakers do after their manner and our just hopes and that we shall not be

thought much worse by great good and wise persons, for the Quakers insinuations against us behind our backs which we doubt not have been as maliciously as cunningly contrived

We hope your Lordship will be likewise pleased upon occasion to make such further intercession for us with His Majesty as that we may not be prejudged before we have each to answer for ourselves both against Papists and Quakers either by writing or by proxies when we shall know the particulars of their pretended advances, and what may be falsely said against us by those two inveterate enemies to the Church of England

May it please your Lordship as far removed as the Papists and Quakers seem to be in their different sentiments about religion they are jointly bent against our Church and daily endeavour to draw people to their parties by suggesting to them that Lord Baltimore will govern here again than which nothing can be more pleasing news to libertines and loose persons who can seldom or never be gotten to come to Church at all And should my Lord rule as formerly the insolence of the Romish Priests (who are somewhat curbed by his Excellency's great care and vigilance) would soon be intolerable in these parts that are so remote from England.

Besides there being great numbers of Irish Papists brought continually into this province and many Irish priests being suspected to be coming *incognito* amongst us (as having no better place of refuge in the King's dominions) upon their being banished from Ireland, there is great reason to fear there will be as much discouragement and danger coming upon all his Majesty's good Protestant subjects as upon the English Clergy

This expectation of the Lord Baltimore being restored to the Government of Maryland animates the Priests and Jesuits to begin already to inveigle several ignorant people to turn to their religion To which end they do (contrary to the Act of Parliament to deter them from perverting any of his Majesty's protestant Subjects to popery) introduce themselves into the company of the sick when they have no Ministers that his Excellency hath been lately forced to issue out his proclamation against their so doing to restrain them

And now may it please your Lordship we your Lordships most dutiful Clergy do humbly represent unto your Lordship the great and urgent necessity of an Ecclesiastical rule here invested with such ample power and authority from your Lordship, as may capacitate him to redress what is amiss and to supply what is wanting in the Church

We further humbly represent unto your Lordship that we conceive this to be the very crisis of time wherein (with the help of Divine Providence)

to lay a firm foundation in this Country (which is yet in its infancy as to Church matters) for the establishment of the Church of England before we be over-run with enthusiasm idolatory and atheisme which are already too rife and prevailing amongst us

We most humbly beg your Lordships pardon for our great presumption in troubling your Lordship with this long letter and we hope ere long we shall be happy with the presence of the Reverend Dr Bray your Lordships designed commissioner In the mean time we beg leave to make this thankful acknowledgment of your Lordships care in providing such a worthy and deserving person to preside in the Church in Maryland

And that Almighty God would please to bless your Lordship with long and happy days amongst the Clergy at home and that you may endeavour to reap the comfort of the great and pious designs in propagating and establishing the Church of England in the English Empire in America is the hearty and humble

prayer of

My Lord

Your Lordships most dutiful sons
and most obliged
humble servants

MARYLAND PORT
May the 18th 1696

PEREGRINE CONY
JOHN LILLINGSTON
RICHARD SEWELL
STEPHEN BORDLEY

BEN NOBBS
GEORGE SUBMEN
HUGH JONES
THO COCKSHOTT

VI.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

105.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL
WARD.*

CAMBRIDGE NOV. 17th 1775

SIR

As the season is fast approaching when the Bay between us and Boston will, in all probability be close shut up, thereby rendering any movement upon the Ice as easy as if no water was there—and, as it is more than possible that General Howe, when he gets the expected reinforcement, will endeavour to relieve himself from the disgraceful Confinement in which the Ministerial Troops have been, all the Summer; Common prudence dictates the necessity of guarding our Camps wherever they are most assailable, for this purpose, I wish you, Gen Thomas, Genl. Spencer, & Col. Putnam to meet me at your Quarters to morrow at Ten o'clock, that we may

* From the original in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

valuable share of the little Property which Yet remained my own after returning from Public Service. Thus was I again reduced to the necessity of becoming a Soldier in a more obscure tho' not less honorable line that of a Volunteer Militia Man in which Situation I continued until this day sen night, when wearied and allmost worn out by alternate watches, very unexpectedly I received a Polite Invitation from Gen Arnold to become a Member of his military Family.

Convinced that Literary attainments were at least improbable if not impossible while the Enemy possess our capitol, so near the place of my Residence in New Jersey, & averse to monthly contributions or personal service in the Militia of that state added to theinconveniences of Quarterly heavy Taxes to which my disposition was averse and my reduced finances hardly adequate unless supported by my Father, which rendered my situation *dependant* on Relations & consequently unhappy to myself and loth to retire into the interior parts of our State to take up my Books while my fellow countrymen were acting in arms to Effect the expulsion of the Enemy from our capitol, I say influenced by these reasons with some other private ones I accepted the General's offer only to continue with him till the Reduction of New York when I chuse to Quit public Employment.

Thus has my hand become a slave to a Military Pen which some years avocation have rendered pretty rusty and the late Militia duty stiff and unmanageable: however, a few weeks will I hope render both to my command.

During my stay here (or I would say in the Army) I shall be happy if Your Indefatigable Spirit will afford You a few moments for correspondence. You may be assured of my punctuality. I mean to pay my Devoirs to Mrs. Hay the first spare moments in the meantime pray make my best respects to her as also those of my sister Jane who requested them to Yourself.

I wish you every Happiness and remain affectionately Yours

RICHARD VARICK.

COL^o HAY.

110.—GENERAL WAYNE TO GOVERNOR NELSON,
OF VIRGINIA.*

CAMP AT GOODS BRIDGE, 23^d July, 1781.

DEAR SIR

The distressed condition that the Virginia troops with me are reduced to, for want of almost every article of Clothing, together with the large arrearages of pay due them causes much murmuring & Discontent—

* From the original, in the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

They say they can not think of Marching further *South* until furnished with these essential articles, that the two Detachments already sent from this State to that Quarter, refused crossing the line into No Carolina, on the like Occasion, & were successful in the mode of application— This kind of Language is but too much countenanced by some Officers, who probably experience many inconveniencies, & therefore sport Sentiments that in a less *irksome* situation, & in cooler moments they would suppress

I beleive (indeed I kuow) that they are greatly necessitated for want of Clothing as well as *Cash*—but from the over heated zeal of a few Individuals I have ground to apprehend some other part of the troops may possibly catch the Infection, for we have not a single private in the Penns^a Line to whom there is aless sum due, than *Thirty half Joe*, & So in proportion to each Officer, add to this that our men are *bare foot*, so that the same causes, may produce the same effects, I mean as to the *private Soldiers only*

The Gentlemen most sanguine on this Occation are fully acquainted with my Sentiments, & I trust will in future be more Circumspect—

However coercive measures ought be the Deneir resort, may I therefore request your Excellency's influence to procure an Immediate supply Shoes, Shirts & Overalls (at least) with some *Cash*

Inclosed is a return of the Reg^t from which you'll be enabled to make the proper estimates

I also inclose you the proceedings of a Gen Court Martial held on a private of our Line for *Marauding* who was executed yesterday pursuant to the Sentence passed upon him, at the Head of the Army in this Vicinity, which I hope will have a happy Influence not only upon the Conduct of the Soldiery but on the minds of the Inhabitants

Interim I have the Honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Obt

& Very

Hum^l Sert

ANT^y WAYNE

His Excellcy
GOV^a NELSON

111.—HENRY LAURENS, TO WILLIAM FISHER.*

CHARLES TOWN, So CAROLINA 6 Decem. 1763

MR WILLIAM FISHER—

DEAR SIR—

Since my last trouble of the 23^d Octob. both your kind favours under the 10 November to Austin Laurens & Appleby & myself are come to hand & agreeable to your desire I shall herewith transmit the sundry Accounts therein mentioned

* From the original, in the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

but am sorry to find Dr. Styles conducts that College in so rigid a way as will tend to set up another College in Connecticut under Bishop Seabury which will ruin, or at least hurt both as well as the State. Why should any illiberal maxims be adopted in Your College so like those of Oxford and Cambridge, begun and founded on Papal and fanatical Statutes prior to Henry's Reformation, and which are kept up by our Bishops and Clergy to prevent the Lords and House of Commons from seizing on the Lands given to those Colleges on such conditions being rigidly adhered to. Henry 8th by Act of Parliament made lawful *one breach* of one of those conditions; VIZ that each matriculated Student should not swear obedience to the Pope, but to the King, and this fracture should not be used to the disadvantage of the Universities, Colleges &c. What necessity are the Rulers of Yale under to form a political Schism in that State and College, —the greatest ornament your 13 States have to boast of? To put a stop to such a Schism, which I believe sprung up from a Pope in the belly of Dr. Styles and Dr. Seabury, I would, if Dictator-General, banish both of those great and little men to Skamskatkah or Botany Bay.

President Clap, rigid as he was, had more sense than to drive matters to extreme in better times than the present, and President Styles ought to follow his example and become more moderate and rational than he was during the War in America. * * * * * President Clap, if I well remember, gave but a short account of Governor Yale, the Patron of Your College. As a curious discovery of this good man's Grave-stone may afford You some pleasure, I here send what is written on his Grave-stone standing in the Church-yard of Wrexham, the Shiretown in Denbighshire, North Wales. The Stone is partly decayed and so is the writing. The time of his Birth and Death and his Christian name are not legible. The Surname YALE is plain. The Epitaph is yet spared—VIZ

"Born in America, in Europe bred,
"In Afric travelled, and in Asia Wed,
"Much good, some harm he did
"So hope all even,
"And that his Soul thro' mercy
"Is gone to Heaven."

On reading the above, the Traveller imagined this YALE was the founder of Yale College. He made inquiry and found it was a numerous family in that Town and County, and they reported of this Yale for whom the Monument was Erected, that he had been an extensive traveller, that he was born in America, that he made several voyages to Africa and the East Indies, that he was Governor of some place in the latter, where he married a native of India with some considerable property, and returned to England with her and

passed the remainder of his days in the neighbourhood of Wrexham.

The People seemed not willing to own him for a Relative because he had married a Copper coloured fair one on the other side of the Globe, which tended much to mar the pure blood of Welchmen. They sneered at him for marrying a foreigner, and told foolish stories of him and his Copper-coloured Lady, such as might be expected from an inland domestic neighbourhood.

From the above circumstances I verily think this was the Gentleman that was so liberal to Yale College and I add two other reasons.

The People of Wrexham have been noted for adopting the Doctrines of Calvin,—and secondly Governour Yale had no children who survived him, (as the People say); he therefore divided his fortune between his Tawney wife and Yale College because his Relations had behaved amiss to him on account of his Tawney Lady, And, I have my suspicions that Governour Yale left all his Estate to Yale College after the death of his Lady, which his Relations thought better in their own hands, and so took possession of it after her death: * * * * *

By Your Register and Catalogue I find those of Your age and mine when we were in College are chiefly gone home and that the black asterism is a badge of many Younger than You and me. * * * "Be faithful unto Death and the Crown of Glory shall be Yours." Adieu.

Faithfully Yours

SAML PETERS.

TO THE REV^d BENJAMIN TRUMBULL }
Northhaven, Conn. }

109.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL RICHARD VARICK TO COLONEL HAY, D. Q. M. GENERAL.*

ROBINSON'S HOUSE, Aug. 14, 1780.

DEAR COLONEL,

Fickle Fortune is no less Famed for its inconsistency than for the variety of Changes it causes in the situation of its votaries of whom I think this war has made me in every respect one.

After passing a variety of scenes since the commencement of the war to the last winter, I again become in what less troublesome days we called a private citizen. Resolved no more to accustom myself to the Inquietudes of military pursuits, But in time to Attempt the service of my Country in the Councils of a State where neither the favors or Frowns of Congress would affect my feelings or Reputation. But no sooner had I set down to my Desk when the Invaders of our Land disturbed my retreat and deprived me of a

* From the original, in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq. of New York.

valuable share of the little Property which Yet remained my own after returning from Public Service. Thus was I again reduced to the necessity of becoming a Soldier in a more obscure tho' not less honorable line that of a Volunteer Militia Man in which Situation I continued until this day seen night, when wearied and almost worn out by alternate watches, very unexpectedly I received a Polite Invitation from Gen Arnold to become a Member of his military Family.

Convinced that Literary attainments were at least improbable if not impossible while the Enemy possess our capitol, so near the place of my Residence in New Jersey, & averse to monthly contributions or personal service in the Militia of that state added to the inconveniences of Quarterly heavy Taxes to which my disposition was averse and my reduced finances hardly adequate unless supported by my Father, which rendered my situation *dependant* on Relations & consequently unhappy to myself and loth to retire into the interior parts of our State to take up my Books while my fellow countrymen were acting in arms to Effect the expulsion of the Enemy from our capitol, I say influenced by these reasons with some other private ones I accepted the General's offer only to continue with him till the Reduction of New York when I chuse to Quit public Employment.

Thus has my hand become a slave to a Military Pen which some years avocation have rendered pretty rusty and the late Militia duty stiff and unmanageable: however, a few weeks will I hope render both to my command.

During my stay here (or I would say in the Army) I shall be happy if Your Indefatigable Spirit will afford You a few moments for correspondence. You may be assured of my punctuality. I mean to pay my Devoirs to Mrs. Hay the first spare moments in the meantime pray make my best respects to her as also those of my sister Jane who requested them to Yourself.

I wish you every Happiness and remain
affectionately Yours

RICHARD VARICK.

COL^O HAY.

110.—GENERAL WAYNE TO GOVERNOR NELSON,
OF VIRGINIA.*

CAMP AT GOODS BRIDGE, 23^d July, 1781.

DEAR SIR

The distressed condition that the Virginia troops with me are reduced to, for want of almost every article of Clothing, together with the large arrearages of pay due them causes much murmuring & Discontent—

* From the original, in the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

They say they can not think of Marching further *South* until furnished with these essential articles, that the two Detachments already sent from this State to that Quarter, refused crossing the line into No Carolina, on the like Occasion, & were successful in the mode of application— This kind of Language is but too much countenanced by some Officers, who probably experience many inconveniences, & therefore sport Sentiments that in a less *irksome* situation, & in cooler moments they would surpress

I beleive (indeed I know) that they are greatly necessitated for want of Clothing as well as *Cash*—but from the over heated zeal of a few Individuals I have ground to apprehend some other part of the troops may possibly catch the Infection, for we have not a single private in the Pennsa Line to whom there is aless sum due, than *Thirty half Joe*, & So in proportion to each Officer, add to this that our men are *bare foot*, so that the same causes, may produce the same effects, I mean as to the *private Soldiers only*

The Gentlemen most sanguine on this Occation are fully acquainted with my Sentiments, & I trust will in future be more Circumspect—

However coercive measures ought be the Deneir resort, may I therefore request your Excellency's influence to procure an Immediate supply Shoes, Shirts & Overalls (at least) with some *Cash*

Inclosed is a return of the Regt from which you'll be enabled to make the proper estimates

I also inclose you the proceedings of a Gen Court Martial held on a private of our Line for *Marauding* who was executed yesterday pursuant to the Sentence passed upon him, at the Head of the Army in this Vicinity, which I hope will have a happy Influence not only upon the Conduct of the Soldiery but on the minds of the Inhabitants

Interim I have the Honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Obt

& Very

Huml Sert

ANT^y WAYNE

His Excellcy
Gov^a NELSON

111.—HENRY LAURENS, TO WILLIAM FISHER.*

CHARLES TOWN, So CAROLINA 6 Decem. 1762

MR WILLIAM FISHER—

DEAR SIR—

Since my last trouble of the 23^d Octob. both your kind favours under the 10 November to Austin Laurens & Appleby & myself are come to hand & agreeable to your desire I shall herewith transmit the sundry Accounts therein mentioned

* From the original, in the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

& also a sketch of your Acct^t Curr^t with Austin & Laurens wherein a Balance of £34 7 1½ Philadelphia Currency appears to be due to you. I should say this Account with you, which will best appear upon your own Books. You will be so kind as to carry both Accts^s say Austin Laurens & Appleby's & the above into one & then give that Account Credit for Three hundred Pounds Sterling for the enclosed Bill of my draught this date on Mr. Robert Waln payable at 30 days sight to your own order & whatever Balance may be either Debt^r or Credit^r be pleased to carry the same into mine & make a final end of those old Accounts which I request you to do & to transmit the same to me as speedily as possible. Mr Appleby & I think is the likeliest method to return your Money into England in Sterling as Bills are extremely scarce here & the prospect of Exchange soon rising upon us if the War continues—Bills indeed are now privately sold at more than 7 for 1, which I have been assured by the best authority but tis done in secret. You are charged for this only that Exchange Viz^t £2100—& I have no doubt but Mr Waln will immediately supply you with a Sterling Bill seeing my Draught is for part reimburse of an extreme troublesome & unprofitable transaction by advancing Money for his Ship Betsy—in every other part of which I have studied to make the Payment convenient to himself.

I likewise inclose you my Bill of this date at 20 days sight upon said Mr Rob^t Waln Payable, to your order on my Acct^t £172, money of Philadelphia which please to receive & if a good opportunity soon offers remit my Balance in the best say very best Flour, or in single Refined Sugar if it be put on board at 13d, or in Bar Iron, tho rather than any of these I would chuse a good Bill of Exchange to be remitted to our friends Messrs Cowles & Harford in Bristol if Mr Waln can furnish one without too great inconvenience to himself.—

New Rice is now broke at 40s thro the necessity of one House to dispatch a Little Vessel & it will continue at that price I suppose until two or three small Barks are dispatched. Our Harbour is very empty, & hitherto only three Vessels taken up on Ffreight Viz^t two for Lisbon at £5 17 6 & one for London at £5, or £5 15 for the Markets. Our planters are in great expectation thro the change which Peace will establish & the scarcity of Grain in the Northern Colonies their whole Crop will find a brisk Sale. I wish it may, but from present appearances of Shipping & the uncertainty of a sudden Peace I rather doubt it.

I am with great regard

Dear Sir

Your obliged Serv^t

HENRY LAURENS.

112.—WILLIAM SHARPE, M. C. TO GOVERNOR MARTIN, OF NORTH CAROLINA.*

SALEM NOV. 26, 1781.

SIR :

I beg leave through your Excellency to acquaint the Legislature [with] the lively sense I entertain of the honor which they have been pleased to confer by their electing me three successive years, to be one of their representatives in Congress.

Such repeated instances of the confidence of my country is very flattering and demands my unfeigned thanks. Conscious of my own inability, it was with great reluctance and with great diffidence that I engaged in the arduous task.

I take the liberty to assure *that honorable assembly* that although I have not executed the trust reposed in me according to my wishes, yet I have done it to the utmost of my abilities. If I have at any time erred, I trust the candor of my country will ascribe it to the true cause, and not to any defection of my heart. The obligations I am under to my numerous family, the deranged condition of my estate, which four years ago was very moderate, and now much diminished, by my long application to public business, are among the many reasons which induce me to resign my seat in Congress. At the first period of this great revolution I took an active part—I have now seen, and as far as in my power, assisted my country through her greatest struggle, and her most critical situation. The prospect of Independence, peace and happiness to our great republic brightens every day; therefore none can imagine that I have taken this step and retired to private life from any unworthy motive.

With the highest esteem and respect,

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's

Most obt^t serv^t

WM SHARPE.

113.—J. FENNIMORE COOPER TO CAPTAIN PREBLE, U.S.N.†

[A]

OTSEGO HALL COOPERSTOWN, Sept. 9th 1842.

SIR,—

Your letter reached me this evening, and I feel

* From the original draft belonging to Hon. D. F. Caldwell, of Salisbury, N. C.

† To the Editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

I send you two letters from J. Fennimore Cooper. The occasion of the first of these letters was this. Mr. Cooper had, in the first edition of his *History of the United States Navy*, introduced in a foot note, a brief biography of Commodore Edward Preble, in which there were several errors to which I had called his attention; as, for instance, that Commodore Preble was born in Kittery, Maine, and died at Port-

much obliged to you for the attention. The short biographical notices in the Naval History formed no part of the original design, and were introduced somewhat hurriedly, as the book went through the press. The design principally was to show the material of which the service was formed. They have been all struck out of the subsequent editions. That of Com. Preble was taken principally from a flowry and worthless book, that contains some six or eight other sketches. I thought it might be trusted for a few facts, and I soon after ascertained that most of even these facts were wrong.

I am glad however to open a communication with some member of your family for the following reasons. I am now collecting materials for a large work on Naval Biographies, and have even written several of the lives. A few of these will appear, monthly, after October next, in Graham's Magazine, though their ultimate destination will be a book in two vol. Octavo. You will find that of Somers, in the October number. Bainbridge will follow and then Perry and Paul Jones. I have had serious thoughts of coming to Portland expressly to obtain the facts in relation to Com. Preble, but your letter may put me on a new track.

Of course I do not expect any gentleman who has been at work on so interesting a subject to abandon it on account of my intended work. It is probable we shall not interfere with each other, as my sketch will necessarily be confined to some forty or fifty pages. Any facts I learn will be cheerfully communicated, and I should be grateful to obtain all I can; particularly as to the birth, family and early career of my subject. I *ought* to have known the duty on which Com. Preble died, as I belonged to the *Vesuvius* myself, in 1808, and we had a tradition in her to that effect. But the difficulty of collecting a mass of *minute facts* is most discouraging. In the case of SOMERS I relied on his sister for the *members of his family*, and she actually misled me. Though I discovered the error in time to correct it in the proof. *She forgot one Sister altogether!*

month, New Hampshire, while in command of the Navy Yard there; and that his age was forty-five; whereas he was born in that part of ancient Falmouth which is now Portland, Maine, and died at the same place, at the age of forty-six.

The house in which he was born was destroyed by fire, when the town of Falmouth was burnt by Mowatt, in 1775. The House in which he died, afterwards converted into a tavern, and long known, first as the "SUN TAVERN," later as the "CASCO HOUSE," and occupying the present site of the CASCO NATIONAL BANK, was also destroyed by fire, in the Great Conflagration of the fourth of July, 1866. The present PREBLE HOUSE, in Portland, was being built by him for his family mansion, at the time of his death; but he never occupied it. His widow, however, occupied it for many years, and up to her death, when in compliance with her wishes it was enlarged and converted into an Hotel. G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

Repeating my thanks for the information sent, will you permit me to invite all your family to aid me with such information as they possess. The disease of which the Commodore died, and any circumstances connected with that event would be particularly useful

With much respect

Your ob. Ser.

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

G. H. PREBLE ESQ., U. S. N.
PORTLAND, MAINE.

[B]

OTSEGO HALL, COOPERSTOWN,
Jan. 27th 1843.

DEAR SIR:

Your valuable letter reached me last evening. Information of precisely this nature, was just what I wanted. Any more of it, particularly such as relates to the Commodore's service in the revolution, will be very acceptable. I should like also the address of his son, to whom I would apply for a sight of his father's papers, dates of commissions, &c.

It is not my intention to put the biography of Com. Preble in Graham's, it will be reserved for the large work, in common with most of those which have a freshness and importance. I have many anecdotes that will probably be as new to the family as to the public; my materials being the most meagre in connection with the early life of my subject. You would confer a favor by inducing any officer who may have materials to write me, in reference to any officer who is dead. My plan will embrace notices of most of those who have had any standing in the service, including in a few instances, midshipmen. One of the latter, a Mr. Sigourney, who was killed in Chesapeake Bay, last war, was a Bostonian; and I should like extremely to get his parentage, date of birth, and any facts that may be known to his family, connected with his death.

Begging to thank you for what has already reached me, I remain

Dear sir, very sincerely

Yours,

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

GEO. H. PREBLE ESQUIRE, U. S. N.
U. S. RECG. SHIP *Ohio*
BOSTON. MASS.

114.—JAMES HARDIE TO JOHN RANDELL, JR.

DE SIR,

I take the liberty of inclosing for your perusal the prospectus of a magazine, of which I am the proprietor & editor—& for which I solicit your

* From the original in the possession of the Editor.

patronage.——I will, likewise, thank you to shew it to any of your friends, who, you may think, would be disposed to encourage the undertaking ———

In this city, I have been honoured with between 600 & 700 subscribers ; but having resigned the office, which I have held so long under the Corporation, I have now nothing else to depend on for the support of a large family than the emoluments, which may accrue from this work—It, therefore, becomes an imperious duty with me to endeavour to collect as many subscribers, as I possibly can—

I wish you success in the publication of your map, If I can by the means of promoting your interest, it will give me sincere pleasure————

I shall be obliged to you to let me hear from you, & have the honour to be

with the greatest respect

NEW YORK } Dr Sir
29th March, 1814 } Your most obedt &
very humble St
JAMES HARDIE
No 58 Murray St

P. S. Please send me on a copy of the prospectus of your map.

115.—COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE To JOHN BULLUS,
NAVY AGENT.*

U. S. F. CONSTITUTION 23^d Jany, 1813
At Sea, Lat. 4.20 No Long. 36° W
Homeward Bound.

DEAR BULLUS—

Knowing the interest you take in the Success of our Navy. I am confident the Enclosed paper, will afford you pleasure.

The damage the Frigate Constitution received in the action with the Java—and the decayed state in which She is in made it necessary for me to return to the U States for Repairs—Otherwise I should beyond doubt, by following my intended plans, have made a most Successfull Cruise against the Enemies Commerce And thereby have made the fortune of myself & Crew—The information I received from our worthy Consul, Mr. Hill, at St Salvadore, enabled me to digest a Plan of Cruizing for the Squadron under my command—which in all human calculation must have proved Successfull—Should the War continue, I yet flatter myself, that I shall be a *Thorn* to the Enemies Trade where they least expect it —

The Frigate Java, was very well fought, and bravely defended—Her force in Men was no doubt considerably greater than what we have been able to ascertain—The Officers were extreme-

ly cautious in discovering It. The Constitution was a good deal Cut—Some Shott between Wind & water—Her upper bulkworks considerably Shott—Foremast & Mizzen mast Shott through—Main & Mizzen Stays shott through, Eight lower Shrouds cut of—Fore top mast Tyes, & every Back Stay and all the Top Sail Tyes shott of—And almost every Topmast Shroud—All the Braces, Standing and Preventers, and Bowlines, were three times shott away during the Action—But rove again in the very heat of it—7 Boats out of 8 destroyed by Shott—Our Sails extremely cut to pecies—The Main Topmast, Main Top Sail yard—Jib Boombe—Spanker Boomb—Gaff & Try Sail Mast—were all so Shott as to render them unserviceable—Yet this damage, is incredibly inconceivable to the Wreck we made the Enemy—The Sea was so smooth, that havock could not been otherwise then great—My Crew owing to the constant Exercise we give them, are very active & clever at their Guns, but in all other respects they are inferior to any Crew I ever had—It was astonishing, to see the Superiority we had over the English Frigate in quick & effective Firing.

I was wounded in the early part of the Action by a musquet Ball on my Hip, and a piece of Langrege in my Thigh—But did not feel the inconvenience so great as to cause me to quit the Deck to have it dressed until 11 o’Clock at night, after which returning on Deck and remaining on my Legs nearly 3 days & nights, brought on such inflammation & violent pains in my Wounds—as to leave me on my *Beam ends* for some time—Ten days after the Action, the Surgeon extracted the piece of Langrege by opening of the Wound—And I am now thank God almost perfectly recovered—And ready to hazard again a leg or an arm for such another Victory—I have been thus particularly respecting myself; well knowing that your friendship for me, takes a deep Interest in whatever concerns me.

If Your mutual & worthy friend Chauncey is with you—Remember me most affectionately to him—I should have written to him—had I not supposed he was on the Lakes—Please to present my best regards to Mrs Bullus Mrs. Chauncey & Mrs. Lawrence—Remember me particularly to our friend General Morton—

Believe me Dr Bullus, to be with
great regard—

Yours Sincerely

W^m BAINBRIDGE.

JOHN BULLUS. Esq.

N. AGENT

NEW YORK.

P. S. At the time of the Action The *Hornet* was not within 50 miles of us. but was well occupied, in Capturing a valuable English Schooner £36,000. and recapt' American Ship with Salt, both had been

* From the original, belonging to R. Wade Bleecker, Esq. of New York.

116.—GENERAL MORGAN LEWIS TO GENERAL GATES.*

[Nov. 1776.]

The Bearer Mr. Taylor an Ajutant of your Friend Gen^l Miflin, begs I would ask the Favor of you to give him an Order on Mr Rensselaer for a Pair of Pistols out of his Store, as 'tis difficult to procure them to the Southward. by complying with his Request you will oblige

Your

Hble Serv^t

M. LEWIS.

THE HONBL^e MAJ^r GEN^l GATES

[ORDER FOR THE PISTOLS.]

ALBANY, Nov : 29th 1776.

SIR,

Deliver to Mr Taylor, the Bearer, One pair of Pistols out of the Continental Store, he paying for the same.

By the General's Command

ISAAC PEIRCE

To

Aid de Camp.

Mess^{rs} RANSALAER & TAYLOR.

VII.—SELECTION FROM THE PAPERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.—CONTINUED.

COMMUNICATED BY HIS GRANDSON, PROFESSOR
GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

10.—ELISHA BOUDINOT TO GENERAL GREENE.

MY D^r GENERAL

I have this day seen a certain Person whom you know—the Substance of his Intelligence is—the night before last, 17 Sail arrived at the Hook. he was told they were part of 50. which were on the Coast, but whether they had Soldiers or not he does not know of his own knowledge, tho' he was told they contain'd a Reinforcement of 10,000, Men—but I suspect they were from Canada—as he says, they acknowledge, Carltons Army is coming round—They have marched out entirely from Amboy and encamped near Strawberry Hill—they say as soon as the fresh Troops arrive they are in a Body to march towards Philadel—as they are confident if they keep in a Body and prevent Skirmishing, General Washington will retreat before them and not attempt a Battle—General De Lancy with the New Recruits are to Garrison Staten Island, the Ground is marked out opposite Eliz. Town point and the blazing Starr for Redoubts which are to be done immediately—a 50 Gun Ship at Newport was blown up the other Day by accident and every

Soul on board perished, it was so near the Dock that several Stores & Houses were set on fire by it—some other Circumstances relative to the Post at E. Town tho' interesting will not trouble you with as the Col. is inform'd of it—and if he does not act as imprudently as he has heretofore (of wh I am very apprehensive) I have Matters in such a Train thro' a different Channel as may be attended with the most salutary Consequences, of which will inform you when I have the pleasure of seeing you—

am in great haste
with the highest Esteem
Your Honors

Most Obt Sert

ELISHA BOUDINOT

NEW ARK 23d MAY

1777

GEN GREENE)

[Addressed]

The honble

Major General GREENE

Major BURNET) Bound brook

[On the back of the folded letter.]

A Vessel was brought into N. York two days ago having 70 French-men on board.

11.—COLONEL HARRISON TO GENERAL GREENE.

WHITE PLAINS NOV 7th 1776

DEAR SIR

His Excellency just now received Intelligence that three of the Enemy's Ships passed the Chivaux defrise Yesterday or the day before. When he considers this event with the present disposition of the Enemy who have advanced towards the North River, he apprehends that they have some thing in view that we are not apprized of.—he wishes you to post parties of observation at every place on the Jersey side of the North River where they can land to watch their motions, and upon the least appearance of the collecting Boats or making any disposition to embark that they will give him the earliest notice—

I am Dr Gen in haste

Yrs Rob H HARRISON.

12. COLONEL MAGAW TO GENERAL GREENE.

DEAR GEN

We have just now Discovered that the Enemy have brought down about 40 Sail to Morressanca Point 10 of which are Ships—by this Imaginea they are Retreating & intend to Pay us a Visit—this forenoon we discovered Several English Officers on the Plains on this side Kings bridge we Conjectured they had come from the Grand Army We have made a bad exchange for Hutcheson's

* From the originals, in the Collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D.C.

Regement at least in Point of Numbers we have great need of the 120 from them—Perhaps you can Visit us on the Morning the Hessians continue entrenching on the Heights on this Side Kingsbridge—

I am Dear Genl
Yours Sincerely
ROBT MAGAW

HAARLEM HEIGHTS 7th }
Novr 1776— }

Coll Cadwalader has discovered
23 Topsail Vessells—

[Addressed]

To

The Honble Genl GREENE.

[On the back of the folded letter.]

Coll Magaws Compliments to
Gen Ewing & begs he'll furnish the Bearer with a Horse to ride to Gen Greenes

13. GENERAL MERCER TO GENERAL GREENE.

ELIZA TOWN 4th Nov 1776

DEAR SIR

Your favour of the 2d. Instant which came to hand yesterday Evening I shall pay the necessary attention to—Col Tenyck is to march his Battalion of 250 Men now on duty at New Ark immediately to Acquaquanock—to wait your Orders. An Engineer & Intrenching tools will be wanted—these last may perhaps be more readily supplied from Fort Lee than from this Quarter—as what we had to spare have been chiefly sent on—On examining Bound Brook we can find no convenient Store houses nor Accomodations—at the Landing two miles above Brunswick there are Store houses and more Accomodation for Troops than at Bound brook—I am also assured by Mr. Mercerau that the distance from Springfield to Prince Town by the Landing is not greater—on these considerations I have deposited in Stores there sundrie things sent from Amboy—You will please to let me know—if this alteration in the Rout of the Army has your aprobation—Some Troops from Virginia are on the way from Philadelphia—Are they to be pushed forward to Fort Lee—or would you not rather attempt the driving the Hessians &c off Staten Island; before those troops pass on from hence—I shall detain the Virginians about Brunswick, till I have the pleasure to hear from you—I am

most respectfully
your obed Svt

HUGH MERCER

[Addressed]

On Publick Service.

To Major General GREEN

FORT LEE

HIST. MAG. VOL. III. 11

14. MAJOR CLARKE TO GENERAL GREENE.

MR. LAWRENCES ROCKLAND,

November 8th. 1776.

SIR—

I received your agreeable Letter last Night I thank you for taking the State of this Place into consideration and hope (that eternal spring of the human breast) flatters me I will be able to defend it until the reinforcement arrives—Col. Tupper informed me the same Express that a 20 Gun Ship & two Transports lay in the Ferryway & requested me to reinforce the Guard at Taupaan lands: as he had ordered the Stores to be removed to that place all which was completed late in the Night, at two in the Morning I left Naiac and arrived at the Ferry by the Dawn of Day we held a little Counsel together & concluded to give the Shipping a few Shot (tho' under every disadvantage) we manned the Battery & fired eleven Rounds, three, of which went into the Man of War one of which she received through her forecastle which happened to be full of Men it did great execution you may depend the other two one in her Hull & 'tother through her Rigging & the Transport next her received two in her Hull they never returned the fire but appeared to be in great confusion had not the Wind blew so hard at North East & the Platforms been laid I quere much if one shot wou'd have missed as nothing Saved them but the springs on their Cables.

Yesterday I viewed Slaughters landing where I found a few small Craft under no Guard & being informed of three Negroes going on board the Rose the Night before from this place I tho't proper to order all the Craft to be taken up the River to Haverstraw which I hope will merit your approbation Shou'd it be impracticable to take the Stores now lying at Naiac by water past the Ship I wou'd Advise to have them carried by land to the landing at Slaughters which is only 3 Miles from whence it may be taken to Kings Ferry by water safe as 'tis out of sight of the Man of War this I believe Col Tupper will do I intend to erect four small Batteries up the River in different places so as to twig the Gallies & Tenders when the move along shore & to prevent the Enemy from landing shou'd they dare to attempt it they Militia or at least a Compy met Yesterday I attended after having harrangued them Sometime they assured me they were willing to afford every assistance in their power two of the above Negroes belong'd to Major Smith of Colo Hays Battalion I made use of this to prove the immediate Necessity of then Taking up Arms "a lucky unlucky thing" as Church says in his Letter I wrote to Major Pain from Clarks Town Several Days past to Send me up 8 Tents & as many Cooking Kettles as the late Reinforcement is in great distress for want of them but it has been disregarded or they

'ree miscarried which of the two to impute it I know not if they are not sent before this reaches you pray send me the number of Tents & 20 Kettles also 4 Barrells of Pork, a Barrell of Salt, (if to spare) & I will be much obliged to you as the poor Soldiers suffer for want of them I wrote to Col. Biddle to send a Waggon with my Baggage pray jog his memory—

I am Sorry the Galley did not take one of the Store Ships had I known when they came up in the Night we might have ta'en one with ease as shelay at Anchor a League from the Rest if any for the future should pass the Chevaux-de-frize I think a Person ought to be despatch'd along shore to watch them & give me intelligence should any one come to, in the same manner I'm sure of taking her a Cargoe such as they have I think wou'd be of infinite Service—

I've Ordered a Fisherman to catch a few Pike hope to have the pleasure of presenting you with a Mess very soon I thank you for your good advise in reminding me of my duty & hope I won't depart from it when I send you the Fish & the service not injured pray tell Major Blodget there is a fine Pond to employ his Angling in & that I think an exercise of this kind will be conducive to his Health. The Enemy I'm informed have left the Plains their Encampment appears large enough to contain the greater part of the Army they appear to be very busy I take it some grand movement will Soon take place as their Camp is near 4 Miles in length every Moment of my time shall be employed in watching their motions so as to be able to give you the earliest intelligence I'm determined to dispute the Ground Inch by Inch while I've a Man it being Such as will admit of it

I am your honors
Most Obedt

J^N CLARK JUN. Maj.

P S Pray dont forget to send for
Beccaria on Crimes & Punishment
for me & furnish me with Sternes
Sentimental Journey i'll take care of
it & Return it safe adieu J. C. }

N. B. a few Axes 20 if to spare are much wanting I'd be glad they were sent with the above articles. J. C.

The Honble N. GREEN
[Addressed]

The Honble Major General GREEN
at
FORT LEE.
Express

VIII.—ART AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY WILLIAM KELBY, ESQ., OF THE YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In *The Monthly Magazine*; or, *British Register*, Volume XXIV., Part I. for 1807, (Page 74,) is the following interesting paragraph:

"MR. JEFFERSON, President of the United States, possesses several busts made by Indians. "The human form extends to the middle of the body, and the figures are nearly of the natural size. The lineaments are strongly marked, and such as are peculiar to the copper-colored aboriginal inhabitants of America: among others, "is one of them representing an aged savage, "in which the wrinkles and look are very expressive. These busts were found by some laborers digging at a place called Palmyra, on the river Tennessee. It is not known of what materials they are made: some are of opinion that they have been cut with a chisel or sharp instrument, out of stone; others think that they have been moulded or shaped of a soft composition, and afterwards baked. The substance is extremely hard. It has not been ascertained whether they are idols, or only images of distinguished men. It will be an interesting object of research for antiquaries, to discover who were the ancestors of the present Indians, capable of executing such a good resemblance of the human head, face, neck, and shoulders."

When this information was first noticed it arrested my attention, because it had been so warmly insisted by some, that the Indians, as well as those who preceded them in the occupation of the Continent, were very deficient in the Arts of Design, and in mechanical skill as sculptors; and I pursued my enquiries still further, with a hope of acquiring more information concerning these relics.

The result of my examination has been the discovery of the following letter from Mr. Jefferson himself, in which he acknowledges the gift of the Busts in question, and I respectfully submit the material thus collected, for further elucidation, to the attention of those readers of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, whose acquirements in Ethnology and Archaeology, enable them to do justice to the subject.

[MR. JEFFERSON'S LETTER.]

PHILADELPHIA, January 16, 1800.

SIR:

Your letter of October 1st, has been received, and I have to make you acknowledgements for the offer of two Indian busts found on the Cumberland, and in your possession.

Such monuments of the state of the Arts among

the Indians are too singular not to be highly esteemed; and I shall preserve them as such with great care. They will furnish new and strong proofs how far the patience and perseverance of the Indian artist supplied the very limited means of execution which he possessed.

Accept, therefore, I pray you, my sincere thanks for your kind offer, and assurances of the gratification these curiosities will yield here. As such objects cannot be conveyed without injury but by water, I will ask the favor of you to forward them by some small vessel going down the river to Orleans, to the address of Mr. Daniel Clarke, Junior, of that place, to whom I wrote to have them forwarded round by sea, and to answer for me the expenses of transportation, package, &c.

I am, with many acknowledgements for this mark of your approbation, Sir,
your most obedient humble servant
TH. JEFFERSON.

MR. MORGAN BROWN
PALMYRA.

IX.—CARRIAGES IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN 1796.

A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GOVERNOR LEWIS AND COLONEL NICHOLAS FISH, COMMUNICATED TO THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ALBANY 20 Feby 1807

DEAR SIR

I will thank you to inform me as early as possible how many four-wheel pleasure Carriages there were in this State the last year you was in Office, their different Kinds, the Tax on each, and the amount produced on such Tax, with the Expense of Collection. Your immediate Answer will confer an Obligation on your

Friend & Serv^t

MORGAN LEWIS.

COL^l FISH

[COLONEL FISH'S REPLY.]

Feby 28 1807

DEAR SIR:

It is with real pleasure I embrace the earliest moment to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 20th inst. which did not come to my hands until the evening before the last—All the papers belonging to the Office of the Supervisor of the Revenue for this State, were delivered to my Successor in Office, on my removal from it,* so that it is not in my power to

afford the precise information required; but presuming that something useful may be collected from an old document, embracing the return of Carriages for the year 1796, which I find accidentally in my possession, I take the liberty of transmitting so much of its contents, as applies to the subject—and am

Very Respectfully

Your Excellency's friend & obed hum. Serv^t
NICH^l FISH.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Carriages—Chaises Top-Chairs Steel Spring Chaires—Sulkies— and Wooden Spring Chaires—	
Coaches	at 15 Dollars
Chaises	12
Top-Chairs	12
Post-Chaises	12
Trucks	9
Coaches	9
Other & Wheeled Carriages	9
do	9

Whole Num- ber in the State	Number in the City of N Y	Number in the rest of the State	Total Duty
1796			
88	88	5	\$870
73	62	11	\$76
5	4	1	60
91	43	48	\$19
73	37	35	\$19
63	41	22	\$78
40	4	36	120
883	224	158	\$3,471
1536	282	1244	\$3,861
Total duties			\$4,393
Expenses of Collecting 6% pr Ct.			\$44.08
Net duties			\$4,348.92

* Colonel Fish was appointed Supervisor of the Revenue for the State of New York, by General Washington, in 1793, and removed by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801.

X.—LOCATION OF SASANOA'S RIVER, IN MAINE.

By REV. E. BALLARD, D.D. SECRETARY OF THE
MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

While the Popham Colony was engaged in completing the settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec, a portion of the company, consisting of nineteen persons, went in a shallop up the river for discovery. They were under the command of Captain Raleigh Gilbert, and were well provided with arms, provisions and commodities for traffic with the savages. Their course led them up the river, in that portion then called Sagadahoc, through the narrows, then known as "Kebec,"* and now called "The Chops," into the broad expanse now known as "Merry-Meeting Bay;" and, as the evidence of the narrative clearly denotes, up the Androscoggin, as far as the falls at Lisbon, known in the days of R  le as the "Anmirkaugan."

After having accomplished their purpose, they descended the river to the place where they had passed the previous night of the twenty-sixth of September, probably at "The Chops." The narrative proceeds to say: "Here they sett up a crosse and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by river of some note called Sasanoa. This daye and the next they sought yt, when the weather turned fowle and full of fog and raine, they made all hast to the fort before which the 29th they arrived."†

The inquiry is here presented: What river now answers the description of "the by river of some note called Sasanoa?"

It cannot be the Kennebec; for that was well known by its present name, as early as 1606, as appears from the histories of Lescasbot and Champlain, and early maps. It could not have been the Androscoggin; for this river already had its own name, written by Captain John Smith, "Aumoughcowgen;" through the imperfection of writing, representing the Indian word "Aumoscowgen," which after having passed through more than sixty orthographies has at last been fixed in its present name.

Neither of these large streams corresponds to the description of Strachey, copying from Gilbert's Journal, where it is called "the by river of some note." They are each too open and broad, as well as too direct in their course to the ocean, to be named a "by river," and too large to be mentioned diminutively as of "some note."

The other streams, entering into the Kennebec below Merry-meeting Bay, are all too small to be made an object of search for any purposes of

navigation, and in this particular are of no "note" whatever.*

The only water, that can be found to agree with the account, is the inland, navigable, tide-water thoroughfare, from the Kennebec to Wiscasset, the Sheepscot, Boothbay, and Pemaquid, now known as "Arrowsic Gut." This communication might well be called a "river" by these explorers, who knew it only from the broken English of Nahanada, Skidwares, and other natives, who had learned somewhat of the language in England, and by their intercourse with earlier visitors to this coast. It was properly "the by river," because it was on the side of the larger one; and was of "some note," because useful to the Indians, in continuing their trail from the Penobscot, Pemaquid and the Sheepscot, to the Kennebec, and thence in the same Westerly direction to Winnegance creek (Winnegauseag), and across the carrying-place over the sharp and narrow ridge into Casco Bay; and Northerly, up the Kennebec, into Merry-meeting Bay, the Androscoggin, and the upper Kennebec, to Canada.

At its junction, where it forms an acute angle with the walls of the Kennebec, there is a projecting point, that shuts off the view of the entrance, except in the line of its opening, and when the beholder is near the shore. The foul, foggy, and rainy weather, on the last day of the search, was a sufficient cause to prevent a sight of the mouth of this passage, even if the shallop had passed near the place.

In further identification of this "by river," reference may be made to Purchas,† who says: "The Tarentine's country is in 44 2-3, where the Sauages tell of a Rocke of Allum, neere the riuer of Sasnowa." It is not to be supposed that the natives knew much about *alum*; but that they gave a description of some object, which the English, eager for valuable discoveries, were ready to understand as being of that substance. The true explanation appears to be the following:

Within this "by river," or Hell-gate, as a portion of it is named, at the confluence of the fresh-water of the Kennebec with the sea-water of the Sheepscot, there is a conical boulder of *granite*, largely composed of feld-spar in coarse grains, and rising like a hay-stack from the water. It is near the channel on the Northern side, and under the Western brow of Hockomock. It is nearly bare of sea-weed,—a fact probably owing to the freshness of the surrounding water. In early days, this way-mark in the passage from the Kennebec to the Sheepscot, was pointed out as "the rock which turned round everytime it heard the cock crow." The similarity between the appearance

* The same word as in the French form Quebec, meaning "The Narrows."

† STRACHEY, Chapter X.

* Trott's Brook, Whisby and Whiskeag, (properly Cowaskeag.)

† PURCHAS, Volume I., "Of Virginia," Chapter v., Page 755.

of *alum* and *feld-spar*, though not very marked, was sufficient to give some degree of credit to the Indian story; and helps to designate the locality of Sasanoa's River.

The name is written in several different ways,* according as its name struck foreign ears.

But who was Sasanoa?

While Waymouth was in the harbor, which the narrative by Rosier points out as Boothbay, a savage made him a visit. He was the one who "seemed to be of most respect among" the natives. When requested by Waymouth to remain on board as "a pawn," or hostage, while Rosier went on shore for observation and traffic, he refused the apparent risk, and offered "a young 'savage' in his place. On the next day, Waymouth captured five of the natives. Four days afterward, two canoes with Indians came to his vessel, in one of which "was he that refused to 'stay with us for a pawn.'" It then appeared that he had been sent with the others from the Bashaba, with a request, that Waymouth would move his ship to the main land at the East, where their ruler lived, for the purpose of an interchange of commodities. One of these visitors "wore a 'kind of coronet about his head, made very 'cunningly, of a substance like stiff hair, colored 'red, broad, and more than a handful in depth, 'which we imagined to be some insigne of his superiority: for he so much esteemed it as he would 'not for anything exchange the same.'" This fact should be taken in connexion with the other fact, of a person who "seemed to be of most respect among them;" for who but such a person should wear the "coronet?"

While Waymouth was exploring the Kennebec, and in the afternoon of the twelfth of June, after he and his party had returned from their excursion, reaching as far as Whiskeag creek, to the "cod of the river," now principally covered by the city of Bath, the account states: "we espied a canoe coming from the further part of 'the cod of the river eastward," i. e. themouth of Sasanoa's river, imperfectly distinguished, "which 'hasted to us wherein with two others, was he 'who refused to stay with us for a pawn: and his 'coming was very earnestly intreating to have 'one of our men to go lie on shore with their 'bashabes, (who was there on shore as they

"signed,) and then the next morning, he would 'come to our ship with many furs and tobacco." His prominence in this matter is an additional indication of his high position among his people. Rosier does not tell his name nor allude to him again.

About two years later, the Popham Colony was founded on the inward waters of the Kennebec. On the fourth of October, as Strachey, the historian of the enterprise says, "There came two 'canoes to the fort in which were Nahanada, [one of Waymouth's captives, who had spent two years in England,] 'his wife, and Skidwares, [another captive,] 'and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo; all whom the president 'feasted and entertained with all kindness, both 'that day and the next, which being Sundaye, 'the president carried them with him to the 'place of publike prayers, which they were at both 'morning and evening, attending yt with great 'reverence and silence.'" Nahanada,† and Skidwares were useful as interpreters and guides,‡ and are both mentioned together four times. Amenquin, the other savage, is only once more mentioned, and in the same connexion, who remained sometime after the departure of the others, with their gifts of beads and knives from the President, and a special "present unto the Bashaba's brother." To these tokens of friendship was added the President's promise that he would soon go the Bashaba's "court in the river 'of Penobscot," for a friendly visit, doubtless in answer to their request.

The question now comes, Who was "the Bashaba's brother?" Strachey gives no answer. But on referring to Gorges, in his *Brief Narration*, we find him speaking of an interview between President Popham and Nahanada,§ Skitwarres, Sassenow, Aberemet,|| and other "principal sagamores," to make a visit to the Bashaba, "who it seems was their king, and 'held a state agreeable, expecting that all 'strangers should have their address to him, not 'he to them.'"¶

The account of this interview by Strachey and the statement by Gorges have so many circumstances in common, as to show with sufficient plainness, that this savage of "most respect" at

* Sasanoa, by Strachey.

Sassenow, by Gorges.

Sainon and Sasinon, by Champlain.

Sassenowe, by Smith.

Sasnowa, by Purchas.

The pronunciation is indicated by the mode of writing the name by Gorges, Champlain, and Smith. In Strachey, "oa" used for "o," as in "roap" for "rope," and others. So "Sebenoa" is the equivalent for "Sá-bino," and "Sasanoa" should be pronounced "Sasano."

Purchas evidently thought, in seeing the word, that the final *a* should be sounded. Smith and Gorges, with better opportunities of knowing, did not.

* STRACHEY, Chapter x.

† Nahanada is called Dehamda by Gorges. The full name was Nahanada; sometimes shortened to Tahanada; and again, the "T" is changed to "D," and "n" to "m," to make Dehamda. Probably the Indian pronunciation was N'tahanada.

‡ Gorges *Brief Narration*, Chapter vii.

§ Gorges calls him Dehamda, evidently a misprint for Dehanada.

|| This name may have been the same as Amenquin, by one of the not uncommon changes in writing Indian words. But more probably, Amenquin was one of the "principal Sagamores," and Aberemet was another of the same company.

¶ *Brief Narration*, Chapter vii.

mental stones placed at the corners of the Streets and Avenues; and how was it done?

(Excepted by Mr. Nash and by Mr. Genet.)

Question withdrawn and exception by Mr. Nash.

Q. Were any, and if so, what other monuments placed by you or under your direction, than already indicated by you?

A. Between the third of April, 1811, and about the year 1817 or 1818, I placed white marble monuments or iron bolts at one of the four corners of intersection of every Street and Avenue laid out by said Commissioners, and included in their reported Plan and Report.

Q. Under whose direction, and in what employment, was this done by you?

A. I was employed by the Corporation of the City of New York to place those monuments at those intersections; which services I performed within the time before stated. The labor was performed by hired men, and the notes and directions were made and given by myself.

Q. In the employment of this work, you crossed the lands known as the Harlem Commons?

A. We did.

(Excepted by Mr. Nash and Mr. Genet.)

Q. Since that time what general surveys have you made, embracing the lands known as the Harlem Common?

A. (Excepted by Mr. Nash and Mr. Genet.)

Between 1816 and 1821, I surveyed the bounds of property, as I found it in possession, over all the ground laid out by the Commissioners aforesaid. This brought me over the Harlem Commons.

Q. In the performance of that work, what objects did you note on your survey?

A. The fences indicating bounds of property; together with roads, buildings, rocks, water-courses, and generally whatever was permanent on the ground.

Q. In whose employment did you make that or those surveys?

A. By the Corporation of the City of New York.

(Question and Answer both objected to.)

Q. What draft, plans, field-notes, or maps did you make in the prosecution of the work?

(Objected to as the Originals are on file.)

A. I made the field-notes in books prepared for the purpose, and used in the field for that purpose.* Maps were made from those field-notes; indicating the bounds of property. These Maps were made, in the first instance, in rough, for the purpose of making fair copies from afterwards. Those fair copies were made and are now in the Street Commissioner's Office.

* These Field-books and Maps, as well as the instruments with which these surveys were made by Mr. Randel, are now in the possession of the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Q. So far as the Tract of Land embraced between Ninety-second and One Hundred and First Streets, and the Fifth and Eighth Avenues, where are those field-notes and rough Maps?

A. I have them here with me.

(Mr. Nash calls for the production of those papers and that they may be tacked to this deposition or copies.)

Q. What other, if any survey, have you made of the Harlem Commons, or of lands within them?

A. I have made no others but those I have with me, and as before mentioned.

* * * * *

XII.—RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.—CONTINUED.

IN COMMON COUNCIL.

Resolved, That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 152-154.]

On Thursday, in the afternoon, being the 13th March, 1653, at Fort Amsterdam, were Present, Arent Van Hattem, Burgomaster, P. Leendersen Van der Grist, Wilh. Beeckman, Allard Antony, M. Van Gheele, and Pieter Wolfersen, Schepens. The Burgomaster Martin Krigier, absent.

A list of the persons who shall provisionally contribute the following sums for the purpose of putting this City in a state of defence.

The Noble Werckhoven	Gs. 200	1
Johannes Van Beeck	Gs. 200	2
Johannes Pr Verbrugge	Gs. 200	It is ordered that the
Joh'n's Gillesen V'brugge	Gs. 100	Manhattaas shall be de-
Johannes d'Peyster	Gs. 100	fenced with palisades and
Cornells Van Steenwijck	Gs. 200	breastworks.
Govert Loockermans	Gs. 150	3
Olof Stevensen	Gs. 150	[154] It is ordered that
Jacob van Conwenhoven	Gs. 150	the Fort be put in a better
Jacob Schellinck	Gs. 200	state of defence.
Pieter Prius	Gs. 100	4
Antony van Hardenberg	Gs. 200	That the Treasury of the
Johannes Nedus	Gs. 100	Burgomasters and Schep-
Gulyan d'Wys	Gs. 200	ens be supplied with the
Pieter Bujs	Gs. 100	sum of from Four to Five
Adrian & Johannes Keyser	Gs. 100	thousand Guilders, to ac-
Paulus Schrick	Gs. 100	complish the aforesaid
Jacob Gerritsen Strycker	Gs. 100	necessary work, which
[153] Francoys Fijn	Gs. 100	sum shall be levied by tax
Matewis d'Vos	Gs. 100	on those interested in New
Adriaen Blommaert	Gs. 100	Netherlands, according to
Evert Tessaclaers Commisen	Gs. 200	their property.

Jacob Bacher	Gs. 150	5
Nicolaes Boodt	Gs. 100	That a regard to the
Isaac Foreest	Gs. 100	same is highly necessary.
Abram Gilles	Gs. 100	Done at the Session, as
Jacob Steendam	Gs. 100	aforesaid, at Fort Amster-
Antony Clasen	Gs. 50	dam.
Jan Jansen d'Jonghe	Gs. 50	
Borger Joris	Gs. 100	
Jan Vinje	Gs. 50	
Arent Van Hattem	Gs. 100	
Marten Krigier	Gs. 100	
Paulus Leendersen	Gs. 100	
Wilh. Beeckman	Gs. 100	
Pieter Van Couwenhoven	Gs. 100	
Maximiljaen Van Geele	Gs. 100	
Allard Antonij	Gs. 100	
Abram d'la Noolj	Gs. 100	
Daniel Letschoet	Gs. 100	
Phillip Geraerdy	Gs. 50	
Egbert Van Borsum	Gs. 100	
	Gs. 5000	
Hendrick Kip	Gt. 50	

[Original not paged; Translation, 154—156]

On Saturday, the fifteenth March, 1653, at the City Hall, Present, Arent Van Hattem, P. L. Vander Grist, Wilh. Beeckman, Allard Antony, Pieter Wolfersen, and M. Van Gheel.

Pieter Wolfersen and Wilh. Beeckman, Schepens, are nominated and chosen by the Burgomasters and Schepens, by a plurality of votes, and are authorized, by these presents, jointly with the Noble Montagne, appointed by the Director-general and Councillors, to make proposals and contract for the aforesaid work for the City, and all the while to exercise a due supervision and care over the said work, in order that it may advance and be finished in a workmanlike manner; [155] and the Burgomaster, Arent van Hattem, shall pay out the money to be raised agreeably to the Tax-list.

Thus done and resumed, this fifteenth March, 1653, at New Amsterdam.

A. van Hattem nominates Pieter Wolfersen,
Allard Antonij.

P. L. Vander Grist nominates M. Van Gheel,
Wilh. Beeckman.

Wilh. Beeckman nominates Paului Leenderse
Vander Grist,
Pieter Wolfersen.

Pieter Wolfersen nominates Willem Beeckman,
P. L. Vander Grist.

M. Van Gheel nominates Wilh. Beeckman,
Pieter Wolfersen.

Allard Antonij nominates Arent Van Hattem,
M. Van Gheel.

PLURALITY OF VOTES

Pieter Wolfersen	. . . . .	111
W. Beeckman	. . . . .	111
M. Van Gheel	. . . . .	11
Arent Van Hattem	. . . . .	1
Allard Antonij	. . . . .	1

12 votes

NOTICE.

The Commissioners of the Director-general and Councillors and of the Magistrates of this City intend to issue public proposals for a certain piece of work, consisting of Palisades of from Twelve to Thirteen feet in height, by the Rod, so that if any one feels inclined to undertake the work, he may come to the City-hall, next Tuesday, [156] in the afternoon, and hear the conditions and see the work.

Thus done this thirteenth of March, 1653, at New Amsterdam.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 156—162.]

On Monday, the seventeenth March, 1653, at the City Hall, Present, Arent Van Hattem, Burgomaster, Paulus Leendersen, [Vandergrist,] Wilh. Beeckman, Allard Antony, Pieter Wolfersen [Couwenhoven,] and M. Van Gheel, Schepens.

ABRAM D'LA NOOLJ,* Plaintiff, *vs.* CORNELIS CLAESSEN OUTEWAEL,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment in full of a certain debt, according to a written claim, since the Defendant intends removing from this place.

The Defendant acknowledges to be in debt Two hundred and forty-three Guilders, agreeably to obligation; but says that the time for payment has not yet arrived; and that he intends to remove to the North.

The Burgomasters and Schepens having heard the parties, and also understanding that the Defendant intends removing, decide, that he, before his departure, shall either pay the debt or give sufficient security for the fulfilment of the obligation.

CARLL VAN BRUGGE, Plaintiff, *vs.* CORNELIS OUTEWAEL, Defendant.

[157] The Plaintiff in default.

PHILIP GERAERDIJ, Plaintiff, *vs.* CORNELIS OUTEWAEL, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of the balance, on a writing, of Twenty-six Guilders, fourteen Stuyvers, as the Defendant has promised to pay in Silver money, being for tuition.

The Defendant denies the debt, and demands the account and proof of the same.

The Burgomasters and Schepens decided that the Plaintiff shall produce his account and witnesses.

ADAM ROELANTSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* LUYCAS ELDERSEN, Defendant.‡

* ABRAM D'LA NOOLJ—*Abraham de la Noy*—was a Small Burgher of the city, and the Lessee of the City Tavern. H. B. D.

† CORNELIS CLAESSEN OUTEWAEL—*Cornellus, outside the Wall*—was a farmer who settled in the Colony at an early date. He was married, and had Apolonitje, Jacob, Appolonia, and Cornelia, who were "christened" at the Old Dutch Church, in New York. H. B. D.

‡ This action was ordered by the College, at its Session of the tenth of March, (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II. III., 41); and the reader will find, appended to the record of that Session, some notice of the parties themselves. H. B. D.

The Plaintiff demands of the Defendant the payment for certain Pork which he sold and delivered to him, amounting to Twenty-three Guilders, five Stuyvers, which he has been compelled to pay to Jan d' Kuyper, notwithstanding his guarantee on the Defendant.

The Defendant acknowledges that he purchased and received the aforesaid Pork, but the Plaintiff had assured him that it was good Pork, and after he had received it he found that it stunk and was not good; that he had sold Fifty pounds to Jan Haes,* at the same price at which he had bought it; that he had subsequently satisfied Jan Haes, therefore, by returning his money; and that he had [158] given the remainder away.

The Burgomasters and Schepens having heard the parties, are of opinion that in consideration that the Defendant had sold some of the Pork and given away the rest, and had thus disposed of it without complaining, he is obligated to satisfy the Plaintiff; and they condemn the Defendant to pay the same within three weeks from this date.

LUYCAS ELDERSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* JACOB HÆIJ, Defendant.

The Defendant was in default.

THOMAS GRIDDIJ, Plaintiff, *vs.* ROBERT WILLEMSEN, JACOB CLERQ, and HENDRICK JANSEN, † Defendants.

The Defendant, HENDRICK JANSEN, was in default.

The Plaintiff requests that the Defendants be compelled to give their testimony before the Court, in the matter in dispute between him and Borger Jorisen; ‡ which the Defendants, Jacob Clercq and Robert Williamsen, did, in open Court.

* JAN HÆIJ, a cooper, who was in the Colony as early as May, 1642, when he is recorded as calling Nicholas Tennor, "a rogue and a villain." He was evidently a dissolute, worthless fellow, and an acknowledged thief. He is called "the husband of Edward Fiscock's widow"—*nee* Jane Schabuel—who he was married on the twelfth of March, 1645. H. B. D.

† HENDRICK JANSEN, the Tailor, was an early settler in the Colony; one of The Twelve men; and very much respected. He returned to Fatherland, in 1648, under an order of banishment, for calling Director Kieft a villain, and saying "it was a whore that cast him out as her excrements." (*Council Minutes*, iv. 152.) He seems to have returned, however, prior to 1648, when he was again imprisoned, for an offence against the public peace. His wife was Geertje Scheerburch; and lived "on the East River, near the Fort."

There was another of this name, from Bremen, Gunner's-mate of the ship *Herring*; another from Hamburg, was a Cadet in the Company's service; and still another was called "the Boor," although he owned the lot between Samuel Edsall's and the Old Dutch Church.

The particular "HENDRICK JANSEN," however, who is referred to in the text, was undoubtedly the Company's blacksmith, a man who seems to have been very much respected, although he committed suicide by hanging himself at Calckhook, in July, 1664.

He lived "on the Great Highway," between Govert Lookerman and Isaac Allerton.

‡ In the Minutes of the Session of the tenth of March, the reader will find the record of this action, and sketches of the parties. H. B. D.

THOMAS GRIDDIJ, Plaintiff, *vs.* BORGER JORISEN, Defendant.*

The Plaintiff proves his former declaration by the testimony of two witnesses, concerning the injustice [159] and violence done to him by the Defendant, Borger Jorisen.

The Defendant, BORGER JORISEN, having heard the testimony of the witnesses read, denies that such has happened, and requests a copy of the testimony for the purpose of disproving it and replying thereto; which request is granted; and it is ordered that his reply shall be in writing.

JACOB VAN COUWENHOVEN, † Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN MAHU, Defendant.

The Plaintiff stated that about the fifteenth or sixteenth of last month, he had left with the Defendant three stamped guns for examination and repair; and as they have not yet been returned, he has not been able to complete his complement.

The Defendant replies that he has the guns in his possession, and offers to deliver them within eight days.

He is ordered to do this, under the penalty of being taken up.

SERJEANT HUYBERT, Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN CARREMAN, ‡ Defendant. §

The Plaintiff declares that he purchased from the Defendant, through Wessel Eversen, ¶ one pair of Mill-stones; and that, at the appointed time, when he came for the stones, they were refused to him, as he can prove. He requests, therefore, that the Defendant may be ordered to deliver the [160] said stones at Gravesend; and he also claims compensation for damages already sustained through said refusal to deliver the stones, agreeably to specifications, Sixty-four Guilders.

The Defendant confesses that he sold the stones to the Plaintiff, and says that he gave a written order that Wessel Eversen should let the stones go; that he has not given any order to withhold the stones; and that it is not his fault that they were not delivered.

The parties having been heard, the Burgomaster and Schepens decided that the Plaintiff's

* Vide, page 42, ante. H. B. D.

† JACOB VAN COUWENHOVEN,—*Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven*—accompanied his father and brother to the Colony, at an early day, their passage having been furnished by the Company.

He was taken into the Company's service, as a Clerk, and subsequently became a Tobacco planter and one of the most influential Great Burghers of the city.

He was one of the Nine Men in 1647, 1649, and 1660; a Church-warden; and one of the popular delegates to Fatherland in support of the rights of the Commonalty.

He married Magdaleentje Jacobs, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1655; had five children; and died in 1670. H. B. D.

‡ Carman. TRANSLATOR.

§ Vide, page 41, ante.

¶ WESSEL EYERSEN was a resident in New Amsterdam, as early as 1646; and a Small Burgher of the seventeenth of April, 1657. He married Geertje Bouwhe, on the fifteenth of March, 1643; and had Baudewyn, Evert, Laurens Franz, Jan, and Johannes. H. B. D.

complaint is sustained; and they decree that the Defendant shall have his choice, either to deliver the aforesaid stones at Gravesend or to pay the aforesaid damages, without diminishing his claim on Wessel Eversen.

The Defendant, MR. CARREMAN, engages with the Court, to deliver the aforesaid stones between this and May, without foregoing his claim on Wessel Eversen.

GULYAN JANSEN, Carpenter's apprentice, Plaintiff, *vs.* GUYSBERT VAN DER DONCK, Defendant.

Concerning remuneration for the loss of his clothes and sundries, which, through the fault of the Defendant's father, then his Master, had been stolen by the Indians.

The Burgomasters and Schepens refer this dispute to Jacob van Couwenhoven and [161] Michael Jansen,* as arbitrators, to examine the case within fourteen days, whenever VERDONCK shall engage to give the aforesaid G. JANSEN liberty to come to the Fort: in the meantime, GULYAN JANSEN is ordered to go to his service.

MARTEN JANSEN VAN BREUCKELEN,† Plaintiff, *vs.* ELBERT ELBERTSEN,‡ JACOB PIETERSEN,§ ELKE JANSEN,|| and GEERTJIE JACOBS,¶ Defendants.**

The Plaintiff demands that the Defendants give their testimony concerning what they have heard of the injuries done to him by the wife of Mr. Spicer.

The Defendants appearing in Court, gave their testimony, yet without developing anything of moment.

MARTEN JANSEN makes a request, by Petition, that since in the matter respecting the dispute between him and Spicer, through the fault of Spicer, the dispute cannot be settled by leaving it to Arbitrators, their High Mightinesses refer it to two persons selected from their own body; and that the costs shall abide the issue of their verdict.

* MICHAEL JANSEN came to America as a farm servant in the employ of the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, and acquired wealth there; but he appears to have removed to New Amsterdam, in the fall of 1644; was one of the Nine Men, in 1647 and 1649; and a Selectman of the city, in 1650; one of the Remonstrants against the Colonial Government, in 1649; bought a Plantation at Pavonia, which was wholly destroyed by the Indians; after which he returned to New Amsterdam; and was appointed a Measurer of Grain and Lime, in 1657. He was a Small Burgher of the thirteenth of April, 1657; was married—; and had—, (born October 24, 1649,) Hartman, Ariaentje, Johannes, Cornelis, and Cornelis. H. B. D.

† MARTIN JANSEN VAN BREUCKELEN, was evidently a resident of Amersfoort (*Flailands*), where he was a Magistrate, in 1656. H. B. D.

‡ ELBERT ELBERTSEN—*Elbert Elbertsen Stoothoff*—for a sketch of whom see Page 41, ante. H. B. D.

§ JACOB PIETERSEN was a resident of New Utrecht. H. B. D.

|| ELKE JANSEN was the wife of Albert Jansen, the carpenter, of whom a sketch was given in our number for July, 1667. H. B. D.

¶ GEERTJIE JACOBS. Vide page 41, ante. H. B. D.

** This action was noticed in the Minutes of the Session of the tenth of March, 1668. H. B. D.

dict, to be paid by the loser. Whereupon it is noted on the Petition:

"At the Petitioner's request, out of the College, "the Burgomaster, A. Van Hatten and the "Schepen, Pieter Wolfersen, are appointed Arbitrators in the aforesaid dispute, to hear the "parties and make an absolute decision."

[162] COENRAET TEN EYCK,* Plaintiff, *vs.* ALLARD ANTONIJ, Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests the restitution of a hog's-head of Tobacco, which had been sent to him by Mr. Doudeij, on which was the Plaintiff's own mark, which Tobacco had been opened and retained by the Defendant.

ALLARD ANTONY says that he obtained the Plaintiff's consent to retain the Tobacco.

The Plaintiff denies that he has given such consent.

The Defendant undertakes to prove his allegation.

The parties having been heard, the Burgomasters and Schepens decide that ALLARD ANTONY be held to prove that he obtained the consent of the Plaintiff to retain the Tobacco, or, in default thereof, to make restitution for the said Tobacco.

XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*]

GENERAL WASHINGTON A MARSHAL OF FRANCE. —Some years ago, in a conversation in the *Ex-aminer* office, a gentleman of Richmond remarked that he had in his possession an old porcelain mug, with an effigy of General Washington on horseback, and the inscription beneath, "George Washington, Esq., General-in-chief of the United "States Army and Marshal of France." A discussion thereupon arose as to whether Washington had ever received the *baton* of a Marshal of France. To resolve the doubt, Colonel A. Kimmel said he would address the venerable G. W. Parke Custis, the surviving member of Washington's household, on the subject. He did so; and received in reply, the following letter, which has been handed to us for the important historical fact to which it refers. Mr. Custis's letter is dated:

* COENRAET TEN EYCK was a Shoemaker, and a Small Burgher of the thirteenth of April, 1657. He was married, —, and had Margriet, Tobias, Coenraet, Jr., Hendrick, Mathys, Margriet, 2d., Andries, and Metje. He was married, a second time, on the fifteenth of April, 1682, to Annetje Daniels, a widow. H. B. D.

"ARLINGTON HOUSE, Thursday,

"Aug. 13, 1857.

"MY DEAR COLONEL KIMMEL: Your very acceptable letter came duly to hand. In regard to Washington as Marshal of France, I have in this house 'proof as strong as holy writ,' in an engraving of Napier of Merchistoun, the celebrated inventor of the Logarithms, which was presented to Washington by the Earl of Buchan, a relative of the philosopher, with the endorsement in the hand-writing of the Earl: 'To Marshal "General Washington, with the respects of "Buchan.' Now, Buchan lived in the age of the Revolution, and was the associate of Courts, and certainly would not have addressed to one he so loved and admired, as he did to the Chief, a title to which the Chief had no claim. Lord Napier, on a visit to the Arlington House, was greatly gratified by a sight of a reminiscence of his ancestors, treasured among the relics of Washington. The history of the American Marshal of France is simply this. When, in 1781, Colonel Laurens went to France as special ambassador, a difficulty arose between him and the French Ministry as to the combined armies in America. Our heroic Laurens said: 'Our chief must command; it is our cause, and the battle is on our soil.' 'C'est impossible,' exclaimed the Frenchman, 'by the etiquette of the French service, the Count de Rochambeau, being an old Lieutenant general, can only be commanded by the King in person, or a Mareschal de France.' 'Then,' exclaimed Laurens, 'make our Washington a Mareschal de France, and the difficulty is at an end.' It was done. A friend of mine heard Washington spoken of as *Monsieur la Mareschal* at the siege of Yorktown. Our beloved Washington never coveted or desired rank or title; but it is beyond a doubt that, from the force of circumstances just related, the rank and title of *Mareschal de France* was conferred upon the General-in-chief of the combined armies of America and France.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

"truly and faithfully

"your obliged friend and servant,

"GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS."

AN OLD TIME BOAT-RACE.—In the beginning of December, 1824, the British frigate *Hussar*, Captain Harris, anchored in New York; and in consequence of kindnesses which he had extended to American vessels at sea, that gentleman was warmly received by the Knickerbockers.

On the fifth of December, he challenged the watermen of New York to a rowing match for one thousand dollars. The challenge was accepted by the Whitehall boatmen, and the race

came off between thirty minutes past twelve o'clock Noon, and one o'clock, Afternoon, on Thursday, the ninth of December, 1824. The British boat, which had previously won eight races in the West Indies, and had not a competitor on the river Thames, was named the *Dart*; and the boat entered by the Whitehall men, the *American Star*, built by Mr. Chambers, but which had been beaten in a race in 1818, by the boat *New York*, made by a celebrated builder of that day named Baptist. The annexed is from the *Post*, of the tenth of December.

"The judges on the part of the American boat were Major Howard, Captain Henry Robinson, and Mr. Richard Sadlier—on the part of the British boat, Mr. Heary Barclay, and two Lieutenants of the *Hussar*. On starting, the *Star* took the lead, the *Dart* shortly came up and lapped her, on which the Whitehall boys applied a little more power to their oars, forced their boat ahead, and maintained the advantage the whole distance, coming in, to the stake-boat, between three and four hundred yards in advance of her competitor. Both the stake boats had the American and British flags flying, and when the *Star* came in the crew of the British launch gave her three hearty cheers and struck their flag. The distance, four miles, was performed in twenty-two minutes, in a heavy swell."

The boats started from the vicinity of the frigate, which lay off the Battery, to a boat stationed off the old North Battery. It is reported in the papers of that day, that upwards of fifty thousand persons assembled to witness the race. . . . A dinner was subsequently given by prominent citizens to Captain Harris and his officers; and during their stay, they were fêted in every possible manner. The public dinner was given at the old Chatham theatre, we believe. . . . The Whitehall boatmen made every effort to purchase the boat *American Star*, that they might present her to Captain Harris, but her owners refused to part with her on any terms. Failing in their object, they, through James H. Aymor, Esq., informed Captain Harris of their regrets, to which he responded in suitable terms. . . . The *Hussar* put to sea on the fifteenth of December, 1824.

WHERE WAS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WRITTEN?—This is a question which has excited much discussion. The following letter from Mr. Jefferson settles the question.

"MONTICELLO, Sept. 26, 1825.

"TO DR. JAMES MEASE, PHILADELPHIA:

"DEAR SIR:—It is not for me to estimate the importance of the circumstances concerning which your letter of the eighth makes inquiry.

"They prove, even in their minuteness, the sacred attachments of our fellow citizens, to the event of which the paper of the fourth of July, 1776, was but the Declaration, the genuine effusion of the soul of our country at that time. Small things may, perhaps, like the relics of saints, help to nourish our devotion to this holy bond of our Union, and keep it longer alive and warm in our affections. This effect may give importance to circumstances however small. At the time of writing that instrument, I lodged in the house of a Mr. Graaf, a new brick house, three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlor and bedroom, ready furnished. In that parlor I wrote habitually, and in it wrote this paper. So far I state from written proofs in my possession. The proprietor, Graaf, was a young man, son of a German, and then newly married. I think he was a bricklayer and that his house was on the South side of Market-street, probably between Seventh and Eighth-streets; and if not the only house on that part of the street, I am sure there were few others near it. I have some idea that it was a corner house; but no other recollections throwing light on the question or worthy of communication.

"TH. JEFFERSON."

STUART'S WASHINGTON.—The following letter from Honorable George W. P. Custis, the grandson of Mrs. Washington and adopted son of General Washington, will be read with interest. No one now living had the same opportunity of knowing General Washington as Mr. Custis:

"ARLINGTON HOUSE, July 1, 1852, }
"Near Alexandria, Virginia. }

"MY DEAR SIR: I have to return you my grateful acknowledgments for your most kind and acceptable present of a proof print from Stuart's Washington. It is a distinguished work of art and a faithful representation of the celebrated original.

In my early life, I knew much of Gilbert Stuart, and frequently visited the studios of the *Modern Vandyke*, (as Stuart was called by Sir Thomas Lawrence,) in both Philadelphia and Washington Cities. The splendid original, from which your engraving has been taken, should of right rather have adorned the walls of Arlington House, among the other Washington treasures, than the walls of the Athenæum in Boston. The history of the painting is simply this: It was painted for Mrs. Washington. After the sittings for the picture for the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Chief declared that he would sit no more for any one. Mrs. Washington, desirous of having an original by Stuart, to place

"among the family pictures at Mount Vernon, entreated the Chief to sit once more for her, Stuart being desirous of painting another original with a view to some improvements. The bargain was concluded. Stuart was to make certain copies; and then the last original was to have been handed over to Mrs. Washington. On the death of the Chief, Mrs. Washington applied for the picture, both by letter and through the good offices of gentlemen then near the residence of the artist. On the death of the venerable lady, she bequeathed all the family pictures to me; I wrote to Stuart and offered a price to be paid for the original, although it was to have been the property of Mrs. Washington, 'without money and without price.' All efforts of all parties failed. Stuart died, and the original, that should have been mine, was sold by his heirs to the Boston Athenæum.

"As an artist and a friend, I pray you to accept my best wishes for the success of the engraving of Stuart's Washington, and an assurance of the respect and esteem with which I remain, Dear Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

"GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.

"GEO. W. CHILDS, Esq."

[REPLY TO ABOVE]

PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, August 9, 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The New York Tribune*:

Having just noticed, in your paper of to-day, Mr. Custis's letter relative to Stuart's Washington, I take the liberty of sending you the following answer, written for *The Washington Republic*, by Mr. Charles Folsom, the well-known Librarian of the Boston Athenæum:

"BOSTON, Monday, August 9, 1852*.

"TO THE EDITOR OF *The Washington Republic*:

"MY DEAR SIR: In a late number of your journal you have published a letter from Mr. George W. P. Custis to Mr. George W. Childs, on the subject of Stuart's *unfinished* portrait of General Washington, now in the Boston Athenæum.

"This picture was purchased of Stuart's legal representatives by the proprietors of that institution; yet Mr. Custis considers that, of right, the picture belongs to him.

"On the death of Madam Washington, says Mr. Custis, 'she bequeathed all the family pictures to me. I wrote to Stuart, and offered a price to be paid for the original, although it was to have been the property of Mrs. Washington 'without money and without price.' All

* The evident error in the published date of this letter, is in our copy, and we have no means for correcting it. Ed. Hist. Mag.

"efforts of all parties failed. Stuart died, and the original, that should have been mine, was sold by his heirs to the Boston Athenæum."

"How far this picture—which was never finished, and never in possession of any member of the family, and which, according to this version, was to have been executed, 'without money and without price,' by an artist of high fame, and who was forever notoriously poor—how far such a chattel might have passed under the term 'family pictures' in Madam Washington's will, may possibly admit of some little debate.

"There is in this quarter a version of this matter, which version is just as odd as the first exhibition of the *unfinished* picture, and which Mr. Stuart, in his pleasant way, frequently recited in the hearing of his visitors. General Washington had become heartily weary of the sacrifice of time and patience demanded by artists who were ambitious of executing his bust or portrait. Stuart importuned him for another picture; and the General finally consented to sit, with an understanding that Mrs. Washington should have the picture *when it was finished*. Stuart soon availed himself of this permission, and executed *the head*, leaving the rest *unfinished*, as it has ever remained. From time to time, whenever Stuart met the General, the latter inquired when the picture would be *finished*, for if it should be, Mrs. Washington must have it! The inference, from Mr. Stuart's statement, and from his manner at the time, was that General Washington was amused with the pleasantry, not at all that he was offended by any evidence of bad faith on the part of Mr. Stuart, in whose right, and in that of his descendants, his fame as an artist, we believe, was not, and is not, more precious than his reputation as an honorable man. Gilbert Stuart was notoriously fond of his joke—of nothing more so, snuff always excepted, which he took by the hand—ful.

SIGMA."

SUDDEN DEATH.—Frederick Williams, an aged and well-known citizen of Cranston, died at his residence yesterday morning, very suddenly. He arose in his accustomed health, and went out. He soon after complained of feeling cold, and seating himself by the fire, immediately expired. He must have been eighty years of age. He represented Cranston in the General Assembly many years; and was life-long an ardent Democrat. He was a direct descendant of the founder of this State; and was born and has always lived upon the farm which belonged to Joseph Williams, the son of Roger. The family burying ground is very near to the house where the deceased dwelt, which is annually visited by antiquarians. The

inscription upon the grave-stone is still legible, and reads as follows:

"Here lies the body of Joseph Williams, Esq., son of Roger Williams, Esq., who was the first white man that came to Providence. He was born 1644. He died August 17, 1724, in the eighty-first year of his age.

"In King Philip's war courageously went through,
"And the native Indians he bravely did subdue,
"And now he's gone down to the grave, and he will be no more,
"Until it please Almighty God his body to restore,
"Into some proper shape, as he thinks fit to be,
"Perhaps like a grain of wheat, as Paul sets forth, you see.
"[Corinthians, 1st Book, 15th chapter, 37th verse.]"

—*Providence Journal*, March 2, 1859.

HOBOKEN TWO CENTURIES AGO.—In the Royal archives at the Hague is found the Petition of Sibout Claessen "to the High and Mighty Lords, the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands." Claessen was a house-carpenter and Burgher, and married Susanna Hanns, widow Aert Teunissen. Her first husband had made a contract with Director Kieft to lease a certain *bouwerie*, named Hoboquin, situate in Pavonia, on the west side of the North river. The lease was for ten years, from the first of January, 1641, when Teunissen cleared and fenced the lands, erecting a brew-house. How fond and early were the Dutch of lager, and still retain their taste for the hops! Here he also bought eight and twenty head of large cattle, besides various small stock, swine, goats, &c., and sheep, with many fruit trees.

Teunissen thus continued to improve his farm or *bouwerie* until 1644, when an Indian war breaking out, all of his cattle were killed, his dwelling and barns burned; the brew-house alone remained standing. Mr. Teunissen was murdered with many other settlers. Violent counsel prevailed at this moment, instigated by Director Kieft and Secretary Van Tienhoven, the former declaring that he would "make the savages wipe their chops." In vain did Dominie Bogardus warn him against rashness, and Captain De Vries point out the defenceless condition of the colony, and the sacking of his own "colonie" on Staten Island, in 1640, from "jangling with the Indians." Kieft only replied, "the order is gone forth, it shall not be recalled.

On a bleak night in February, 1645, armed parties went forth against the Indians at Cochrans Hook, and in Pavonia, when over one hundred savages were horribly slaughtered, whilst asleep, in the two places. Van Tienhoven's mother-in-law was so delighted on the occasion as to amuse herself, it is stated, by kicking about the dead heads of the Indians which had been brought in as bloody trophies of this midnight murder. Serious and fatal consequences followed these unjustifiable outrages. The Long Island Indians,

who were the best friends of the Dutch, now formed an alliance with the river tribes, and the tomahawk, firebrand and scalping knife were employed with hateful ferocity from the Raritan to the Connecticut river. Not less than eleven tribes proclaimed open war against New Netherland. Every settler falling into their merciless hands was murdered; and Teunissen among the unfortunate number.

Sibout Claessen having married the widow of the murdered settler, claimed the residuary possession of his Hoboquin property. Director Kieft, however, leased it to Dierck Claessen, who afterwards abandoning the lands, they soon ran to waste, much to the loss of the original owner. This unjust act was afterwards confirmed by Director Stuyvesant.

Claessen had sold his house at Manhatans, as it was not well adapted to his business; and asking permission, according to the rule of the day, from the Director, to obtain another place, Stuyvesant absolutely refused him. Still he persevered, and purchased a lot from Abraham Pieters, which, coming to the ears of the Director, "he so diminished and encroached on said lot," that Claessen was compelled to sell it at a loss of one-half; and thus did Stuyvesant persevere until the settler was obliged to visit Fatherland for redress. Reaching there, he petitioned their "High Mightinesses" to be indemnified for the loss and damage he hath already suffered by the Director's act, when he would remember "their person and places" "in his prayers to the great and good God, during his whole life."

The petition having been read, their Mightinesses placed it in the proper hands for examination, with instructions to report upon it; and the record goes no further.—*Evening Post*, November 5, 1858.

XIV.—NOTES.

VERMONT ELECTION SERMONS.—By the kindness of Hon. Loyal C. Kellogg and Chauncey K. Williams, Esq., some corrections have been made in the list of Election Sermons published formerly in *The Record*, and some additional information has been furnished, all of which being incorporated with the list, it is now re-published, as a complete and correct list, (printer's errors always excepted.) It contains the name and residence of each preacher, and the date and place of his graduation, if he were a graduate. The names of preachers whose sermons are not in the possession of the writer are in Italics.

Year.	Preacher.	Residence.	Graduation.
1778	<i>Peter Powers</i> ,	Newbury,	H. U. 1754
"	<i>Eden Burroughs</i> ,	Hanover, N. H.,	Y. C. 1757

Year.	Preacher.	Residence.	Graduation
1779	<i>Benaiah Root</i> ,	Rutland,	N. J. C. 1754
1780	<i>David Avery</i> ,	Bennington,	Y. C. 1769
1781	<i>Bulkley Olcott</i> ,	Charlestown, N. H.,	Y. C. 1758
1782	<i>Gershom C. Lyman</i> ,	Marlboro,	Y. C. 1773
1783	<i>Joseph Bullen</i> ,	Westminster,	Y. C. 1772
1784	<i>Job Swift</i> ,	Bennington,	Y. C. 1765
1785	<i>Asa Burton</i> ,	Thetford,	D. C. 1777
1786	<i>Peletiah Chapin</i> ,	Windsor,	Y. C. 1772
1787	<i>Lyman Potter</i> ,	Norwich,	Y. C. 1772
1788	<i>Elijah Sill</i> ,	Dorset,	Y. C. 1748
1789	Dan Foster,	Weathersfield,	
1790	<i>Matthias Cazier</i> ,	Castleton,	N. J. C. 1785
1791	<i>S. Shutlsworth</i> ,	Windsor,	H. U. 1777
1792	<i>Caleb Blood</i> ,	Shaftsbury,	
1793	No sermon preached.		
1794	<i>Samuel Williams</i> ,	Rutland,	H. U. 1761
1795	Asa Burton,	Thetford,	D. C. 1777
1796	<i>Dan Kent</i> ,	Dorset,	
1797	<i>Samuel Whiting</i> ,	Rockingham,	H. U. 1769
1798	Dan'l C. Sanders,	Vergennes,	H. U. 1788
1799	William Forsythe,		
1800	Benjamin Wooster,	Cornwall,	
1801	<i>Nathl. Lambert</i> ,	Newbury,	B. U. 1787
1802	Jer. Atwater,	Middlebury	Y. C. 1793
1803	Sylvester Sage,	Westminster,	Y. C. 1787
1804	<i>Heman Ball</i> ,	Rutland,	D. C. 1791
1805	John Fitch,	Danville,	B. U. 1790
1806	Tho. A. Merrill,	Middlebury,	D. C. 1801
1807	Thomas Gross,	Hartford,	D. C. 1784
1808	Tilton Eastman,	Randolph,	D. C. 1796
1809	Sylvanus Haynes,	Middletown,	
1810	Chester Wright,	Montpelier,	M. C. 1805
1811	Thomas Skeel,		
1812	Isaac Beal,	Pawlet,	
1813	Daniel Marsh,	Bennington,	H. U. 1795
1814	Elijah Lyman,	Brookfield,	D. C. 1787
1815	Henry Davis,	Middlebury,	Y. C. 1796
1816	Sam'l Austin,	Burlington,	Y. C. 1783
1817	Phineas Peck,	Lyndon,	
1818	Clark Kendrick,	Poultney,	
1819	Jas. Converse,	Weathersfield,	H. U. 1799
1820	Geo. Leonard,	Windsor,	D. C. 1805
1821	Joshua Bates,	Middlebury,	H. U. 1800
1822	John Lindsley,	Barre,	
1823	Joseph W. Sawyer,	Whiting,	
1824	Amariah Chandler,	Waitsfield,	U. V. M 1820
1825	Rob't Bartlett,	Hartland,	
1826	Wilbur Fisk,	Lyndon,	B. U. 1815
1827	Tho. Goodwillie,	Barnet,	D. C. 1820
1828	Jona. Woodman,	Sutton,	
1829	Charles Walker,	Rutland,	
1830	Geo. G. Ingersoll,	Burlington,	H. U. 1815
1831	Leland Howard,	Windsor,	
1832	Wm. S. Perkins,	Arlington,	
1833	Tobias Spicer,	Salisbury,	
1834	Warren Skinner,	Cavendish,	
1856	Willard Child,	Castleton,	Y. C. 1817

Year,	Preacher,	Residence,	Graduation,
1857	Silas McKeen,	Bradford,	
1858	C. A. Thomas,	Brandon.	

The sermons by Rev. Matthias Cazier, in 1790, Benjamin Wooster, in 1800, and Leland Howard, in 1831, were not printed.

The custom of having Election Sermons was discontinued after 1834, and though an attempt was made in 1856 to revive it, the new series of Sermons numbered only three. In connection with this last, mention ought to be made of a sermon preached by Rev. Aaron Hutchinson of Pomfret, in 1777, before the Convention which adopted the Constitution of Vermont. The Vermont Historical Society has what is probably the only extant copy.

P. H. W.

COVENTRY, VT., 24 February, 1868.

A RARE MEDAL.

MR. DAWSON: I have before me a Silver Medal struck in honor of Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore and his wife, Anne Arundell. As it is curious and rare, a description of it may interest some of your readers.

The medal is an inch and three quarters in diameter, with a slight projection on the top, in which is a hole, for the purpose, probably, of suspending it. On the obverse, is the bust of Lord Baltimore, about three quarters full, with flowing hair falling upon his shoulders and head uncovered. On the border is the following inscription: DMS. CÆCILIVS. BARO. DE. BAL-
"TIMORE, ABSOLV. DMS. TERRÆ MARLÆ.
"ET AVALONLÆ. &c."

On the reverse, is the bust of his wife, three quarters face, also with flowing hair falling in clusters on her shoulders, with a band on the back side, and head uncovered: the following inscription is on the border: "DNA. ANNA.
"ARVNDELIA. PVLCHERRIMA. ET. OP-
"TIMA. CONIVX CÆCILLII. PREDECTI †."

The medal is owned by the daughter of Doctor John T. Gilman of this City, and was presented to her by her grandfather, the Hon. Nathaniel Gilman, of Exeter, New Hampshire. He was a brother of Governor John Taylor Gilman, and of the Hon. Nicholas Gilman, who represented New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, in Congress, from 1789 to 1797, and in the Senate, from 1805 to the time of his death, in 1814. These three distinguished brothers, are all dead, the Governor died in 1828, and Nathaniel in 1847.

It is not known how the medal came into the possession of Nathaniel Gilman; but it is probable that Nicholas, who was so long a member of Congress, and spent much time in Philadel-

phia when out of Congress, obtained it there, and transmitted it to his brother. Nor do we know the origin or history of this valuable medal, which it is part of the object of this communication to obtain. There is no date upon it, nor any indication of the time or cause of its publication; it is about the thickness of a half dollar in the field, but much thicker in the parts occupied by the device.

The first Lord Baltimore, Sir George Calvert, father of Cecil, a man of great worth and enterprise, died at the age of fifty years, in 1632, after obtaining a Charter of Maryland, which it is supposed he drew himself, but died before it was executed. It was confirmed to his son, Cecil, on the twentieth of June, 1632, who immediately made preparations to take possession of his grant. He appointed his brother, Leonard, Governor, and sent over a well-chosen Colony of two hundred persons, who occupied and rapidly improved a territory admirably chosen and fitted for a rich and flourishing community, and he established a liberal government in which perfect toleration was permitted in a most intolerant age. Cecil was born in 1623, and died in 1676, never having visited the Province which he wisely established.

His father had undertaken to found a Colony in Newfoundland, which he acquired by a grant from his patron, James I., and which he named *Avalon*; but finding the climate too severe and the soil too sterile, he abandoned his enterprise, and sought more propitious clime and soil, at the head of Chesapeake Bay. He was a friend of Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; and was in early life appointed his Secretary; it is from this fact, probably, that his son derived his name. The "Avalonia," in the inscription on the medal, was to perpetuate the name of his first Patent. Other parts of the inscriptions are still perpetuated in the geography and history of that central and wealthy State, which the second Baron of Baltimore admirably founded.

WILLIAM WILLIS.

PORTLAND, ME.

UNIFORMS OF NEW YORK TROOPS, IN THE LAST CENTURY.—In 1724, EACH TROOPER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, was obliged to provide himself with a horse at least fourteen hands high, (fully armed and equipped); a good hat laced with silver lace; a black bag or ribbon for the hair or peruke; a scarlet coat trimmed with silver; a pair of boots with spurs; carbine; &c.

A NEW YORK CITY TROOPER, in 1740, had to provide himself with a good serviceable Horse, not less than fourteen hands high, "covered with a "good Saddle, houlsters, housing, Breast-plate, and "Crupper; a Case of good pistols; a good Sword

"or hanger; half a pound of powder & twelve "sizable bullets; a good hatt laced with silver "lace; a black bag or Ribbond for the hair or "Peruke; a Scarlet Coat trimmed with Silver; a "pair of large boots, with suitable Spurs; and a "Carbine well fixed with a good belt, swivel and "buckles."

AN ALBANY TROOPER was clothed "in blew "Coats with Hatts laced with Silver." *Act of October 3, 1739.*

In 1744, THE TROOPER's hat was "trimmed with "Gold lace and the Coat & Britches were blew "with gilt or Brass buttons, Scarlet waistcoat."

In 1764, NEW YORK, Blue Coat and breeches, with yellow metal buttons, Scarlet Waistcoat, hats laced with gold lace: ALBANY, Blue Coats; hats laced with silver lace.

In 1775, THE TROOPERS OF NEW YORK CITY uniform was a Blue Coat and Breeches, with yellow metal buttons, and a Scarlet Waistcoat, hats laced with gold lace: OF ALBANY, Blue coats with white metal buttons, hats laced with silver lace: OF KING'S COUNTY, Blue Coats and Red Jackets; hats laced with Silver lace. *Act of April, 3, 1775.*

ALBANY, NEW YORK.

E. B. O'C.

AN INCIDENT CONNECTED WITH THE BURNING OF FALMOUTH.*—In the town of Topsham there is a house, near the bank of the Androscoggin river, and at some distance below the village, in which the several doors are hung with hinges of about as many varying patterns as there are places to which they have been applied. The origin of this peculiarity is traced back to the time of the first conflagration of Portland, then Falmouth, occasioned by Mowatt's fleet, in 1775.

A generous prompting of patriotism, that selected an unfortunate method for its display, urged Brigadier Thompson, of Topsham, to decide upon the capture of Captain Mowatt, in one of his daily walks to the Northerly side of Munjoy's Hill. For this purpose he collected such a party of men as he could influence by his personal persuasion, or perhaps authority. In the number gathered for the enterprise was one named Sam Potter, who was then engaged in building a house. The party assembled at the lower part of New Meadows River, at the place known as Cundy's Harbor; and each with a branch of spruce in his hat by way of feather, proceeded in long boats on their successful undertaking. On their arrival at the place proposed, they concealed themselves beneath the growth of pines on the hill-side; and when Mowatt appeared on his customary walk, (April 9.) they sprang forth from their hiding

place and made him their captive, with two of his friends.

The Brigadier then retreated with his prisoner to the main land, on the present Falmouth side of Back Cove. Negotiations followed for his release, which was eventually granted, by reason of the general disapprobation of the arrest by the people of the town. Mowatt afterwards sailed to Boston, where his narration of his treatment gained an order from the British Admiral for the destruction of the town by fire. The order was obeyed, on the eighteenth of October; and the Queen town, as its successor is the Queen city of the East, was laid in ashes.

After the desolation was completed, Potter thought of his unfinished work, and his want of fixtures to perfect its convenience. As soon as practicable, he left home to visit the ruins, and in rummaging amidst the ashes, he picked up a box-full of hinges, thumb-latches, and other matters suited to his wishes. On his return home, he applied his treasures to the benefit of his future dwelling. The variety of these materials, still visible on the doors, testify to the injudicious stratagem of the Brigadier and the cruel order of the Admiral, and are among the few relics of its execution in scenes of disaster, ruin and woe.

ANCIENT PROPHECIES RELATING TO AMERICA.

—It appears from the fragments of ancient writings that have come down to us, that there were inklings about this Continent in the earliest ages; at least long before the time of Christ. Every one, nearly, has heard the story of the lost Atlantis of Plato. The following is taken from Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. He introduces the story as a part of a conversation respecting the ancient history of the world, held by Solon with an old priest of Sais in Egypt.

The priest informs Solon that the Egyptian records preserved the memory of the fact that nine thousand years earlier, the Athenians had repelled an invading force, which had threatened the subjugation of all Europe and Asia too. 'This invasion came from the Atlantic Sea, which was at that time navigable. In front of the Strait, called the Pillars of Hercules, lay an island, greater than Libya and Asia taken together, from which island voyagers could pass to other islands, and from them to the opposite continent, which surrounds that sea, truly so called, (i. e. the Atlantic.)

This is introduced into the *Timæus* of Plato, and expanded still more in the *Critias* of the same author. The general opinion seems to have prevailed more or less from the time when the globular figure of the earth was established, that the known world occupied but a small part of its sur-

* The following incident, from the pen of Dr. McKeen of Topsham, was read at the late meeting of the Maine Historical Society, by Dr. Ballard, the Secretary.

face, and that there might be on it other islands besides our triple continent.

Whether such opinions were found on the vague records of some actual discovery, or on old mythical or poetical representations, or on the basis of scientific hypothesis, can no longer be determined; but, from whatever source the anticipation of the discovery of America is found (not to mention other and less striking instances) is a well-known passage of Seneca's *Medea*, which is said to have made a deep impression on the mind of Columbus:

"Venient annis secula seris
"Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
"Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
"Tethysque novos detegat orbis;
"Nec sit terris ultima Thule."

"In late years, ages shall arrive, when the
"ocean shall relax the bonds of the universe, and
"a mighty land shall be laid open, and Tiphys
"shall unveil new worlds, and Thule shall no
"longer be the utmost extremity of the earth."

This is most extraordinary; but we quote another still more wonderful extract, from an ancient writer, that seems to have anticipated the very times on which we have fallen.

We should be glad if some one would translate it for the public. If some good scholar would put it before the American people, it might be of great advantage in these times of dissection and division.

There are some variations in the text of most all the ancient classics; and we have copied this from one that in a few words differs from the common text. And as most editors take the liberty of correcting and amending the texts of classic Authors, and Doctor Anthon, in particular, does so we have ventured to do the same with the *Seventh Epode of Horace*.

[AD POPULUM AMERICANUM.]

"Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
"Aptantur enses conditi?
"Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
"Fusum est pecunie et sanguinis?
"Non ut superbas Invidiæ Hispaniæ
"Dux noster arces ureret:
"Hostilis aut Britannus ut descenderet
"Sacra catenatus via;
"Sed ut, secundum vota Anglorum, sua
"Gens hæc periret dextera.
"Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus,
"Nunquam, nisi in dispar, feris.
"Furoræ cæcus, an rapit vis acrior?
"An culpa? responsum date.
"Tacent; et ora pallor albus inficit,
"Mentesque percussæ stupent.
"Sic est; acerba fata vos omnes agunt,
"Scelusque fraterni odii,
"Ut immeritum fluxit in terram Patrum
"Sacer nepotibus cror."

Though some better scholar than we are might make a more faithful translation, we will venture to give something like the ideas of the writer.

"Oh, ye impious men, whither, whither are ye
"going? Or why are your right hands armed

"with those swords which were returned to their
"scabbards?

"Has not enough of money been spent; or of
"blood been shed on the battle fields and on the
"sea? Not that our Generals may storm the proud
"fortresses of envious Spain; nor that the hostile
"Briton may be led a prisoner along the public
"way of our capital;" [*Pennsylvania Avenue?*]
"but that according to the solemn vow of the
"Angles," [*English*] "this nation may perish by
"its own forces. Neither wolves nor lions were
"ever wont thus to act, though wild, unless
"against other species of wild beasts.

"Has blind fury, or some superior power, or the
"guilt of your forefathers seized hold of you?
"Reply. They say nothing; a deadly paleness
"spreads over their faces; and their conscience-
"stricken minds are stupefied. Thus it is: vigor-
"ous destiny and the guilt of brothers' hate drive
"you all mad, ever since the blood of blameless
"fathers, fatal to their grandchildren, flowed to
"the ground." E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

THE TRUE GENTLEMAN.—The distinguished
Gouverneur Morris, of Morrisania, who was a gentle-
man by birth, education, and the most lofty bear-
ing, on being asked his definition of a *Gentleman*,
replied in the words of the Psalmist:

I.

His he whose every thought and deed
By rule of virtue moves,
Whose generous tongue disdains to speak
The thing his heart disproves.

II.

Who never did a slander forge,
His neighbor's fame to wound;
Nor hearken to a false report,
By malice whispered round.

III.

Who vice, in all its pomp and power,
Can treat with just neglect;
And piety, though cloth'd in rage,
Religiously respect.

IV.

Who, to his plighted words and trust
His ever firmly stood;
And, though he promised to his loss,
He makes his promise good.

V.

Whose soul, in Usury disdains
His treasures to employ,
Whom no reward can ever bribe
The guiltless to destroy.

This psalm was copied by Mr. Jefferson, in the smallest and neatest manner, in his Common-place-book.—*Washington (N. C.) Commercial*.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN
MASSACHUSETTS.—The *Worcester (Mass.) Spy*, of

the fifth of July, 1826, says:—"The first time the Declaration of Independence was published in Massachusetts, was in this town, (*Worcester*.) The express, on his way to Boston, furnished Isaiah Thomas, Esq., with a copy for publication in his paper, of which he was at that time the publisher. The news, on its receipt, soon spread throughout the Town, and a large concourse of people collected, all anxious to see or hear so extraordinary a document. To gratify their curiosity, Thomas ascended the portico of the South Meeting-house, (then the only one in Town) and read it to those who were assembled. Half of a Century has since passed away, during which our Country has increased in wealth, population, and power, beyond all former precedent. Dr. Thomas still lives to witness the prosperity of the Country, and yesterday joined in the celebration of Independence, in the same house from which he read the Declaration, fifty years ago."

T. F. DeV.

NEW YORK CITY.

ABORIGINAL ART IN PERU.

The following account of a Peruvian wonder was communicated by Mr. W. W. Evans to Lieutenant Gillis. These remarkable constructions are situated near Tacna, Peru, in Latitude eighteen degrees, and twenty-eight minutes South. It is easy to see how these sandy ridges have been preserved, when we remember that rain is a great rarity in that part of South America. The account says:

"On the bare face of the sloping mountain, I noticed huge characters traced in the sand. They can be perceived with great distinctness and read with the unassisted eye, if I could understand them, at a distance of ten or fifteen miles. The whole side of the mountain is covered with them. They appear to be written as in Chinese, in vertical lines. Some of them must be ten or twelve hundred feet in length. I mean that each character is of this dimension, and they look as fresh as if just made. When I first saw them, I thought them windings and zig-zags made by mules traversing the face of the sloping hills; but the mistake was discovered before inquiring of any one. Every person in Tacna, from whom information was sought, assured me that they were ancient Indian records."

NEW YORK CITY

B. F. DeC.

"THE FIRST SALMON ever caught on Cape Cod was ensnared yesterday in one of the fish-weirs at Chatham. It weighed eleven and one half pounds, and was brought to Faneuil Hall market in this city, to tempt the palates of some of our epicures."—*Transcript*.

Many years ago, two boys speared a twenty pound salmon in Griffin's Island-creek, Wellfleet, in twenty-four inches of water, and bore their trophy on the spear-pole, across their shoulders, with tail dragging in the dust, from house to house of the little hamlet, all the settlers pronouncing it an "odd fish." At last they arrived at Uncle Zeke's.

Now Uncle Zeke had been "round the world" some. He had been whaling thirty years; and, when a boy, had run the blockade several "voyages to France," in the old sloop *Perseverance*, of sixty tons. He had also been on the *Ristigouche*, musing by the way in Arcadia. When the old salt had felt the big fellow carefully, and sufficiently admired the "clear run" of the noble fish, he deliberately changed his quid to the other cheek and solemnly remarked: "Odds zounds, my little men! don't none of the lubbers know 'a Salmon?" The verdict of Uncle Zeke settled the question. The lads packed the fish in straw, sprinkled salt on his loins by direction of the oracle, placed him on board the schooner *Enchantress*, and he arrived in Boston the next day, when Mayor Chapman received the first cut.

To the above may be added that the North-men say that, when on this coast, they found an abundance of Salmon. (*See Antiquitates Americanae*, 32.)

Mr. Welb (1834,) in reply to Professor Rafn's queries, tells him that Salmon are found Eastward of Newport, that is, on the southern shore of Cape Cod. (*Antiquitates Americanae*, 367.)

NEW YORK CITY.

B. F. DeC.

CORRECTION.—In the *Reminiscences of Old Brooklyn*, published in the November number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, on Page 265, first Column, fourth line from top, instead of "Continental," read "Provincial." T. F. DeV.

XV.—QUERIES.

WAWENOC NUMERALS, MAINE.—In a communication made to the Maine Historical Society, last winter, by R. K. Sewall, Esq. of Wiscasset, relative to the lost tribe of the Wawenoc Indians, in Maine, he gave the following list of their "Numerals," as handed down through the agency of a deeply graven tradition. They certainly have no similarity in form or sound to any words for the same purpose in any of the New England dialects of the Abnaki language. Whence did they come? Did Madoc bring them here in his semi-true, semi-fabulous voyage? Or did the North-men leave them on this coast?

Perhaps some readers of your pages can tell, after reading them as they here follow:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Een. | 11. Een-geeget. |
| 2. Teen. | 12. Teen-geeget. |
| 3. Tother. | 13. Tother-geeget. |
| 4. Fither. | 14. Fither-geeget. |
| 5. Pimp. | 15. Bum-fra. |
| 6. Een-pimp. | 16. Een-bumfra. |
| 7. Teen-pimp. | 17. Teen-bumfra. |
| 8. Tother-pimp. | 17. Tother-bumfra. |
| 9. Fither-pimp. | 19. Fither-bumfra. |
| 10. Glee-get. | 20. Frith-en-y. |

MAINE.

BRUNOVICUS.

MARRIAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.—Some weeks ago, I read in the English papers the reports of an interesting trial concerning a charge of Bigamy, brought against a nobleman of distinction. A barrister has come over from America to explain the law as it exists in the country where the first marriage was contracted. He stated, that in some of the States, marriages before a clergyman were valid in any case, whether they took place in a church, in a house, or in the open air; without consent of the parents, without witnesses, and without being registered in the Parish or any other Register. I should like to know if these rules, laid down for some States, are valid throughout the United States, in a more or less modified way.

H. TIEDEMAN.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.—What is the best American Bibliographical periodical at this moment, giving correct and complete lists of new publications?

H. TIEDEMAN.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S "TREASON." (*H. M. I. ii, 41*) In the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for July last, I notice that the intercepted correspondence of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-governor Oliver with the Secretary of Mr. Grenville, is styled a "*Traitorous* correspondence;" and, I believe, it is very often thus styled.

If I understand the subject correctly, these gentlemen were officers of the Royal Government in Massachusetts and corresponded with both the Home Government and their personal friends—the former as was their duty; the latter as was their right.

Now, presuming that my information is entirely correct, I shall be glad to learn just where the *Treason* came in, in these cases. I should like to know, also, whether a refusal or neglect, on their part, to correspond with the Home Government to which they were subordinate, for any reason, would not have been a violation of their undoubted duty; and if such a refusal had been made by them for the promotion of the incipient Rebellion

against the undisputed Sovereign of the country, whether they would not have been themselves, *particeps criminis*, and traitors in fact as well as in law.

I ask these questions in order to learn just how far our historical writers respect the Truth of History; and just how far *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* may be used as a vehicle for disseminating historical falsehoods.

AN EX-POLICEMAN.

NINTH PRECINCT, NEW YORK.

CUSTOM IN VIRGINIA: THE CALUMET.—I read in LAROUSSE'S *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle* (Paris 1864-68. In 4^o) Article *Calumet*: "Le calumet est aussi en usage chez les peuples de la Virginie. Lorsque quelques étrangers doivent arriver dans leur pays, le Wérouance on prince, accompagné de ses gens, va au-devant d'eux, à quelque distance du lieu de sa résidence, les prie de s'asseoir sur des nattes que ses gens portent exprès, et les invite en même temps à la cérémonie du *calumet*, laquelle est suivie d'une petite conversation, après cela, on se rend à la demeure du Wérouance, qui ordonne de leur laver les pieds, les regale, et leur donne ensuite un divertissement composé de chansons et de danses grotesques. L'heure venue de se coucher, on choisit deux jennes filles des plus belles pour avoir soin de l'ambassadeur ou des principaux étrangers. Ces filles le deshabillent, et sitôt qu'il est au lit, s'y glissent doucement, une de chaque côté de l'ambassadeur. Elles croiraient violer les droits de l'hospitalité si elles ne satisfaisaient à tous ses désirs; et leur réputation souffre si peu de cette complaisance que les autres filles leur portent envie. Cela ne s'observe qu'à l'égard des étrangers de la première distinction."

Is this a true picture of things? I suspect that the worthy Frenchman has drawn largely on his imagination or that he has simply copied the above from some other old book, written a hundred years ago and depicting manners as they existed in those days. I suppose most Virginians of 1868, would hardly know what you meant if you spoke to them about "le Wérouance" etc.

H. TIEDEMAN.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

AUTHORSHIP OF "BOQUET'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS." PHILADELPHIA, 1765, LONDON: 1766.

In Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, and in Allibone's *Dictionary*, Thomas Hutchins is credited with the work; but in the *Catalogue of Books* sold by Bangs, Merwin, & Co., New York, December 10th, 1867, and in the *Catalogue of Books* to be sold by Leavitt, Strebeigh, & Co., on

the twenty-seventh of April, it is credited to William Smith. Which is right? and if the latter, what is the authority? R. C.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

MADISON AGONISTES.—Who was the author of *Madison Agonistes*, or the Agonies of Mother Goose: A fragment of a Political Burletta as acting, or to be acted, on the American Stage: published in London, 1814? R. C.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

BLACK BEAVER FLAG OF NEW YORK.—It is stated in a Note to the *Life of Paul Jones*, by R. C. Sands, that "Several vessels fitted out at New York," during the American Revolution of 1776, "bore a black Beaver in their flag." Can any of your correspondents inform me what vessels bore this flag, and whether they were "State's Ships,"—that is, vessels commissioned by the State of New York,—or the Privateers of individual owners? also, what authority there was for the use of such a flag?

It is well known, that the Pine tree was the emblem of Massachusetts' cruisers. What were the flags adopted by other "State's Ships?"

CHARLESTOWN NAVY-YARD.

G. H. P.

"THE MARIA." (*H. M.*, II., iii., 78.)—SIR: I have read with much interest an article in the February number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, entitled "*Our Flag*." I find there stated that the *Maria* "sailed from New Bedford, on her twenty-seventh whaling voyage, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1859. On this her last complete voyage under 'Our Flag,' she took twenty-four thousand, four hundred, and nineteen barrels of Sperm, and one hundred and thirty-four barrels of Whale Oil." Is this not rather fishy—something like a Whale?

The *Maria* must have been nearly as large as the famed Steamship *Great Eastern*, that immense failure, to be able to carry twenty-four thousand, five hundred, and fifty-three barrels of oil, besides water, provisions, fuel, bone, &c.

Please enlighten an old Whaler, one who has broken black skin, how large the said *Maria* really was?

"THERE SHE BLOWS."

NEW YORK CITY.

XVI.—REPLIES.

COLUMBUS (*H. M.* II., iii., 62.)—WAAL BOGT should read the following work: *Vie et voyages de Christophe Colomb, d'après des documents authentiques tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie, par ROUELLY DE LORQUES, illustrations de M. Rouargue. Paris: Morizot, 1861, gr. in 8.*

According to this new, and (so it appears to me,) trustworthy book, there cannot be any doubt that the great navigator died in Valladolid, on Ascension-day, the twentieth of May, 1506.

As to the epitaph, is WAAL BOGT quite sure that there exists one in Valladolid, concerning Columbus? The body of the Genoese, as he will know, rests now in the cathedral of Havana, (Cuba,) after having been transported from the cellars of the St. Francis cloister, in Valladolid, to a small chapel belonging to the Carthusian monastery of Sevilla, (1513), and from thence to Santo Domingo, (1536). There it remained till December, 1795, when it was transferred to its present abode.

H. TIEDEMAN.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DUTCH LITERATURE, (*H. M.* II., iii., 52.)—The first Dutch bibliography of any importance has been published under the following title: *Index Batavicus of Naamrol van de Batavise en Hollandse, Schryvers. Van Julius Cæsar, af tottense tyden toe, Metkopere afbeeldsels Door a driaan Pars, Leiden de S. Wart. 1701, 4to.*

This book, though defective and incorrect in many respects, is valuable, nay indispensable for our literature, containing, as it does, the names of Dutch authors, with lists of their works, from the earliest times down to 1700. Pars's volume, arranged as Querard's *La France litteraire*, was followed, in 1743, by Johan van Abkoude's *Catalogue of Dutch Books, published from 1640 to 1741*. This catalogue, incomplete and badly printed as it was, could not fail to command considerable notice, because, after Pars's list, it was the only one our ancestors had. Its success was indeed so great that its compiler, Johan van Abkoude, resolved not only to publish a second edition, (which appeared 1754), but even to give, from time to time, supplements to his original catalogue. The first of these supplements, containing books published from 1741 to 1744, was issued in 1745. It was followed, in 1753, by a second, containing books published during the years 1745–1750; in 1754, by a third, containing books published during the years 1750–53; and, in 1756, by a fourth, comprising books published during the years 1753–55. Then the author, thinking with full justice, that all these supplements would be extremely troublesome in the end, and conceiving, besides, that 1640 was not the proper time to commence, determined on uniting all these lists into one, extending, on the one hand, the new catalogue to 1600, and bringing it, on the other, down to 1761. This entirely new compilation made its appearance in the year 1763, (Rotterdam, two volumes. No supplement was published, but in 1788, (Rot-

terdami, two volumes,) Reinier Arrenberg, a bookseller, issued a second edition, containing almost all the books included in the first, augmented by those having appeared from 1761 to 1787.

The Revolution of 1788 interrupted the bibliographical labors of the Dutch. No list whatever was issued during the years 1788 and 1789. This gap has never been entirely filled; and part only of the books published in the course of those two years have appeared in a subsequent compilation. The catalogue I have in view was commenced in 1825, and completed in 1831. It contained originally some of the works published in 1788 and 1789, and all books having appeared during the period 1790-1824. While it was progressing, however, a great many titles from the years 1825, '26, '27, '28 and '29, were inserted, and a few from 1830 and 1831. A supplement, issued in 1836, filled these gaps, and brings the list down to 1832. The next catalogue made its appearance only in 1858. It contains books published during the period 1833-1849. (Amsterdam, *Brinkman*, in 4to.) This very satisfactory compilation is now being continued through the efforts of the same Editor, by a list of books issued during the years 1849-1862. It is in course of publication and has reached the ninth part, (Oven—Roorda).

Most of the publications in the various Dutch Colonies are included in the above-mentioned registers.

The first regular Dutch bibliographical periodical was published in 1790, and continued till 1853, when it was stopped, (*Amsterdam, Saakes and Schleijer*, thirteen volumes, 8vo). This monthly list is not arranged alphabetically, but divided into six sections, according to subjects.

Since 1856, Mr. Nyhoff, Bookseller at the Hague, has issued a *Bibliographie voor Nederland*, not appearing at fixed dates, but counting about fourteen numbers a year. From time to time, a catalogue of Dutch periodicals is gratuitously distributed among the subscribers. The last one dates from 1860.

On the other hand, Mr. Brinkman publishes, once a month, a *Lyst van Boekwerken*, which is more particularly intended for the Trade, and has neither a register, as Nyhoff's, nor a special catalogue of periodicals. This *Lyst* dates from the year 1837.

A far more important work is his (Brinkman's) annual catalogue of books, maps, etc., appearing in the Netherlands and its Colonies, which was issued for the first time in 1846, has been regularly continued, (the last one is for 1866,) and may be said to be invaluable, both to the trade and to amateurs.

Many volumes relating to the same subject I cannot mention here, as their enumeration would take considerable time and space. Amongst these

are *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire des 17 Provinces des Pays-Bas*, by Noel Pagnot, a most interesting collection; and the *Catalogue of the Dutch Society for Literature in Leyden*, etc.

DICK will find more particulars about them in Julius Petzholdt's excellent manual *Bibliotheca Bibliographica*. Leipsig, Engelmann, 1866, in 8vo.

H. TIEDEMAN.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

PURITANS, INDIANS AND DOGS. (*H. M. II.*, iii. 65.)—The employment of Dogs, as "of good use against the Indians" of Massachusetts, proposed "to the Commissioners by Mr. hollihock of Springfield," in 1656, was urged in 1703, by the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, when he recommended that "dogs" should be "trained up to hunt Indians as they do Bears." (*Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, IV., ii, 236). The recommendation from this respectable source may have been a leading influence to secure the passage of the law of 1706. "for the Raising & Increase of Dogs," which enactment was to expire with the cessation of the Indian war; thus showing that Indians and not "Bears" were to be the game which they were to seek. * *

"Brr." (*H. M. II.*, i, 180.)—Accounts in the United States were formerly kept in pounds, shillings, and pence.

In New York currency, eight shillings made one dollar; in that of the New England States, six shillings; and in Pennsylvania and some of the other States, seven shillings and six pence.

The coin of the value of twelve and a half cents, was consequently, in New York, called a shilling, and that of six and a quarter cents, a sixpence.

In New England, the same coins were respectively of the value of nine pence and four and a half pence; and were there designated by the terms "nine pence" and "four pence ha'penny."

In Pennsylvania, the larger coin was about of the value of eleven pence, and was called a "eleven-penny-bit," or by corruption, "a levy;" and the smaller coin was called a five-penny bit, or by corruption, "a fip-ne-bit" or "fip."

These designations were used long after accounts had ceased to be kept in pounds, shillings and pence; but are now seldom heard in Pennsylvania. J. S. F.

WEST CHESTER, PENN.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE. (*H. M.*, N. S., iii, 114.)—The statement by Mr. Cragin, that "free negroes

"voted in many States as late as 1830, many having voted for Washington," is not a "fact." Free negroes did vote in North Carolina, until the right was taken away, in consequence of the abolition movement at the North. They also voted in New York after 1820, if they had a property qualification of Two hundred and fifty dollars. They did not vote in "many States." J. H. J.

URBANA, OHIO.

MAJOR JACK DOWNING. (*H. M.*, II., iii, 114.)

I.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ. SIR: In answer to your correspondent "HAL" in your February number.

The letters written by Charles A. Davis were all signed "J DOWNING, MAJOR DOWNINGVILLE MILITIA 2^d BRIGADE." The first was dated June 25, 1833, and continued in Numbers to Number 31, February 20, 1834—were all addressed "to my old Friend Mr. Dwight of the *New York Advertiser*."

They were published by Harpers, in 1834, in one volume. In the Introduction of the book, the Major says, "I jest got a letter from Zekel Bigelow tellin me that a good many folks want to git all my letters I writ to you (Mr Dwight) printed in a book, for there's a good many Kounterfits going about and this is the only way to put a cross on'em."

Mr. Dwight adds his endorsement to the letters and authorship; and "Zekil Bigelow" makes a very satisfactory Certificate: he says, "This is to Sartify that I have according to the directions of my friend Major Downing carefully examined and corrected the spellin of all the letters published in this book and written by him. I find them to be the rale genuine letters from him to his friend, Mr. Dwight . . . I got the gravers to copy one of his Signatures . . . and it is as much like the Original handwritin of Major Downing as Old John Hancocks is of hisen to the declaration of Independence."

The whole certificate is too long to be copied here.

Yours, &c.

W. A. B.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

II.

Seba Smith was the original JACK DOWNING, and his letters were published in a New England newspaper, with the signature of "Major Jack Downing."

The letters to which General Wetmore alludes, as written by Charles Augustus Davis, were published in the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York, and were signed, "J. DOWNING, MAJOR." This was the series that attracted attention throughout the Union, both on account of the dialect, but more from the humorous stories contained in

them which all had relation to General Jackson's administration. They were republished in a volume, with illustrations. J. H. J.

URBANA, OHIO.

"TO CALL A SPADE, A SPADE." (*H. M.*, II., iii, 114.)

I.

TYPO attempts to give to the word "*Spade*," a deeper meaning than it had. It was meant simply to denote plain speech.

A volume of Poems, by Peter Bayley, Junior, Esquire, published in Philadelphia, by J. Conrad & Co., in 1804, contains a Dialogue in verse, headed *An Apology for Writing*, which has this couplet:—

"A. It needs no skill to call owls dull and grave,
"To call a Cat a Cat, or Snob a Knave."

And then there is a foot note which reads thus:—

"Je ne puis rien nommer, si ce n'est pas son nom,
"J'appelle un chat un chat, et Rolet un frisson."

BOILEAU.

ΤΑ ΣΥΚΑ ΣΥΚΑ ΗΝ ΣΚΑΦΗΝ ΔΕ ΣΚΑΦΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΩΝ.

LUCIAN.

The modern forms are mere translations of a very old thing.

J. H. J.

URBANA, OHIO.

II.

EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—One of your correspondents, in theorizing as to the propriety of calling a Spade a Spade, incidentally alludes to the Parsley bed. Allow me to supplement the reference by a quotation from Pegge's *Anonymiana*, i, 91.

"The child, when new born, comes out of the *persley bed*, they will say in the North. This is an antonomasia, introduced out of regard to decency. The Greek word *selinon* not only signifies persley, but has another (and a very different) meaning, from whence it should seem that the Greeks had amongst them such a saying as this."

The euphemism is not confined to the North of England. I remember a caricature, published in London, after the birth of Queen Victoria's seventh child, in which Prince Albert was represented as "watering the Parsley-bed;" and we occasionally, but not very often, hear it in America.

Is parsley an aphrodisiac? An old woman whom I knew many years ago used to administer it as a diuretic; and the possession of either quality might perhaps account for the circumlocutory association.

PAX.

JOHN MORIN, SCOTT. (*H. M.*, II., iii, 21.)

ED: HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—SIR: A corres-

pondent, in your Magazine for January, 1868, enquires what is known of the history and lineage of JOHN MORIN SCOTT, who was a candidate for Lieutenant-governor of New York, in 1777; and further enquiries what is known of John Scott who is mentioned at Page 320, of Volume II. of Thompson's *Long Island*, as having fled to Barbadoes, about 1665.

With regard to the lineage of John Morin Scott, it is perfectly well known to his descendants. No connection of blood is known or supposed to have existed between him and the John Scott of Long Island memory. As to the history of John Morin Scott, your correspondent will find a brief account of him in Lossing's *Field Book*, and will also find some mention made of him in Dawson's memoir of the *Sons of Liberty in New York*.

PHILADELPHIA, April, 7, 1868. L. A. S.

XVII.—BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCHUBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Report of a French Protestant Refugee, in Boston, 1868.* Translated from the French by E. T. Fisher. Brooklyn, N. Y.: 1868. Small quarto, pp. 48.

Our readers will remember this Report, which was printed, *in extenso*, in the November number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and it needs, therefore, very little in these pages, by way of description of its importance or merits.

It need only be said, in evidence of its importance, as material for History, that this Report is of the same period—we think it is of the very year—when John Dutton is said to have visited Boston, for the purpose of collecting the amounts due on sundry unpaid bills for goods delivered, which Boston preferred to owe him rather than to pay for; and a comparison of the two descriptions of that place, at that date, may serve to throw new light on both descriptions and add to the importance of each.

It is evidently the conscientious Report of a close observer of men and manners; and as it was not designed for publication, it tells plainly and fearlessly what the writer saw and heard in his mission to New England. Thus, on pages 19 and 20, he tells his correspondent, "You may 'also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not 'a House in Boston, however small may be its 'Means, that has not one or two. There are 'those that have five or six, and all make a good 'living.'" Again: on page 25, he tells his brethren, *religious refugees* in France, "You must dis-'abuse yourself of the Impression that advan-'tages are here offered to Refugees. It is true that

"in the Beginning some subsistence was furnished 'to them, but at Present there is a Need of some 'for those who shall bring Nothing." But our readers can turn to our last volume and read the *Report* in full; and we need not repeat it.

Of the edition which is before us, which is sumptuously printed by Munsell, for Mr. Brevoort of Brooklyn, and is to be used wholly for private circulation, there were only one hundred and twenty-five copies.

2.—*The American Genealogist.* Being a Catalogue of Family Histories and Publications, containing Genealogical Information issued in the United States, arranged chronologically. By William H. Whitmore. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868. Octavo, pp. 287.

In 1862, the writer of this volume prepared a work entitled *A Hand-book of American Genealogy*; and it was issued from the Munsell Press, and secured for its careful author, what he richly deserved, the thanks of every student of the Past of our Country. That edition having become exhausted, an entirely new work has been prepared, in which not only all that the first contained but descriptions of all the works that have been issued from the press during the past seven years, or all that Mr. Whitmore has seen or heard of, are duly incorporated.

The author, who is known to nearly all our readers as one of the most careful of our younger historical writers, has arranged his material chronologically; and to each title he has added a brief critique of the work, with here and there a biographical sketch.

It is very beautifully printed, and will be well received by every one who is interested in either the Bibliography or Genealogy of America.

3.—*The Army Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens, in the years 1777-8.* Now first printed from original letters addressed to his Father, Henry Laurens, President of Congress. With a memoir by Wm. Gilmore Simms. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 250.

The eighth volume of the issues of the Bradford Club bears the above title, and appears in style exactly uniform with the seven which have preceded it.

It contains what seems to be the old story of the organization of the Club and its purposes, and the old sketch of the printer whose name it bears; the latter of which is very brief and very unsatisfactory. This is followed by a *Memoir of John Laurens*, from the practised pen of the veteran, William Gilmore Simms, LL.D., of South Carolina—a service in which that peculiarly favored scion of Revolutionary respectability, the son of the President of the Congress, is treated with great tenderness and consideration, and one in which the learned Editor has invoked the very equivocal assistance of the very equivocal author of *The History of the Republic of the United*

States of America, as traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton. The Correspondence of John Laurens follows; and a carefully prepared Index closes the volume.

As the *Correspondence* forms the kernel of this literary nut, we have paid most attention to it, and have found that it is both interesting and important. How could it be otherwise since the writer was accomplished in various respects, was in a position which enabled him to know all that was going on in the army, and was writing only for the eye of his father, then presiding in the Congress at Philadelphia?

We are very glad to see the Bradford Club thus usefully employed; and we earnestly hope that we shall not witness in any of its future issues such a terrible waste of labor, and excellent material, and good nature in its subscribers, as was seen when some of its volumes, heretofore published, made their appearance.

The edition numbered "eighty copies," which undoubtedly means, as it has meant before, that number of "Subscribers' copies," with as many more of what are known as "Club copies."

4.—*An appeal to the Public on behalf of Cameria, a young lady, who was almost ruined by the barbarous treatment of her own mother.* London: Printed in the year 1781. Reprinted, Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co., 1868. Octavo, pp. 80.

This is a little "privately printed" tract, from "the Ohio Valley Press" of Robert Clarke & Co.; and is very creditable to the taste and skill of the mechanics of that portion of our country.

As it treats on a subject of very limited interest, it is probably intended as a specimen of other works now in press, for the same house, which are designed for more general use; and we welcome it, therefore, more as the *avant courier* of those which are to follow, than because of any interest which it possesses in itself.

It may be remarked, in this connection, that the Editor of this tract has followed the bad example set by many others, in failing to print the *original* title of the work, in full, without any alteration whatever, with a *modern* title and introduction preceding it, in the first of which the modern publisher displays his own name, etc., and in the last his own remarks concerning the work which follows. Let us urge upon our Western friends, in the works now in press, to respect this most salutary rule.

Of the pretty little work before us, one hundred and seventy-five copies were printed, twenty-four of them being on "large paper."

5.—*A Narrative of events at Lake George, from the early Colonial times to the close of the Revolution.* By B. F. De Costa. New York: 1868. Royal octavo, pp. 74.

In this very handsome volume, our friend and

contributor, Rev. B. F. De Costa, has presented to the reading world the result of his extended and judicious reading on the history of Lake George and its vicinity; and we heartily welcome him into this new field of duty, in which he has so sturdily and consistently waged battle against significant silence and more significant falsehood.

We are pleased to notice the fact that in Mr. De Costa, the historical world has found another writer who dares to read for himself, to think for himself, and to speak for himself; and, although he must expect to meet little favor from those on whose ancestral or partisan corns he will tread in his fearless combat for the Truth, he will earn the respect of every one whose respect is worth anything, besides the approval of his own conscience and the lasting regard of the wide world of letters.

As instances of his iconoclastic labors, we refer to the following: Champlain is shown to have never seen Lake George; Father Jogues is made the, probably, earliest *white* visiter to that romantic water; the Map made by the Jesuits, in 1664, is impeached; the unrewarded merit of General Lyman is recorded, as well as General Johnson's meanness; and the mistaken policy of Colonial New York, concerning the French in Canada, is discussed with boldness and candor, although we are not quite sure that New York's reasons for allowing the hirelings from New England to defend her Northern frontier, while she preserved her own men and means for other duties, was either unreasonable or unwise—not more so, at any rate, than the substitution of Southern negroes and foreign mercenaries by Massachusetts for her own citizens, during the recent Civil War, when the *best* men were required in the field and in the garrison. Mr. De Costa also criticises the Report of Rogers and Israel Putnam, concerning their murder of an unarmed Frenchman; and the two rascals referred to fare badly at his hands. Lord Loudon's weakness and imbecility are exhibited; "the dramatic story" of Stark's great service at Fort William Henry is ventilated, very much to the damage of Stark's biographer; Montcalm's operations are minutely detailed, and that officer's character resolutely defended from many of the charges under which it has so long suffered; General Webb's cowardice in failing to succor the fort is faithfully exposed; the massacre of the garrison is carefully narrated, and the blame deposited where it seems to have belonged, while Father Roubaud, the faithful Priest of the Abenakis, is as cordially commended; and "the class of writers who furnish what may be called the Apocrypha of "history" is excoriated without mercy—even the scribblers of "that favorite but now exploded "story of the schoolboy, which relates Putnam's

"descent into the wolf's den," do not escape the lash of this recent incomer into the ranks of historical scholarship; and Smollet's charge of cruelty, made against Montcalm when that officer was at Oswego, is boldly impeached. The operations of Howe and Abercrombie are noticed sharply; those of General Amherst also pass in review, not much to the credit of the General in command; and those of Ethan Allen, "who oftentimes played the part of a swaggering brigand," are placed on record.

Concerning the Revolutionary period, Mr. De Costa is equally clear, minute, and decided. Daniel Parks, for instance, suffers the loss of his apocryphal honors, as noticed in our February number; and Bernard Romans receives due attention. Philip Schuyler is treated with justice; and his character and conduct seem to have found a careful and candid examination. The fight at Sabbath-day Point, in 1776, seems to have had no foundation in fact, and is questioned; the operations of Burgoyne are described; and Colonel John Brown's operations are carefully noticed.

Per contra—a reference to Captain Chipman's order-book, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for December, 1867, will show Mr. De Costa that he is in error both concerning that officer's rank and the date of the action near Bloody-pond, in October, 1780, to which he has referred, on Page 67; yet we take great pleasure in bearing testimony to what must be conceded to be the unusual accuracy, precision, and candor of the author.

Typographically, this volume is a very fine specimen of printing by a country office making no pretensions to superior ability; and we are sure that it will be welcomed by collectors of local histories and of fine books, both for its real worth and its real beauty.

The edition numbered seventy-five copies, and the few which have not been subscribed for may be had of Thomas Whittaker, 3 Bible House, New York.

6.—*History and General Description of New France.* By Rev. P. F. X. De Charlevoix, S. J. Translated, with Notes, by John Gilmary Shea. In six volumes. Vol. III. New York: John Gilmary Shea, 1868. Quarto and octavo, pp. (iv), 812.

In this elegant volume we have the third of the series which that patient scholar, Doctor Shea, lately the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, is placing before the world.

It extends from 1657 to 1688, embracing Books viii, ix, x, and xi, of Charlevoix, with such Notes as only its editor can add to such a work, and the original Maps.

We have already appealed to the reading public so often, especially that Western public of which we hear so much, to protect this thorough

scholar from pecuniary loss in the printing of this standard history of what was once New France, that we hesitate to repeat the effort; but we may be permitted to say that such a man, engaged in such a work, with such resolute fidelity, should not be permitted to sacrifice more than his own labor, in his honest effort to throw light on our history; and that if his printer's bills shall not be repaid by his subscribers, as now seems to be threatened, it will be a standing disgrace to our country and the age in which we live.

The edition numbered Twenty-five on large paper, (quarto,) and Two hundred and fifty on small, (octavo); and we shall be glad to forward any orders for the work, to its Editor.

7.—*The Hymn of Hildebert and other Mediæval Hymns.* With translations. By Erastus C. Benedict. New York: Anson D. Randolph, 1867. Octavo, pp. xii, 128.

In this sumptuous volume Mr. Benedict has presented to his personal friends some of the results of his well-spent recreation—of what he calls "the agreeable labor of occasional hours of "leisure," during the past fifteen or twenty years. They are reprints, accompanied by very careful translations, of several Mediæval Hymns, which, "in small compass, exhibit the Evangelical faith "and character of those eminent and devout men, "whose light shone so purely in that period of "Christianity which we call the Middle Ages; "their ideas of God and his attributes, of the "Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; their "knowledge of the Scriptures; their exhaustive "treatment of their topics; and their modes of "thought and expression, so simple and unpretentious."

In the prosecution of this design, Mr. Benedict has never stopped to inquire if his Authors agreed with himself in the minor matters of faith and practice; but, looking only to those great leading elements which underlie all others, he endeavored to present those subjects thus expressed, by these ancient leaders in the churches, in the most simple and unaffected language, and in the same stanzas and measures which were employed by their authors, preceding each with a brief sketch of the Author and as brief a comment.

Thus, we have the *Hymn of Hildebert*, "one "of the great ornaments of the French Roman "Catholic Church," followed by the *Mater Speciosa*, the *Mater Dolorosa*, and the *Our Mundus* of Jacobus de Benedictus, the Franciscan; the *Præge, Lingua, Gloriosi* and the *Lauda, Sion, Salvatorum*, of St. Thomas Aquinas; King Robert's *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*; *The Epitaph* of Canon Adam of St. Victor; and the *Gaudiis Cælestibus* of Thomas A. Kempis: together with those sterling productions, by forgotten authors, *De Die Judicii*; *Veni, Creator*

Spiritus, De Corona Spinea, Victimæ Paschali Laudes; and *Dies Ira*, in the original black-letter, with a translation on the opposite page, in modern Roman letter, and sometimes a second, and even a third, rendering, immediately following.

Of the manner in which Mr. Benedict has discharged this labor of love, those speak most favorably and decidedly who are most capable of judging of its merits; while every one must be impressed with admiration of the simple dignity of his language and unaffected gracefulness of his style.

As a specimen of fine printing, the Bradstreet Press need never be ashamed of this work. Among the most beautiful of its many beautiful issues, this volume must take a leading place, and very few offices in the country can pretend to produce as fine a specimen of workmanship.

The edition numbered fifty copies only, and, we believe, were designed for presents only to the personal friends and correspondents of the learned and respected translator and editor.

8.—*Genesis, or the First Book of Moses, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament.* By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by Prof. Tayler Lewis, LL.D. and A. Gosman, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868: Octavo, pp. viii, 663. Price \$5.

9.—*The two Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.* By C. A. Auberlen and C. J. Riggenbach. Translated from the German, with additions, by John Lillie, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. xvi, 164.

10.—*The two Epistles of Paul to Timothy.* By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by E. A. Washburn, D.D. and E. Harwood, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. vi, 120.

11.—*The Epistle of Paul to Titus.* By J. J. Oosterzee, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by George E. Day, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 24.

12.—*The Epistle of Paul to Philemon.* A Theological and Homiletic Commentary. By J. J. Oosterzee, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by Horatio B. Hackett, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. Octavo, pp. (2) 31.

13.—*The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews.* By Carl Bernhard Moll. Translated, &c., by A. C. Kendrick, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. iv, 220.

[The last five combined in one volume. \$5.]

In these two portly volumes we find grouped six distinct works, bearing the several titles which are at the head of this article, and forming distinct parts of that great undertaking of Lange which has been received with so much favor, both here and abroad.

There has been concentrated in the preparation of this Commentary much of the best talent of both Europe and America; and, notwithstanding the delicacy of the undertaking, in view of the antagonism of sects, it has been carried on with marvellous success. Indeed we know of no work which has more successfully challenged the res-

pect of all the leading denominations than this; and we rejoice that it has so well rewarded the enterprise of its publishers, both in a commercial and a moral sense.

Of its great merits there can be no doubt; although it cannot be expected to be very decided on any of the great questions which separate one denomination from another. Baptists, for instance, will not find the emphatic endorsement of their *dipping*, which may reasonably have been expected in a German work, written by those who have been accustomed to learn of that rite from the rendering of the command for its use which Luther adopted in his version of the Bible; nor would Anne Hutchinson have considered its conductors as wholly outside of the "Covenant of *Works*." Our dear old friend and Pastor, Spencer H. Cone, would have protested against some of Doctor Washburn's comments on II. Timothy, concerning *Diocesan Bishops*; and we sometimes think their efforts to refine the pure gold of the original, have led the Editors, too often, to forget, in their admiration of their own ornamentation, the great fundamental, never-dying, ever-useful Truths which they are covering with words of infinitely less importance. While we look on this exceedingly, sometimes painfully, elaborate Commentary with the highest respect, we do not feel disposed to allow it to displace, on our shelves, the more radically decided and more resolutely uncompromising Exposition which bears the name as well as indisputable evidence of both the scholarship and the doctrinal soundness of John Gill.

The work is a very neat one, and, considering the cost of production, a marvel of cheapness.

14.—*Sooner or Later.* By Shirley Brooks. With illustrations by G. Du Maurier. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1868. Octavo, pp. 348. Price \$2.

This is an English novel which has produced some controversy and not a little ill-will toward its author, in his own country, concerning his treatment of his subjects, some of the characters introduced, and some of the principles enunciated.

It is neatly printed, and very liberally illustrated.

15.—*The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* Preceded by a history of the religious wars in the reign of Charles XII. By Henry White. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868. Crown octavo, pp. xviii, 497. Price \$1.75.

In this handsome volume, the author has aimed to describe the great struggle which devastated France in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century, and culminated in the memorable tragedy of St. Bartholomew's Day.

It opens with a review of the causes which led to the Reformation, of its character, and of its immediate effects in France; and it

seems to speak with more than usual clearness of the *political* elements of what, in that Reformation and its results, is too often represented as a purely *religious* conflict. The author also takes the open ground that the Massacre itself was not so much a premeditated arrangement for the extirpation of the great body of the Huguenot party throughout France, as it was a sudden and unpremeditated outburst of frenzy—such as we have seen in our own day and immediate neighborhood—in which the pent-up passions of the ignorant multitude, suddenly unloosed, intensified the excitement, and added additional terrors to the fury, and sought additional victims, to an already inflamed party returning from the assassination of a few of the leaders of the opposite faction.

We shall not discuss this grave question; although it fully accords with our own views, long since obtained; nor can we afford the space, in this place, to lay before our readers a detailed description of the different Chapters of this work, of the different horrors which it portrays, or of the different characters which it describes. Suffice it to say that the Author's narrative is amply sustained by authorities at the foot; that he seems to be thorough and candid in the examination of his subject; and that his style is agreeable and well sustained.

It is not without especial interest to the numerous descendants of this Huguenot party, scattered throughout our own country; and we bespeak for it the attention and respect which evidently belong to it.

It is a handsome specimen of book making; and is appropriately illustrated.

16.—*A Book of Vagaries*; comprising The New Mirror for Travellers and other Whim-whams: being selections from the papers of a retired Common-Councillman, erewhile known as Lancelot Langstaff, and in the public records as James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., Crown octavo, pp. xvi, 417. Price \$2.50.

17.—*The Dutchman's Fireside. A Tale*, by James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868, Crown Octavo, pp. xii, 376. Price \$2.50.

We have already called the attention of our readers to the successive issues of the volumes which compose the series of Paulding's Writings, edited by his son, W. I. Paulding, Esq., of Coldspring, New York; and we take pleasure in renewing our call by directing their attention to the volumes named above, which, if we do not mistake, complete the collection.

There need be no space taken in telling the readers of this work who James K. Paulding was, nor how well he wrote, nor how large a space he filled in the literature of the country, thirty or forty years ago, when books were written to be read by thinking men, and were read when they merited that honor, by thousands of a less

degenerate age than the present. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that the son of the friend and relative of Irving has faithfully collected the best works of his father and carried them through the press, with Notes, and Introductions, and Illustrations which are in good taste and worthy of their subjects; and that New York may reasonably be proud that this favorite member of her household has thus found a friendly hand to perpetuate his memory among those who are now trying to fill the space which he once filled with so much credit and usefulness.

We earnestly hope that both the Editor and his Publishers may be amply rewarded by a liberal patronage from those who are well-read, and who feel interested in the Literature of the United States.

18.—*Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika*. Von Friedrich Kapp. Ersten Band: Die Deutschen im Staate New York bis zum Anfange des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Karte. New York. Verlag von E. Steiger, 17 North William Str. 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 410. Price \$3.

Under the above title Mr. F. Kapp has written a book which cannot fail to be followed by success. It is an extended work of over four hundred pages, and undoubtedly the result of several years' industrious historical research and labor. But it is not only extensive; it is of great intrinsic value, for its historical and statistical information, and its excellent style, which at once present Mr. Kapp as a most vigorous, thoroughly-posted, and accurate writer, armed with all the material of the different periods of time through which his narration passes, and endowed with a rare gift of critical examination of details and sound judgment of facts, as well as the comprehensive, synthetic views which were necessary to give his book that interesting and plastic form in which it appears.

As the title shows, the present volume is restricted to the history of the German immigration to the State of New York; but at the same time, it may be regarded as a general introduction to the great field of research relative to the origin, development, and present status of all the German settlements on this Continent. For this reason the author throws his observations broadcast over the whole German nation, and enters upon his task with a most interesting *exposé* of German history itself, and the political and social conditions which have occasioned that great flood of emigration from East to West, beginning slowly, but growing and increasing in the course of time, and penetrating with an immense rush and power into the remotest corners of the "New World."

Here, on a foreign soil, strangers among strangers, we find the newcomers, and how they settled themselves in our great State, on the shores of the Hudson, in the valleys of the Schoharie and

Mohawk, on the waters of the Susquehannah and Oneida; how they lived, and labored, struggled for life and suffered; how they fought against the barbaric Indians, for the defence of their own homes and firesides, or against the Royalists during the Revolutionary war; how they governed like Minuit, who had left his "Fatherland" to become the most successful German-American of the Seventeenth century; how they ruled, commanded, and died in the defence of the *people* against the favorites of the English crown, like Leisler; and, finally, how by energy, industry, and sound speculation, they became rich and influential members of the commercial world, like Johann Jacob Astor; how they founded schools and churches, or created societies for their own benefit, and the protection of new immigrants, like the "German Society of New York"—the follower of a similar Society, in Philadelphia, organized in December, 1764—all this we find embodied in the different Chapters of the book, striking the reader, in bold relief, with its lights and shadows, as he is feeling and winding his way through the primeval forests, the growth and underbrush of the first German-American settlements.

Mr. Kapp was prudent enough not to write a strictly chronological and dogmatical History, saying every thing, great and little, and leaving out nothing. Such method would not have been adapted to the end in view, or the vast material before him, nor would it be palatable to the reader. To be entertaining as well as instructive, he had to use the best colors he could find for getting up his pictures. To create that *moral effect*, which should serve as a great consolation to the German-American people, to strengthen their sense of duty and their energies, to infuse in them both pride and courage, and to foster emulation, he had to fix their eyes with special care on the noble monuments of their best men, or to lead them into the midst of dangerous adventure and fierce combat. To justify emigration itself, he could not help denouncing, in the most bitter terms, the political, religious, and social conditions of Germany at the time when the emigration to this and other countries of the "New World" began. In this effort he has been very successful; and his dissertation on the system of modern feudalism existing in the smaller German States ("*Raubstaaten*") is an excellent illustration of politico ecclesiastical misrule and despotism.

Acknowledging, therefore, the importance of such a book, we introduce it with pleasure to the notice of our readers. We confess, that we have been very favorably impressed with its general features, and have in these lines tried more to be just to the whole, than to go into a critical examination of the accuracy of facts, and the pragmatic views of the author. A few remarks, however, we will submit.

It is true, as Mr. Kapp sets forth, that on account of the "decentralized, weak and lacerated" state of Germany, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the German emigrants in America did receive no assistance and protection from their respective Governments; that he saved almost nothing except his "naked life;" and that his isolated position in a foreign country, his disability to speak English, was a great detriment to him, personally; but a strong centralized Government in Germany, like that of France, could have been nothing more nor less than the combined and unified power of the reactionary elements ruling the different parts of the country—a politico-ecclesiastical and military despotism, which would never have been able to create a sound system of Colonization. The attempts of Charles V. resulted in failure and misery. Whatever therefore may be said against "decentralization," it was the natural result of the *Reformation*, the logical development of the German people, and by far preferable to the political process of France, which has deteriorated and almost ruined the French nation, while Germany, by the slow and gradual development of all her parts, begins to earn the fruits of the time; and if finally consolidated, will present a much more stable and natural Government than her neighbor. And while French Colonization in America has preserved its elements of reaction through all its existence, the German immigrant, not bound by the fetters of political and religious despotism, nay, by his absolute separation from the old government, has been compelled to seek shelter under the more liberal institutions of the English colonies, or the emancipated "States" of America. From this "forlorn seed" of the German people, there has grown up in our very midst a colony, more powerful, more enlightened, and more influential, relative to the destinies of the world, than all the French and Spanish colonies together. We therefore may well say, that nothing was *lost* by that tide of emigration, which has built up the new "Empire" "of the West," because the capital received from the old European stock is daily paying back with compound interest. History makes no "mistakes," since there are good reasons for all the processes of human society as well as for all the phenomena of nature.

How can we understand the proposition (put by Mr. Kapp) that the German emigrant of to-day, as an individual, is dead and "*lost*" in regard to his "fatherland"; that he cannot serve two countries, etc.? Of course, relative to the general interest and the policy of his adopted country he cannot, unless he violates the oath of fidelity; he is bound to be an "American" in all decisive moments of an international character, or renounce his citizenship and become a "foreigner" again; but political adherence and fidelity to the United

States do not involve absolute indifference to the interests and welfare of the German nation, nor does this indifference really exist; on the contrary, the relations and mutual influence of the two countries are increasing every day, and are becoming more intimate, the more Germany advances on the path of popular freedom and liberality of Government. And this is no damage to us, as it is in conformity with the aims and ends of human progress. Even the cultivation and extension of the German language in America will not be an obstruction to the development of the American nation. It will rather facilitate the common understanding of the two branches of the Teutonic race, bound together, for ever, by all the affinities which make a perfect union desirable, possible and durable.

F. S.

19.—*The Life of Samuel Tucker, Commodore in the American Revolution.* By John H. Sheppard, A.M., Librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1868. Octavo, pp. 384. Price \$2.

The respected Librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society of Boston, in this volume has presented to the historical world another hero of the American Revolutionary era; and challenged its admiration of his merits by adopting as his motto the testimony of John Adams on that subject.

Mr. Sheppard appears to have made this undertaking a labor of love, during many years; and he has spared no pains in searching for material, and in using that material, after it has been procured, to the best advantage. Besides, his position in the most active of the New England societies has undoubtedly enabled him to procure the best evidence concerning the more doubtful parts of his subject, which is now accessible; and he has thus been enabled to establish, more clearly and unquestionably than many others could have done, what might otherwise have been less certain and clearly defined.

The work, therefore, must be welcomed as a valuable addition to the stores of American historical literature, concerning a branch of that great subject which has been very incomplete and ill-supplied with material. As such, we commend it to our readers.

If we except the tint of the paper, which we do not admire, we can also speak well concerning the typography of the volume.

20.—*A French Country Family.* By Madame De Witt nee Guizot. Translated by Dinah Muloch Craik. New York: Harper & Bro. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 216.

In this neat little volume, Mrs. Craik has introduced to English-speaking children a most charming little picture of domestic life among the French, from the pen, we believe, of a daughter of the French Statesman, Guizot; and it is evidently

a work which possesses the merit of truthfulness in the original and fidelity in the translation.

We heartily and joyfully commend to other writers the following, from the translator's "Preface," with a hope that they will profit from the hint which it furnishes:

"I have altered nothing, not even the proper names. If a book is worth translating at all the translator's duty is to reproduce it *exactly*."

The woman who has reached the point from which she can openly and boldly proclaim this great principle as her rule of professional action is entitled to the homage of every truth-loving man and woman in the country: she most certainly enjoys our most profound respect, and whatever proceeds from her pen will be received with a hearty welcome.

21.—*Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism.* Biography of its Founders and history of its Church. Personal remembrances and historical collections hitherto unwritten. By Pomeroy Tucker, Palmyra, N. Y. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 302.

22.—*Life Among the Mormons, and a March to their Zion:* to which is added a chapter on the Indians of the Plains and Mountains of the West. By an Officer of the U. S. Army. New York: Moorhead, Simpson & Bond. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. xv. 219.

In these volumes, published by different houses, we have two very important additions to the historical literature of that peculiar people which through its energetic perseverance has made a dreary waste become a fruitful field. The first named, as will be seen from its title, embraces the earlier history of the sect, and its earlier creed: the last named appears to be devoted mainly to the Mormons of to-day, to the great result of the movement, to the present condition of the people and of the country which it inhabits.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is not only no conflict between the two, but that one really supplements the other; and that those who shall read one will necessarily require the other in order to understand the subject matter of either.

The narrative of Mr. Tucker is indeed a strange one, and it will appear incredible where the origin of this sect is unknown; but it agrees with the reports of years gone by, and is well authenticated in all its parts. It is the evidence of one who was a personal witness of very much that he relates; and it is essential to every one who seeks information concerning the Mormons and their history.

The officer who wrote the last, describes the country through which he passed, *en route* for Utah; and he has carefully described the manners, customs, and present creed of the Mormons, and the secluded country which is their home.

To collectors of "locals" these are important; and we have no doubt they will be widely welcomed.

23.—*Father Tom and the Pope, or a Night in the Vatican*, New York: Moorhead, Simpson & Bond. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. xiv, 5-63.

In a recent number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed a fine paper edition of this curious work; and we have now a cheaper edition of it which is better than the last, because of a very interesting "Ante-preface," from the pen of Frederic S. Cozzens, Esq., in which the authorship of the work is authoritatively fixed on Samuel Ferguson, LL.D., of Dublin.

Although not so elegant a volume as the former, it is nevertheless a very neat little book, and will doubtless find an extended sale.

24.—*Memoir of the Rev. George W. Bethune, D.D.* By Rev. A. R. Van Nest, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. vi, 444.

We very well remember Dominie Bethune, as he was nearly thirty years ago; and we have run over the pages of this work with considerable interest.

He was born in Greenwich village—now the Ninth Ward of the City of New York—in March, 1805; and was an only son of wealthy and peculiarly pious parents. He was educated by private tutors and at the Academy at Salem, Washington County, New York, and Columbia and Dickinson Colleges; and he studied theology at Princeton. He was Pastor of Reformed Dutch churches at Rhinebeck, Utica, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and New York; and died at Florence, in Italy, whither he had repaired in search of health, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1862.

He was a peculiar man in several respects. Failing, when young, to secure all the benefits of education which the affluence of his parents had placed within his reach, he attained, subsequently, by dint of hard work, a just renown for the extent and depth of his scholarship; while his sturdy love of his native city, and of the *Dutch*, with whom he had no tie of kindred, and of the religious denomination of his adoption, were marked features of his character, and never concealed. He was a faithful, unswerving friend, a patriotic citizen, and a Pastor who willingly spent himself in the service in which he was engaged.

He was, however, like his friend, John O. Choules, D.D.,—who was also a valued friend of our own, while we were yet a young man—just such a man as few who were unacquainted with him would have recognized from his bearing as a minister of Christ; and we have sometimes thought that that constant overflow of wit, that seeming preference of the ways of the world in his daily intercourse with it, that absence of rebuke for the evils which confronted him on every corner—that rebuke, too, which he could so admirably have administered—and that personal

devotion to the peculiar tastes of the more favored classes, were among the faults which belonged to his character and conduct. If they did not impair his Christian character, as it was measured by God himself, they certainly neutralized much of the good which his gifts were calculated to secure to the Churches and the world.

In the volume before us, his associate in the Pastorate of the Twenty-second street church has faithfully presented the narrative of Doctor Bethune's life and character; and we rejoice that he has not failed to notice some peculiarities of the latter with great good judgment. It is interspersed with extracts from the Doctor's correspondence; and illustrated with a portrait on steel and some so-so-ish woodcuts.

25.—*A memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., late President of Brown University.* Including selections from his personal reminiscences and correspondence. By his sons, Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland. In two volumes. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 429, 879.

There have been few, if any, who have held a more enviable place in the respect of the world than Francis Wayland, recently the honored President of Brown University; and none to whose record our Country more proudly turns when the truly great men of the land are referred to.

He was the son of English parents, and was born, soon after their arrival in the United States, in Frankfort-street, New York, in March, 1796. His parents were members of the Fayette-street, now Oliver-street, Baptist Church; and he was brought up under the teachings of the venerable John Williams, and of a couple of schoolmasters of whom his recollections were not agreeable.

He removed with his parents, at ten years, to Poughkeepsie, and entered the Dutchess County Academy, where he enjoyed the instructions of Rev. John Lawson and Mr. Daniel H. Barnes.

In 1811, he entered Union College; and in 1813 he graduated. He commenced the study of medicine, in Troy; continued his studies, in New York; practised in Troy and its vicinity; was baptized and received into the fellowship of the Baptist Church in Troy; devoted himself to the ministry; entered the Seminary at Andover; was obliged, for want of means, to leave it at the end of a year, and accept a Tutorship in Union College, Schenectady; was called to the Pastorate of the First Church in Boston, in place of Doctor Winchell; became Professor in Union College; and, in 1827, President of Brown University. The remainder of the life of Doctor Wayland was spent in Providence; and the story of his success at the latter place is so widely known that we need not repeat it.

In the two neatly-printed volumes which are before us, the sons of President Wayland have described the life and labors of their honored

father with great good judgment and unquestionable fidelity. His own letters and papers are freely quoted to illustrate the subject; yet they have not overburdened the work with dry details nor useless parade of autobiographical egotism.

Indeed, we have seldom taken up a work which has pleased us more than this; and we are sure it will take its place among the most useful of American biographies.

96.—*Letters to a Man of the World: From the French of J. F. E. Le Boys Des Guays. Revised. Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler. 1868. Octavo, pp. xii, 808.*

We have before us another New Church issue from this very enterprising publishing house of the North West.

It is a *Revised* edition of the book by which the ablest Frenchman among the disciples of Swedenborg is best known.

These letters first appeared in the numbers of a Review called *The New Jerusalem*, published at St. Amand, (Cher,) in 1838, and for a period of over ten years, ably edited by Le Boys des Guays, who had been a Civil Magistrate of that Department, but which office he had resigned that he might devote his whole energies to the work of propagating his newly embraced doctrines, and to a translation of the works of the Swedish Seer, from the Latin, in which they had been given to the world, into the new, plastic French of his own country and time. They were republished in France, in a volume by themselves, as early as 1852, though they had before that time been translated into English, and several editions had appeared both in England and America; the last under the revising hand of that accomplished scholar, the late Professor Bush.

It is not our purpose to speak of the merits of this little volume, or criticise its pages, or their author. A doctrine which taught that Regeneration was effected by avoiding evils and sins; that the kingdom of Heaven was a kingdom of "uses;" that since the execution of the last Judgment, (in 1757,) that Kingdom had begun to descend, as told in the Apocalypse, "like a bride adorned for her husband;" and that this "Second coming"—a coming "with clouds"—would be the real fulfilment of the promised "peace on earth, and good will to man," might well make its appeal "to a Man of the World." Whoever gives these Letters an attentive perusal will find it much easier to turn away from and forget them, than to meditate upon or refute them.

There is one remark concerning the present edition of this book which in the interest of general literature we feel compelled to make. We observe from the preface that the Editor, Professor Tafel, has taken the liberty to make important

alterations in the text of his Author, and even to rewrite, in one instance, an entire Letter. We must record our protest against the taking of such liberties with the literary legacies of the dead. In our judgment such changes are not covered by the word "Revised," nor justified by any improvement of style or matter. It is, in fact, an outrage both on the Author's memory and the Reader's patience.

XVIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

PLYMOUTH ROCK MONUMENT.—The last stone was placed upon this structure on the seventh instant. The complete structure is fifteen feet square and thirty-eight feet high. The cornerstone was laid on the first of August, 1859, with appropriate ceremonies, and it is expected that the coming Summer will witness its dedication.

In connection with the deposit of the cap-stone, on Saturday last, an interesting event occurred. The Pilgrim bones, which were exhumed on Cole's Hill, in 1855, during the construction of the water-works, and afterward deposited in a brick vault on the Burying Hill, were again removed from their resting place, and carefully inclosed in a box lined with lead, and placed in an open chamber in the attic between the cap-stone and the dome. The following inscription on the out side of the box containing the remains, is an authentic record: "About fifty of the Pilgrims "died during the Winter of 1620 and 1621, and "were buried on Cole's Hill. This number included Gov. John Carver; William White; "Elizabeth Winslow, wife of Gov. Edward "Winslow; Rose Standish, wife of Capt. Miles "Standish, and Mary Allerton, wife of Isaac "Allerton. On the 23d of May, 1855, works "men, while excavating a trench for the pipes of "the Plymouth Water Works, built during that "year, found on the hill, a little south of Middle-"st., nearly all the bones belonging to three "skeletons. The skulls were submitted to Dr. "John C. Warren and Dr. Oliver Wendell "Holmes of Boston, for the purpose of ascer-"taining whether they were skulls of white "persons or Indians. Their decision that the "skulls were those of white persons, made it "certain that they were those of some of the "Pilgrims who died in 1620 and 1621. The "bones were soon after placed carefully in a "vault on the Burying Hill, prepared for the "purpose, and were exhumed and placed in the "canopy over the Rock where the Pilgrims "landed, on the 30th day of November, 1857, "the day of the completion of the canopy."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 26.

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Vol. III. SECOND SERIES.]

APRIL, 1868.

[No. 4.]

I.—GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

A FRAGMENT.

THE LAST WRITING OF THE LATE DOCTOR
JOHN W. FRANCIS, OF NEW YORK.*

NEW YORK, Nov. 17, 1860.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Author of *The Sons
of Liberty of New York, &c.*

DEAR SIR:—

My conviction of your earnest desire, as a searcher after truth, to record faithfully the events of American history, is derived not only from your published writings, but from the opinions which you lately expressed touching the responsibilities of the historian. I was gratified to learn the high opinion you have formed of the talents and services of the late Gouverneur Morris. That renowned man was distinguished by remarkable qualities, and must ever hold a prominent place in our annals; and among his contemporaries he was looked upon with admiration and esteem. He has long since passed away from the scenes of active life in which he bore so conspicuous a part, yet the few remaining survivors that witnessed his career still retain the strongest impression of his heroic character. Identified with several of the most momentous events of our Colonial History, associated with the Provincial Congress, the General Congress, in measures connected with the Revolutionary Congress, with the finances of the country, abroad as Minister at the Court of France, with his subsequent career in the Senate of the United States, he cannot be contemplated without reverence to his patriotism and an exalted esti-

* This article, mostly written during the last sickness of its distinguished author, was his last work on earth. It was still unfinished when he was removed by death; and it did not reach us until the places which had known him so long, knew him no longer.

The circumstances under which it was written will account for some errors which will readily be corrected by the historical critic. It is only remarkable that the venerable Author's memory was so little impaired by age and sickness. We print it here, that others may share in our satisfaction with this valued memento of our departed friend
H. B. D.

mate of his public services. He had a most impressive personal appearance: few men ever equalled his commanding bearing: while his superb physical organization enlisted attention, his strong intellectual expression manifested the man of thought and capacity. His talents were acknowledged by all: with some his political principles were deemed too aristocratic for a republic. But he was a Son of Liberty; the genius of American freedom was born with him and nurtured by his studies and his labors. The closest scrutiny into his principles develops the philosophy of great deeds only for the benefit of the social compact and to advance the interests of society at large. Among the great features of his character was his frank utterance of opinion, and his readiness on all fitting occasions to dedicate his powers to the furtherance of salutary objects. He justly boasted of having drawn up the Constitution of the United States; but he was no less proud of having been an effective agent with Clinton, Fulton, and others in the early development and promotion of the Canal policy of the State of New York. Our gratitude toward him is further enhanced when we consider how strenuous were his efforts to improve the physical condition and local advantages enjoyed by nature for the now metropolitan city of the Union. The portrait of him painted by Ames is not to be looked upon with indifference, but it needs a grander and a loftier port, and a more vivacious and penetrating eye.

His mental attributes were of an elevated order and of a wide range. He was classical, and, like all men of active pursuits whom I have known, when enriched with scholarship, delighted in Horace. The more immediate object of his life after his retirement at Morrisania was the cultivation of husbandry; arboriculture and the rearing of flocks. He was eminently an enlightened practical farmer, seeking health and the gratification of his love of nature amid rural scenery. His great mental resource was history; the rise and fall of nations, the biography of statesmen and philosophers, and the records of the services of the explorers in science and the arts. In many of his investigations he kept pace with the progressive march of physical knowledge and

domestic economy, and had studied with attention the theories set forth in medical literature. In the mechanical arts he displayed a research that often excited the wonder of the professed artisan. Though of lofty bearing his intercourse with intelligence even among the most humble excited the admiration of every beholder: a disquisition on tanning, an exposition of the philosophy of the chronometer, on the shoeing of horses, or other incidental circumstance might awaken new zeal in the minds of those with whom he might be in converse. He was ever for progress, and though like Burke he was thus disciplined, and could discuss with profitable issues the arts and sciences, he had kindlier feelings towards his friend Robert Fulton than the great Irish orator evinced towards the greater engineer, James Watt. The prolific theme of his conversation, however, was the story of the American Colonies, their struggle for freedom, and the triumphs of their revolt. He cherished an almost unbounded confidence in the mental capacity and energy of a nation sprung from a cosmopolitan origin. "The 'crossing of the race,' he was wont to say, 'is the 'salvation of the intellectual powers of a people.' Few more practical expositions than he delivered could be given by any one on the art of cookery. He was an adept in all its mysteries, and his views of its importance to health and longevity might arouse to new desires the faculties of the most fastidious epicure. Had the organization of a new College fallen to his lot he might have created therein more Professors of the art of Cookery than of the dead languages. Fertile and discursive as was his imagination, enriched too with the graces of elegant letters, lost as at times, as he might seem, in ingenious speculations or recondite enquiries, the bent of his intellectual powers was mainly directed to the useful and the practical, and a listless hearer might not discover how felicitously he blended the overflowings of fancy with inductive reasoning and practical science. Nor were these engaging powers of his mind the results of mere reading: he was a close observer, and in France and in England had witnessed with his own eyes the complex workings of the loom, and the spindle, and the manufacturing establishments of Britain. While Minister in France, when released from State affairs, he was a devoted student of that vast body of physical science and mechanical philosophy found in the pages of the French *Encyclopædia*; and the copy which he then possessed, by his generosity, is now to be seen in the library of the New York Historical Society.

I will trespass a moment in giving you an anecdote illustrative of his innate courage and his generous nature. In 1780, then residing in Philadelphia, while riding out, an accident occurred to his carriage, which fractured the vehicle and

his left leg. He was conveyed home, and a consultation with several of the most eminent of the faculty was forthwith held. The decision, at that period of surgical science, was the amputation of the limb. He heard the report with great calmness, and was soon ready to submit. In casting his eyes about his chamber, he remarked, "Gentlemen, I see around me the eminent men of your profession, all acknowledged competent to the performance of the operation. You have already secured renown, the capital by which you live. Now the removal of my leg cannot add to your celebrity; is there not one among you younger in your calling who might perform the act, and thus secure the *éclat* for his benefit?" Young Hutchenson was pointed out. "I will select him," uttered Morris, "let him rise to fame by amputating the leg of Gouverneur Morris." The operation by Hutchenson giving entire satisfaction, several remarked in approbation of the skill that had been displayed and on the beauty of the stump. "You speak so eloquently," added Morris, "would it not be advantageous to remove the other limb? we might then have a brace."

His conversational talents were of the most captivating and instructive quality. His vigorous imagination imparted interest to the humblest subject, while the force and beauty of his diction led captive the listener. He had cultivated this power by his close reading of the great writers of classical English, Shakespeare and Addison, Johnson and Chatham. I had known the man from March, 1804, when I was a boy, and he was first pointed out to me by an eminent Editor, who, while in my engagement with him, hurried me to his office door with the exclamation, "Boy, behold that man with the wooden leg, now opposite, and 'near Wall-street; a great man," added he, "Gouverneur Morris." Years after, it was my fortune often to enjoy his society, in business or in the domestic circle. He never departed from his greatness in my eyes: and I felt that reverence for him that that noble band of patriots of whom he was one, ever fostered. I believe my acquaintance with the original Canal Board embraced the entire commission. With Morris, Eddy, and Livingston, I was oftencast present. Repeated interviews of this nature had rendered the atmosphere of repulsion which sometimes surrounded Mr. Morris less difficult of approach. His narrative of the Canal of Languedoc, his account of the waters of Marle, his geology of Western New York, his trials and privations with his associates on his exploring tour as Canal Commissioner, his interviews with Jemima Wilkinson, are among the topics that have left the strongest impression on my memory. While his taste was that of the scrupulous gastronome, he was moderate in his drinks, and he gave me the best idea I ever had of the temperance of Thomas Jefferson.

When he spoke he expected the listening ear. On a certain occasion he had entered on a disputatious subject, when perceiving the attention of his hearers beginning to flag, he suddenly ejaculated, "I shall address the teapot," and he accordingly closed his argument with that silent representative. It was an effective veto on all interruption.

He was impatient at trifling, and was prompt at reproof. I was seated near his little boy, at the dining table, on the day I think when he had delivered his discourse on the Restoration of the Bourbons. In measured accents I asked the intelligent little fellow if he had read the story of Jack the Giant-killer. "Tell the Doctor, my son," interposed Mr. Morris, "your studies are Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden." I need not add, I was withered. Morris however was full of kindly feelings: he often manifested this humane tendency by his inquiries concerning matters promotive of national or personal affairs. He was at times caustically severe on what in more modern language are called Yankee Notions. He had little charity for the mere religious formalist, and could endure but with impatience the axioms of the puritanical proselyte. Yet he possessed the religious element; and the mellowed reflections of my ripor years have brought me to the conclusion that he felt the force and necessity of Christian obligation, and estimated the more highly the individual influenced by it. His wide knowledge of men and things had well taught him the difference between profession and possession.

While the most lowly incident might attract his notice, he delighted in great occurrences and in classical imagery. Every one who is familiar with his speeches, is apprized of his impressive appeals to heaven and Almighty God on occasions when his feelings were wrought to their highest pitch. What a psychological service had been performed were he and Edward Everett to have had the keen encounter, or to have coalesced on some mighty topic!

Gouverneur Morris is to be enumerated among the "strong" men of the memorable era in which he flourished. As an orator he unquestionably fills a place in the rank which contains Hamilton and Chancellor Livingston. Conscious knowledge and his undaunted courage were the main support of his oratorical power. He dealt with principles rather than with details: these he had fortified himself with, ere he appeared at the forum or in the hall; and, unlike Burke, he never allowed his audience to become weary or indifferent. His memory was tenacious and ready on an emergency. He was voluble in utterance, and possessed the *ore rotundo* more happily than any other speaker I have ever listened to: he was free from eccentricities; yet characterized by strong

peculiarities. His voice was clear, full, harmonious; his diction straightforward: he was free of the raucous tone of Chalmers, and of Brougham, and our Emmet: he was rarely obscure—he could not be wearisome. If he sometimes failed of the intensity of Webster he won admiration by his felicitous diction. He could scarcely descend to the playfulness of Clay. If he lacked at times the outbursts of the classical Francis Stoner, he escaped the difficulties which sometimes annoyed that masterly rhetorician. He was bold in the avowal of his sentiments, though it might prove disadvantageous to his popularity. The quickened sensibilities of his nature on questions of the gravest interest may sometimes have given birth to expressions which maturer reflection would have suppressed. Thus, in his speech on the Judiciary, delivered in February, 1801, in the warmth of his oratory, amid the most substantial reasonings, after reminding the House of the dangers to which popular governments are exposed, from the influence of designing demagogues upon popular passion, "I take the liberty to add," says he, "that we, the Senate of the United States, are assembled here to save the people from their most dangerous enemy, to save them from themselves, to guard them against the baneful effects of their own precipitation, their passion, their misguided zeal." Sound as the principle may have been, and felt to be pregnant truth by Morris as a deep and experienced Statesman, how often in my earlier days have I heard those memorable words, "*The People, their own worst enemy*," echoed aloud in assemblies, and reiterated in the public streets to the detriment of this enlightened patriot. But Morris through his whole life felt superior to popular clamor. I have a firm recollection of the *eclat* with which his memorable speech on the Navigation of the Mississippi was received in this city, in 1803. Its reading discloses the richness of his language and the capabilities of his parliamentary powers. In this, his last great public effort in the Senate of the United States, imagination and reasoning seem to hold dalliance, while the noblest patriotism pervades the entire composition.

But let us come nearer home, to the period when Mr. Morris had left public life at Washington, and become a fixed resident at Morrisania, the place of his birth. At this beautiful retreat he passed nearly the entire residue of his life, engaged in agricultural affairs, in the study of history, and in works of practical science. Here he maintained that elegant hospitality with his distinguished political friends and men of renown that made a visit at his mansion almost an era in the fortunate individual's life, who had partaken of his intellectual repast. Nor did the public occurrences of the day transpire unheeded by him. I have already adverted to his zeal and ability

with Clinton, in giving countenance and support to the Canal policy of the State. He was often summoned to give his advice on public affairs, and was ever ready to assume responsibility on events of moment. Little more than a year had elapsed from his settlement at Morrisania ere he was called to pronounce a funeral address on his beloved Hamilton, whose unexpected death and its manner had awakened the community to universal lamentation. I had witnessed the solemn obsequies to the memory of Washington. I could not now fail to be of the multitude who were to do homage to his compatriot in arms and in counsel, the illustrious Hamilton. Never was grief more strongly depicted on every countenance, never had sorrow sunk deeper in every heart than on the occasion of his death. During that sad and memorable day of a nation's loss, I found myself amidst the groups of afflicted citizens formed at almost every corner of the streets: some lost in the magnitude of the calamity; others loud in execrations of the perpetrator of the fatal deed. Silence reigned in every place of business, and the heavens themselves seemed to wear a gloomy aspect. In my journeyings to and fro I obtained a place near the feet of Mr. Morris, on the steps of the portico of old Trinity, while the orator delivered his brief but effective discourse over the dead body of the great patriot. It was the first time I heard the great speaker. His sensibilities and his powers were manifested around me; his own countenance was suffused with grief, while every eye of the crowded multitude was bedewed with tears. I saw many unable to preserve an erect posture, and several individuals, with whom I became better acquainted in after life, as Colonel Troup, Colonel Fish, Judge Pendleton, Coleman, the editorial eulogist of Hamilton, and others, sobbing aloud in anguish. His utterance at first seemed broken and suppressed; but his powers rose as he advanced in the performance of his sacred duty; his affectionate principles kindled with increased strength, and as if an angel spoke, the tokens of his love and devotion overwhelmed every heart. Even at this remote day none can read that address, brief as it is, without wonder at its copiousness. The severest critic will find in it the embodiment of the delicious consolations of the burial service, in language perhaps little inferior in pregnant thought and elevation of diction. In addressing the vast assemblage at his commencement, he had said, "Far from exciting your emotions, I must try to repress my own, and yet, I fear, that instead of the language of a public speaker, you will hear only the lamentations of a wailing friend. But I will struggle with my bursting heart to portray that heroic spirit which has flown to the mansions of bliss." He proved more than conqueror.

With my fondness to witness the performances

of extraordinary men, whether in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, or in the oratorical hall, I was fortunate to be of the listener to each discourse which Gouverneur Morris subsequently delivered. His addresses before our New York Historical Society have added to the renown imparted to that institution by Clinton and Verplanck, Jarvis, Hosack, and Kent. His laudations exalt the attributes of our Dutch ancestors; his praise of history, ancient and modern, holds out the strongest persuasives to its study; and the religious element for the government of man is enforced with the zeal of a sacred expositor. His address on the restoration of the Bourbons in France, in 1814 is yet well remembered by the survivors of that audience that were present on that special occasion. Many of its passages are repeated at this very day. He never appeared as a speaker to greater advantage. He had been an eye-witness to many of the early scenes of the French Revolution; in his sylvan retreat he had made a study of Napoleon; the Conqueror conquered was a theme congenial with the best utterances of his heart; his aristocratic bearing, his sonorous voice, his convictions and the fulness of his subject, produced an effect no less rare than prodigious. The tribute he paid to the patriotic George Clinton, who holds so prominent a place in the War of the Revolution and in our State Government as the dauntless soldier and wise statesman, was only another demonstration of the exalted estimate he possessed of that incorruptible hero and virtuous character. The sympathies of friendship were strong indeed between Morris and Clinton, and brief as is the notice by Morris of the extraordinary services of the old Governor, it will be appreciated as a precious memoir of the renowned man.

After what I have thus briefly said, do you ask then what were the elements of this great man's oratorical power? Inward conviction and a fearless and energetic utterance. There was a purpose in his design, and as an earnest man his words were the words of earnestness. His yearnings sprung from the love of country.

There is a circumstance in the life of this great man which deserves a passing notice, and concerning which I will say a few words. With all his affluence he seemed to have had little to do with the fashion of the day. His intercourse with the men of the age, the patriots of the Revolution and the statesmen who had acted with him, was of the most cordial nature, and I believe there was hardly an exception to this warm attachment which he cherished for his contemporaries, nor was it once checkered by reverse. His correspondence with Washington speaks for itself. His love for Hamilton we have already noticed; with Jay and Rufus King the intercourse maintained was that of warmly attached friends. He has

told us of his admiration of Robert Fulton; and of his appreciation of De Witt Clinton. His full knowledge and variety, with his undaunted confidence, rendered him the autocrat of the social board. The practical sciences had fallen within the scope of his studies, and his anecdotal fund was ready at command. He won esteem for his intellect; he contributed knowledge without parsimony. The happy line which Johnson applied to Goldsmith, might not inaptly be cited in behalf of Morris's conversational talents:

"Nihil tetigit, quod non ornavit."

You will pardon me if I add one other anecdote illustrative of that pungent manner which Mr. Morris so dexterously employed on some occasions. He never did anything by halves. A soiree of the *savants* of the city had been convened, at the house of Doctor Hosack, composed of divines, lawyers, doctors, and others of renown. Mr. Morris was of the number. The evening hour of appointment had passed over some forty or fifty minutes, when the host hurried in, apologizing for his absence, and giving as an apology that he had been engaged with his friend, Doctor Williamson, in forming a Philosophical Society. "Well, Doctor," says Morris, "that's no difficult matter." "But Mr. Morris," rejoined Hosack, "we have formed a Philosophical Society, adopted a Constitution, By-laws, and selected our prominent officers." "All that," observed Morris, "is no difficult matter; but pray, Doctor, where are the philosophers?" Silence followed the interrogatory, succeeded by a hearty laugh.

Among your queries you ask for information as to the observations which Mr. Morris made concerning the consequences which sprang out of the memorable trial of John Peter Zenger.

The account I communicated to the Historical Society, at their fortieth Anniversary Meeting, in 1844, was literally correct. Years before, 1812, Mr. Morris, as Vice President and in the absence of De Witt Clinton, presided. I had drawn up a Report, as Librarian of the Society; which was submitted to Mr. Morris, who read it, and was signally gratified when I informed him that the library embraced a large collection of the newspapers of the Colonial period, among others, Bradford's and the *Journal of Zenger*. Morris dilated largely on the importance of preserving newspapers. "They are," said he, "the most faithful materials on which we can ever rely for American history. The newspaper press is endeared to the feelings of Americans, by the strongest consideration of patriotism. The free strictures on the administration of Governor Cosby and his Council, printed in the *Weekly Journal* of the city of New York, by John Peter Zenger, roused the energies of a whole people; the trial of Zenger in 1736, was the germ of American free-

dom; the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America." The fact, as I have stated, has been repeatedly made use of by our historical writers; and the acquittal of Zenger is dwelt upon as a pregnant circumstance, in Butler's discourse. Our American historian, Doctor Bancroft, seems to place the incident in a qualified light; but I have not with my limited sources of knowledge been able to find any contemporaneous event throughout the colonies. I feel entire confidence in the official documents published by Dunlap, and in the animadversions of the late Chancellor Kent.

The little that I have been able to collect concerning Zenger tends to prove the opinion that he was an intelligent man, of an heroic spirit, and something of a musical genius. The ladies will not think the less of him when they know that he imported the first harpsichord, now transformed into the piano, in this city.

The physical temperament and mental energies of Mr. Morris were preserved with uniform ability to the very end of his life. The same muscular tone, the same exuberance of feeling, the same prompt and active display of intellectual resources were all in harmony, and never forsook him or abated of their function. Up to near the moment of his final departure, his enlarged views and broad conception of things held their characteristics. I am grieved to say that his great confidence of the safety of his medical practice in his own case was a leading cause of the infirmity which took him from us in the fulness of his powers. He had written some time previous an interesting letter on the acid formations of gout, addressed to his friend and physician, Doctor Hosack: but he seems not to have been fully aware that in some cases the gouty diathesis is sadly detrimental to local disease. When informed of his approaching end, he received the intelligence with philosophical composure, sustained by religious belief. He had been explicit on that absorbing subject. He had declared a short while before in an historical discourse, that he regarded religious principles as necessary to national independence and peace. "There must be something," says he, "more to hope than pleasure, wealth, and power. Something more to fear than poverty and pain. Something after death more terrible than death. There must be religion. When that ligament is torn, society is disjointed and its members perish." He passed his last night with tolerable composure. On the morning of his death he enquired of his devoted nephew what kind of a day it was. "A beautiful day," was the reply. "The air is soft, the sky cloudless, the water like crystal; you hear every ripple, and even the plash of the steamboat wheels on the river: it is a beautiful day." The dying man seemed to take in this description with that zest

for nature which accorded with the poetic instinct of his character. Like Webster, his mind reverted to Gray's *Elegy*. He looked at the kind relative, and repeated his words, "A beautiful day; yes, "but

"— Who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey
 "This pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned,
 "Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
 "Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind?"

He died in the same chamber in which he first saw light, on the sixth of November, 1816, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

II.—HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE FIVE NATIONS, COM- MANDÉD BY GENERAL SULLIVAN, IN 1779.

BY NATHAN DAVIS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. PLINY H. WHITE,
 PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SO-
 CIETY.

In July, 1778, the Wyoming Valley was the theatre of one of the most atrocious massacres of which American history makes any record. Eleven hundred Tories and Indians, under the command of Colonel John Butler, entered the valley, defeated with great slaughter a smaller force which resisted their progress, and compelled the surrender of Forty Fort, near Wilkesbarre, whither numerous families had fled for safety. When these families, relying upon the humane terms of the capitulation, had returned to their homes, the Indians, uncontrolled and probably uncontrollable, by their white commanders, traversed the valley, burning dwellings, murdering in cold blood many of the inhabitants, and driving into the mountains a multitude of women and children, who escaped the tomahawk and scalping knife only to perish by hunger and fatigue.

These atrocities, with others of the same kind which followed them, roused the indignation of the American people, and in the summer of 1779, General John Sullivan was sent with a strong force into the heart of the country of the Six Nations to punish them, and in the course of about three weeks, he destroyed forty Indian villages and a vast amount of food.

Nathan Davis, the author of the "history" herewith communicated, was a soldier in that Expedition, and wrote, or more probably dictated this paper, many years afterward, with intent to publish it, but it has remained in manuscript till now.

He was born in Mansfield, Connecticut, on the seventh of May, 1762. His father's name is not known. His mother's maiden name was Phebe Doane. In the seventeenth year of his age, he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, and served three years. When the war was ended, he took up his residence in Hanover, New Hampshire, and there married, on the third of June, 1783, Tryphena Eaton, a native of South Hadley, Massachusetts; born on the twenty-sixth of August, 1763. In March, 1785, he became a resident of Randolph, Vermont, where he had previously acquired a tract of land. The town was then an almost unbroken wilderness. His house was a log-cabin, without floor, and with no roof except one of boughs. For several years he and his family endured all the hardships and privations which are incident to pioneer life.

At a later date he became a resident of East Bethel, Vermont, where he built the first grist-mill; where he also kept the first public-house, from 1812 to 1816. In the spring of 1817, he removed to Royalton, where he carried on a farm and kept a public-house. There he died, on the seventh of February, 1831. His wife, by whom he had twelve children, survived him fourteen years.

He was a cheerful, humorous, hospitable, and benevolent man, a church-member, a Free-mason, and a Democrat. During the latter part of his life, he enjoyed a pension for his Revolutionary services.

P. H. W.]

It is well known to the public that the Six Nations, with the exception of the Oneidas, had been induced by the English to take up arms against America, and were continually burning, killing, and scalping our frontier inhabitants. It was thought best by our Government to check, if possible, their murderous depredations.* In the year 1779, General Sullivan was directed, with four Brigades of Infantry, commanded by General Hand of Pennsylvania, General Poor of New Hampshire, General Maxwell of New Jersey, and General Clinton of New York, together with a Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Colonel Procter, to march into their territory, up the Susquehannah, and attack them.

On the sixth of April, we were ordered to march from our winter-quarters, at Reading, Connecticut, to Easton, Pennsylvania. Here we made a halt for a few days, waiting the arrival of Colonel Procter, with his Regiment. We then took up our line of march for Wyoming, (now called Wilkesbarre,) on the Susquehannah; and in a few days, found ourselves on the margin of the Great Swamp, (so called,) said to be thirty miles across, where we were compelled to halt.

Here it became necessary to construct a kind of bridge for several miles together, by laying timber crosswise, and the swamp being so miry that it was utterly impossible to employ horses, we were compelled to move all the timber by hand. We had to build two bridges of considerable magnitude, over the large streams, which run through this dismal part of creation. It soon became necessary to send a number of men to Wyoming, to go down the Susquehannah to procure boats and to bring flour and other necessities for the use of the troops. This necessarily lessened the number of our men, and hindered the progress of our work, as General Clinton's army had not yet joined us. Notwithstanding the disadvantage under which we labored, we persevered in our undertakings, and finally, in a number of weeks, completed it.

This done, we moved on to Wyoming, where we made another long halt, in order to collect the necessary supplies of provisions and baggage horses for the use of the army.†

It was now the month of June, and the season afforded us an excellent opportunity to observe the country and the surrounding scenery. The land, on the river, is exceedingly fertile, and well adapted to cultivation. At this time Nature was decked in all her loveliness, and a striking contrast was exhibited to our view, between the

* *Journal of Congress*, Thursday, February 25, 1779; General Washington to Congress, March 3, 1779. H. B. D.

† This delay was occasioned by the loss of the greater part of the stores, which had been spoiled, and in order to obtain additional supplies of ammunition. Gordon, III, 309; Marshall's *Washington*, IV, 154. H. B. D.

works of man and his Creator. "All save the "spirit of man, was divine." This part of the country had lately been all destroyed, burnt, and pillaged by the Indians: its inhabitants murdered and scalped. Here and there lay a human skeleton bleaching in the woods or in the open field, with the marks of the tomahawk upon it.

We remained in this place, till some time in the month of July,* when we again marched up the river to Tioga Point, carrying all our baggage, ammunition, provision and field pieces in boats.

Here we erected two block houses, and surrounded them with pickets. Here too, General Sullivan expected the reinforcement of General Clinton's Brigade from Cherry Valley. We were now within about ten or twelve miles of Chemung, where was encamped, the Indian and Tory army, under the command of Butler and Brant, waiting to give us a pretty warm reception.

While here, we had several light skirmishes with the Indians. At one time, about noon, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and musicians being called out on fatigue to relieve the soldiers, and having gone to their tents for dinner, the soldiers while viewing the block-house, then just begun, were fired upon by a few Indians, secreted in a copse not far distant, and one man killed and another wounded. At another time, having nearly completed our works, and while waiting for the reinforcement above mentioned, General Sullivan ordered a large body of troops to march, at sunset, for Chemung, to surprise the enemy. They accordingly marched all night, and arrived at Chemung about break of day; but to their astonishment, found no enemy there. They remained under arms till sunrise, when they went into the fields, to pick green corn; the Indians then fired upon them from an ambush, killed some, and wounded two or three more. After destroying the town, and pillaging the corn field, they returned to camp.†

As General Clinton's troops had not yet joined us, the Commander directed a party to go through the woods, piloted by some friendly Indians, and meet them. After marching some distance, the Commander of the party thought best to send three chosen veterans to proceed by themselves: hoping that it might expedite the junction of the two armies. The three men, chosen for this purpose,

were Sergeant Joseph Henderson, Sergeant Thomas Scott, and a Peter Stevens, all of whom belonged to the first New Hampshire Regiment commanded by Colonel Joseph Cilley of Nottingham.

These fearless heroes, with only three days' allowance of provision, shouldered their muskets and set forward. Not meeting General Clinton, as they expected, they concluded that they had missed their point, and had passed him. They then attempted to return, but in doing this, lost themselves in the wilderness; and after wandering about for twelve days, they, at last, came across General Clinton's track, and found their way back to our garrison, worn down with fatigue and almost famished with hunger. They suffered extremely from the cold damps by nights, not daring to indulge themselves with a fire, lest they should be discovered by the Indians, who were, without doubt, prowling through every part of the wilderness. There these worthy sons of New Hampshire were supposed to be lost, and probably massacred by the savages. Their reappearance was a matter of joyful surprise. Before their arrival, however, the main army had taken up their march for the Genesee river. Henderson and Stevens were so worn down by fatigue and hunger, that it took a long while to restore them to their former health, but Scott, a true son of Hibernia, although a native of this country, after a few days' rest, declared that he was again fit for any enterprise, and went to the commander of the garrison, requesting permission to proceed after the army. The commander, after much importunity, gave him liberty to go, though with little expectation that he would escape being massacred by the Indians. With as much provision as he could conveniently carry, he started alone on our track, and overtook us not far from Cayuga lake. It was in the morning, as we were about to march, when Scott made his appearance like one risen from the dead. Officers and soldiers immediately gathered around and embraced him; the air rung with repeated shouts of "*Scott's alive!*" "*Scott's alive!*" "*He's come!*" "*He's come!*"

Our order of march through the inhospitable wilderness, was in the following manner: We formed a hollow square; General Hand in front, General Poor on the right, General Maxwell on the left, and General Clinton in the rear. Within the hollow square was placed Colonel Procter's Regiment of Artillery, together with our luggage horses, carrying our flour, tents, etc., and our beef cattle. We were ordered to march in platoons, eight deep, which made it more fatiguing than it otherwise would have been; each one being strictly ordered to keep his place. In this situation, we could form a front of three Brigades, should we happen to be attacked on either

* The last day of July. Major DANIEL LIVERMORE's *Journal*, July 31st; Lieutenant WILLIAM BARTON's *Journal*, July 31st; Dr. EZEKIEL ELMER's *Journal*, July 31st, MISENER's *Wyoming*, 267. H. B. D.

† The last-mentioned affair occurred on the twelfth of August, the day after the army reached Tioga Point.

It appears from the *Journals* of Major Livermore, Lieutenant Barton, and Doctor Elmer, as well as from the published correspondence of that period, that this movement was commanded by General Hand; that seventeen wigwags and several fields of corn were destroyed; and that seven of our men were killed, and Major Franklin of Wyoming, seriously wounded. H. B. D.

side, with one Brigade in the rear, as a reserve. It was the latter part of August when we started from our garrison, in high spirits and good health.* We pursued our way to Chemung, and finding no enemy there,† we turned to the right, in order to strike near the Oneida lake.

We came to a place called Newton, where we discovered that the enemy was waiting to give us an unwelcome salute.

This discovery was made on Sunday morning, the twenty-ninth August, by our sagacious riflemen, who were satisfied, from appearances, that there were Indians hard by. A Council of the Field-officers was immediately held, and arrangements made for a general attack.

Whilst this was doing, our riflemen discovered at a little distance in front, a sure indication of an ambush.‡ In the direction of our march, was a very deep defile, occasioned by a brook of water running through a pine plain; § the banks of the brook were very steep and high, and the growth of timber small and very thick. On the opposite bank, it was observed to be thicker and in greater regularity than it would have been had Nature herself placed it there. The conclusion was that Indians lay concealed behind it, as finally proved to be the case. They had made a kind of breast work of small pine timber, and had that morning, cut small saplings, and stuck them in the ground, in front of it.¶

General Poor was ordered to take possession of a certain hill, which lay at some distance, partly to the right; || whilst General Maxwell was directed to oblique to the left, in order to turn the enemy's right flank.**

We had not proceeded half a mile, when General Sullivan gave orders to Colonel Procter to open his six or eight brass field pieces, from six to three pounders, and also a small howitzer which

have a small bomb, upon the enemy's breastwork. The object of this order was to draw the attention of the Indians off from General Poor. The order was obeyed with promptness, but produced a somewhat different effect from the one anticipated. They immediately ran from their slender works as fast as their legs could carry them, and advanced directly to the hill, where they secreted themselves behind the trees, waiting our approach. When our front had advanced within a short distance of them, they commenced a fire from behind every tree, and at the same time gave the war whoop. Not all the infernals of the prince of darkness, could they have been let loose from the bottomless pit, would have borne any comparison to these demons of the forest.*

We were expressly ordered not to fire, until we had obtained permission from our officers, but to form a line of battle as soon as possible, and march forward. This we did in good order, and at the same time the Indians kept up an incessant fire upon us, from behind the trees; firing and retreating back to another tree, loading and firing again, still keeping up the war whoop. They continued this mode of warfare till we had driven them half way up the hill, when we were ordered to charge bayonets and rush on. No sooner said than done. We then, in our turn, gave our war whoop, in the American style, which completely silenced the unearthly voice of their stentorian throats. We drove them, at once, to the opposite side of the hill, when we were ordered to halt, as the Indians were out of sight and hearing. How many we killed I never could exactly ascertain, but some were killed, and one scalped to my knowledge,† and much blood was seen on their track. We also took two prisoners, one negro and a white man, said to be a Tory. The white man was found painted black, lying on his face, and pretending to be dead. As no blood was seen near him, after a proper discipline he was soon brought to his feelings. He was then stripped, and washed, and found to be white. A rope was then tied around his neck, and he was led in front of the troops, whilst every one gave him his sentence, "You shall be hung to-morrow." This, however, was not put into execution.

We remained on the battle-ground till sunset, when we retreated to the plain, and encamped. We had twenty-two killed and a number wounded,

* The expedition moved from Tioga on the twenty-sixth of August, leaving behind it a great part of the baggage and two hundred and fifty men, with two six-pounders, under Colonel Shreve. Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's Journals; MINER's Wyoming, 270. H. B. D.

† Although no enemy was found at Chemung, large fields of growing corn, beans, potatoes, and pumpkins were found and destroyed. H. B. D.

‡ See, also, Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's Journals; General SULLIVAN's Despatch, August 30, 1779; MARSHALL's Washington, iv, 157; MINER's Wyoming, 271. H. B. D.

§ Since called Baldwin's Creek. Life of Major Van Campen, 146. H. B. D.

¶ Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's Journals. Letter from Tioga, August 31, in The Pennsylvania Packet of September 7, 1779; General SULLIVAN's Despatch, August 30, 1779; Civil War in America, iii, 64; MARSHALL's Washington, iv, 156; MINER's Wyoming, 270. H. B. D.

|| This movement was an important one. The command of General Poor included the New Hampshire and Massachusetts Regiments, and was supported by the entire Brigade of General Clinton, and was designed to flank the enemy's line and gain his rear. H. B. D.

** We think this is a mistake, since General Sullivan's Despatch of the thirtieth of August, 1779, clearly indicates that both Hand and Maxwell merely covered the Artillery without advancing against the enemy's line. H. B. D.

* We are clearly of the opinion that the Author has over-rated the effects of this Artillery fire; and that the Indians abandoned their works, not because of Colonel Procter's operations, but to oppose the progress to their rear of General Poor. Such an experienced commander as Joseph Brant was, must have seen the vital importance of keeping an enemy from his rear; besides, we have the testimony, on the same subject, of Majors Livermore and Van Campen and Lieutenant Barton, as well as that of Brant's biographer, Colonel Stone. H. B. D.

† That the practice of scalping was not confined to the Indians is also proven by Lieutenant BARTON's Journal, August 29 and September 13; by the Journal of an officer, September 13; and in STONE's Life of Brant, ii, 21. H. B. D.

some mortally.* The next day, we buried our dead by the side of fallen trees, near our encampment, not raising their graves any higher than the surface of the earth. We then burnt brush over their graves, so that the Indians might not distinguish them from the places where we had built our customary fires. Here we lay by for two days, in which time we sent back our wounded and invalids to the garrison.†

On the first of September, orders were read to each Regiment, accompanied with the thanks of the commander, for their good conduct and bravery, and congratulating them on the victory they had just obtained. This was accompanied with the request that the troops might pursue the remainder of the expedition on half allowance. The Commander informed us that we had not more than half provision enough to complete the expedition; that we should go through a number of Indian towns, where we should always find a large supply of corn, beans, and squash, which would enable us to supply, in some measure, the deficiency. In addition to this, we were promised an ample remuneration by Congress. This was enough; every one was willing to give his consent to the proposal; every eye brightened and sparkled with vengeance. The question was then put to the soldiers in the following manner: Every soldier who was willing to go forward in the defence of his country, agreeable to the request of the commander, was requested to manifest it at a given signal. No sooner said than done. At the given word "*Recover arms,*" every musket, with only one exception, among three thousand, obeyed the order. We then gave three cheers for General Sullivan, and prepared to march the next day.

The next morning, we struck our tents and paraded, in order to march.‡ Every Colonel

again made proclamation to his Regiment, that every soldier, who thought he was unable to endure the expedition, might march four paces in front, and go back to the garrison. But a very few ventured to make themselves conspicuous as volunteers to return, and thus become the butt of ridicule to those who remained in the ranks.

Here permit me to mention the worthy conduct of Colonel Cilley, to whose Regiment the writer of this narrative belonged. He walked to the right of his Regiment, and as he passed on to the left, he very pleasantly spoke to several of his soldiers, and told them that whilst he applauded their courage and patriotism, he thought they were unable to endure the hardships they necessarily must, on so short an allowance. On passing near to the left wing, he said to quite a young lad, only in his fifteenth year, by the name of Richard Drout, "Richard, you must go back; you cannot endure the march." The brave little fellow replied, "Colonel, I don't want to go back; I can stand it, I know I can." On the Colonel's telling him that he was too young to endure the march, and that he had better go back, Richard began to weep most bitterly, and exclaimed, "Colonel, I am not tired a bit, and have not been; and I know I can endure it as well as any of them; besides, they will call me a coward, and I am not one." The Colonel assured him he should not be called a coward, and that he would severely flog any one who should venture to apply such an epithet to him. Richard, however, continued weeping most bitterly, and exclaimed, "I enlisted to serve my country. Do let me go on." The Colonel, with a full heart, at length makes him this reply: "*Go, my lad, and God go with you.*" He went, and endured the march as well as any one among us. The writer of this narrative had the satisfaction of seeing this same Richard Drout, and entertaining him, at his own house in Royalton, in 1818, as he and two of his sons were going to join our Northern army.

The horns* soon sounded; the signal to march. We laid our course for the small lakes. We presently came to a great swamp, where our march was much impeded by the mire. Here too we lost a number of our baggage horses.

Here was a small Indian village, deserted by all its inhabitants, except by one very aged female, who was entirely helpless. Our Indians attempted to talk with her, but she made signs that she could not understand them.

At length, an old Indian, who had spoken to her in several different dialects, drew his knife, and told her he would take her scalp, unless she consented to talk. This threat produced the de-

* The loss of our army in this action is very uncertain. This "*History*" says *twenty-two* were killed and a number wounded. Major Van Campen (*Page 70*), says our loss was *seventy*. Major Livermore, (*Journal*, August 29,) that "but four or five" were killed and three officers and about "thirty others" were wounded; Lieutenant Barton (*Journal*, August 29,) that "two or three of ours were killed, and "thirty-four or five wounded"; Gordon (*History*, iii, 809,) that it was seven killed, and fourteen wounded; Marshall, (*Life of Washington*, iv, 158,) that it was "about thirty men"; and General Sullivan, in his Despatch of the thirtieth of August, 1779, that it was *three* killed and *thirty-nine* wounded. H. B. D.

† See, also, Major Livermore's *Journal*, August 30; and Brown's *Brant*, ii, 22. H. B. D.

‡ We are inclined to think the author has fallen into an error in this statement.

The army evidently rested only *one* full day, since it moved to Newtown, (*Elmira*), and destroyed that village, in which were "some good buildings of English construction,"—on the thirty-first of August: (Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*); and on the first of September, was at "French Catharine's," now Havannah, at the head of Seneca Lake. (*Ibid.*; Brown's *Brant*, ii, 24.) It could not, therefore, have been on "the next morning," after "the first of September," when the tents were struck and the army paraded for the purpose of advancing from the battle-ground, which was a mile to the Eastward of where Elmira now is. H. B. D.

* Horns were used instead of drums; as the latter could not be used among the woods and underbrush.—THE AUTHOR.

sired effect. She told them that the old Chiefs were for peace, but the young warriors would not listen to their counsels; and that all of them had gone to the big lakes. We remained here two nights and one day, in order to get our cattle and baggage horses through the swamp. At our departure, the General ordered a few pounds of beef boiled and left with this old mother of the red men.

Butler's army, at this time, kept only ahead of us sufficiently to be out of our reach, as we frequently came across their fires, where they had left boiling their kettles of succatash. Whenever we came near an Indian village, large parties were always sent to burn their huts and to destroy their corn. Our main army kept on the most direct route to a place called Big Tree, on the Genesee River. We encamped near the Geneva lake, in a very large apple orchard, to which place we gave the name of Appleton.* Here we caught several Indian horses, by driving them into the lake, when some of our most expert swimmers would catch them, and turn them to the shore. Here we found a white boy, of four years of age.

After we had destroyed their orchard, we marched on to Canandaigua lake. This lake we were obliged to ford at a small distance from its outlet; the water for a great distance being nearly to our shoulders. We carried our cartridge boxes on the top of our knapsacks to keep them out of the water. As there was only one place that was fordable, the principal part of the afternoon was spent in getting across. Both sides of the outlet were covered with an impenetrable thicket of underbrush, grapes, and thorn bushes, which made it impossible for our cattle and horses to pass through them. The First New Hampshire Regiment, being in the front of the right wing, was ordered to halt, and to see that our guns were well loaded and fresh primed, and also to keep our places in good order till all the rest of the troops, cattle, baggage horses, etc., had passed the ford way. This order occasioned considerable complaint, and not a few heavy curses on the one who gave it. Our Major, who happened to hear the murmuring of the soldiers, very pleasantly addressed them, assured them that they ought not to complain of their Commander's not giving them their priority in the line of march, "for," says he, "as sure as we pass 'those bushes yonder,' (pointing to the outlet of the lake,) 'we shall be attacked by the Indians, and your General places the utmost confidence on your bravery and skill.' This declaration at once silenced all complaint, and

"Hurra for General Sullivan!" resounded through the air. When they had all got across, we were ordered to march with a full expectation of a salute from the red men of the forest, accompanied with their war whoop and the contents of their rifles. In this, however, we were disappointed.

It was near sunset before we had all crossed the lake. General Sullivan then ordered General Hand to go with four Regiments of Infantry and take the town, about half a mile ahead. General Hand hesitated; stating that he would obey, but it appeared to him to be an useless waste of lives, as it would be dark before they could reach the town, and the advantage would all be on the side of the enemy. Colonel Cilley, who was then on his horse, straightened himself in his stirrups, and exclaimed, "General Sullivan, give me leave 'and I will take the town, with my Regiment 'alone.'" The General gave him permission, and we were on the march in a moment. Before we reached the town, it became so dark that we were obliged to take hold of our file-leader's frocks, and in this manner, grope our passage in an Indian foot-path. We found no worse enemy to encounter than the darkness, and a thousand musketoes to each man. The town was entirely deserted by its inhabitants. It was a place of considerable magnitude. The huts or wigwags were constructed of bark, and very narrow in proportion to their length, some being thirty or forty feet long, and not more than ten feet wide, generally with a bark floor, except in the centre, where was a place for the fire. Under one of these bark floors, one of our men found fourteen dollars, in silver. In this place, we found some considerable plunder, such as scalping knives, tomahawks, muskets, etc.*

We encamped in the town during the night. The next morning, Lieutenant Boyd requested permission to go out, with a small party of fifteen,† and one friendly Indian as a guide. They had not proceeded more than half a mile, before they were completely ambushed and surrounded. The Indian, who was with Boyd, called out to him, "Fight or die. No quarter now." The gallant party defended themselves to the last extremity, but the Indians rushed in on every side, tomahawk in hand, and scalped all those who were not killed by their first fire. The Lieutenant and Sergeant‡ were bound. Among the party, was a stout, athletic, young man of about nineteen years,

* Although no date is given, it is probable that the author refers, in this place, to Kanaghsa, which was destroyed on Monday, the thirteenth of September. (Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*, September 13; Stone's *Brant*, ii, 29.) H. B. D.

† We think this is an error. There is abundant testimony, as below, that this party was composed of twenty-seven men. H. B. D.

‡ Sergeant Parker. H. B. D.

* See, also, Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*, September 1 and 2; and Stone's *Brant*, vii, 24. H. B. D.

by the name of McMurphy. Whilst an Indian was about to tie his hands behind him, he turned, took the Indian by the hair of his head, and threw him, with great force, on the ground, and immediately sprang from them, and ran, with the greatest speed, whilst the balls and hatchets were continually whistling by him. He finally arrived safe in camp.

Hearing the firing, we had sent out a party to assist them. When this party had arrived at the place of their engagement, there was nothing there to be seen, but the mangled bodies of twelve of Boyd's party.* Boyd, nor the Sergeant, could not be found.†

The next day, we pursued our route for the town of Big Tree. We arrived at this place on a Saturday, about sun-set.‡ Here we found the mangled bodies of Lieutenant Boyd and the Sergeant. We saw the place where they had been tied to a tree, and the bloody sticks with which they had been whipped. Their backs had been cut to the bone with their knives. They had been scalped, their tongues cut out and their eyes dug out, by these inhuman demons of cruelty. The Lieutenant's breast had been cut open, his heart taken out and placed in his right hand. Their bodies were committed to the grave, with martial honors.

Big Tree appeared to be the capital of the five tribes. Here was their large Grand Council House, built of peeled logs, two stories high, and the gable ends painted red with vermillion. The town contained one hundred and twenty-two houses and wigwams, and a larger supply of pro-

visions was found in this place than in any other three towns through which we passed.*

It may now, perhaps, be proper to notice our manner of livelihood. Whilst marching in the wilderness, as before observed, we had only half our allowance of provisions, which was one half pound of flour, and one half pound fresh beef, or rather an apology for beef, as our cattle had become intolerably poor, in consequence of constant driving. When we came to an Indian town, we had neither meal nor flour, but only a trifle of salt. When we first came to the Indian towns, their corn was suitable to boil or roast; of course we had plenty of succatash. When the corn became too mature for this, we converted some old tin kettles, found in the Indian settlements, into large graters, and obliged every fourth man, not on guard, to sit up all night, and grate corn, which would make meal, something like hominy. This meal was mixed with boiled squash or pumpkin, when hot, and kneaded into cakes, and baked by the fire. This bread, coarse as it was, relished well among soldiers fatigued with their daily marches through the wilderness, and I very much doubt, whether one of them would have allowed George III. one morsel of it, to have saved him from the lock-jaw.

On Monday morning, we were all engaged in picking corn, and carrying it, in our blankets, into the Indian houses. We completed our task, about noon, when we struck our tents and marched a short distance to a rising piece of ground, in the rear of the town, where we made a halt. We then fired a small field piece, as a signal for a party who was sent for the purpose of setting fire to every house and cabin in the town, filled with ears of corn in the husk, at one and the same instant. The sight of so many buildings on fire, the massy clouds of black smoke, and the curling pillars of flame bursting through them, formed an awful and sublime spectacle.

Neither did it altogether escape our reflection what must be the inevitable consequence resulting from the destruction of all the sustenance of a multitude of natives. But when we reflected on the inhuman barbarities they had inflicted on our own people, the scalps that we had seen hanging around their wigwams, from the aged parent of grey hairs, down to the resistless infant at the breast, we could not but feel justified in the act, whilst we lamented the dreadful necessity that impelled us to it. We now retraced our steps back to the garrison on the Tioga Point, with as much dispatch as possible.

As before observed, we arrived at Big Tree on Saturday night. On Sunday, a white woman was

* TWENTY-TWO were killed and left on the field. It is not improbable that the error has arisen in copying the "History," a modern production, from the original memorandum. H. B. D.

† This very brief statement of the capture of Lieutenant Boyd and his party, falls to convey to the reader a just idea of that sad event.

Boyd was sent forward, with a party of twenty-six men, to reconnoitre Little Beardstown, and had accomplished his purpose and was on his return to the main body when he fell into an ambush, as described in the text. He and the Sergeant were alone spared by Joseph Brant, who commanded the enemy, while three escaped and twenty-two were killed.

Boyd was spared by Brant because of his Masonic ties, sent forward to Little Beardstown, and well treated; but Butler, the Loyalist chief, during Brant's absence, subsequently butchered both him and Parker, because they would not divulge the information they possessed concerning the American army. It was the savage *white* Loyalist, not the half-civilized Indian warrior, who was the butcher in this instance.

The remains of Boyd and Parker were removed to Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, in August, 1842; and in a little volume describing the ceremonies on that occasion, and in the *Journals* of Major Livermore, Lieutenant Barton, and "an officer"—the latter cited by Judge Campbell,—the *Life of Major Van Campen*; the *Life of Mary Jemison, the White Woman*; and Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, the reader will find other and more important particulars. H. B. D.

‡ Major Van Campen says that Little Beardstown, where Boyd's and Parker's remains were found, was occupied by the American troops on Tuesday, the fourteenth of September. H. B. D.

* It is said that upwards of seven hundred acres of growing corn, besides vast quantities of other property, including more than a hundred and twenty houses, were destroyed at this place. H. B. D.

discovered coming towards our tents, leading by the hand a little boy, about four years old. Coming to our sentries, she enquired of them if they knew where the Rebel army was. The term "*Rebel*" was particularly offensive to the guard; but nevertheless, as she was a white woman, they asked her to explain, at the same time telling her that they were a part of General Sullivan's army, and that if she would escape with her life, she must not call them by the name of "*rebel*." She informed them that she had been a prisoner with the Indians about two years; that at the time she and her little son were taken prisoners, her husband was killed by the savages; and at the time we entered the town, the day before, the Indians were in such haste to get out of it, that she could not follow them, and finally lost herself in the woods; that when she saw our tents she did not know but it might be Butler's camp, and if it proved to be, she would tell them she had been lost in the woods; for if they discovered that she had made an attempt to escape, they would probably take her life. She was then shown to the General's Quarters, and well provided for.

During our march to the garrison, she and her child were provided with a horse. On the third day of our march, her child was taken extremely sick. To leave them behind was certain death, either by starvation, or by the merciless cruelty of the Indians, who would naturally hang at a small distance in our rear. The want of provisions began to be extremely felt, and our Commander felt it to be his duty to push on, with all possible speed, to our garrison. The sickness of the child, however, still continued, and in a short time it expired in its mother's arms. Here was presented a scene that would melt the hardest heart. The poor little sufferer was wrapped in an old blanket, and placed in a hole, dug with a sharpened stick, in the ground; then covered over, and a few pieces of old rotten timber thrown upon it, to prevent the wild beasts from devouring its body.

Our soldiers had faced the cannon's mouth; they had in that expedition seen their comrades shot down by their side, and in an instant, seen them gasping in the agonies of death; they had seen the mangled bodies of the brave Boyd and his gallant party; but the present scene called louder for their tears of sympathy, than aught they had witnessed before. A disconsolate widow, whose husband had fallen by savage brutality before her eyes, who for two long years had endured the hardships and privations of captivity, among a race of beings whose tender mercies are cruel, in company with her little son, now mourning over the rudely constructed grave of all she held dear on earth, was a scene before which the hardest veteran forgot the soldier and as-

sumed the man. No female friend stood near, to offer one word of consolation.

Pause for a moment, and reflect on her situation. Behold her and her husband, among the hardy adventurers of our frontier inhabitants, when after successfully encountering almost innumerable difficulties, they were about to realize the benefits of their activity and labor, about to raise the cup of plenty to their lips; when all in a moment is dashed away. Behold her husband, murdered and scalped before her eyes; her habitation wrapped in flames; she and her child bound, expecting every moment to share the same fate her husband had before. Hear the heart-rending screams of her little son; hear too the war whoop of those merciless fiends of cruelty, brandishing the scalping knife and tomahawk over her head. Think of the two long years of captivity she had suffered, and finally of her escape therefrom. Think of the time when Hope first began to brighten in her eye, and when she fondly cherished the pleasing expectation of once more seeing her surviving friends, with the only son of her murdered husband; and then form, if you can, an adequate conception of the nature and extent of a mother's grief, under such distressing circumstances.

We pursued our line of march much in the same order that we did in going out; sometimes encamping on the same ground. When we came to the place where we left the old mother of the red men, we found her there, but she had paid the debt of nature. The General ordered her to be buried. On returning through the swamp, our baggage horses had become so poor and weak, that we lost in this place more than a hundred, and it has been called, I suppose, *The valley of Horse heads*, to this day.*

When we left Tioga Point, we left the principal part of our clothing, by general order. We were not allowed any clothing besides that which we wore, with the exception of one spare shirt. Our clothing consisted of a short rifle frock, vest, tow trousers, shoes, stockings, and blanket. Marching nearly the whole time in the woods, among the thick underbrush, it may well be supposed that we had but little left of our clothing, on our return to the garrison. Our feet were many of them bare and bleeding. I shall ever remember my own situation at this period. Destitute of shoes, and almost destitute of pantaloons, we encamped one night on an open ground, covered with wild grass. In the morning, the ground was covered with frost. Going some forty or fifty rods for water to boil my half pound of beef,

* The town of Horseheads, Chemung County, New York, is the best record of this event which now exists. The village of Horseheads is no longer known by its historical name, but glories in the meaningless soubriquet of "*Fairport*." H. B. D.

Lieutenant Thomas Blake, of our Company, observed my situation, went to his portmanteau, took out a pair of shoes and a pair of pantaloons, and kindly presented them to me.

When we came within a few miles of the fort, an express was sent to the garrison for provision. We halted till the provision came, and with it a few kegs of whiskey. We remained here a day or two, to recruit our almost famished bodies, when we again struck our tents and paraded, ready to march, at the given signal. Immediately, we received orders to stack our arms, and every man to powder his head as white as the snow on the Alpine mountains. This order could not be complied with, as there was not an ounce of flour among the whole of us. The Commander, being informed of it, he sent, post haste, to the garrison for a horse load of flour. In the meantime, every man was ordered to shave his face, and to place an evergreen bough or bush on his hat. The flour having arrived, and being distributed, we immediately fell to whitening each other's sconces. No one could be exempt from this duty. Not a negro or mulatto could escape the honor of a white top to his neck; and of all the spectacles ever exhibited to the eyes of men, the sight of nearly three thousand men, in rags and tatters, nearly naked, with the remaining parts of their garments hanging in streamers behind them, must have afforded merriment even to the most grave and sanctimonious. When our officers came on to the ground, and beheld our truly ludicrous appearance, they could not suppress the loud laugh; and even our Chaplain forgot his gravity.

The signal being given, we were under way in a moment, and arrived at the garrison about four o'clock in the afternoon. We were received with a salute from the fort, and with three cheers from the garrison. Here we once more drew our full allowance of provision. The season was far advanced, and no time was to be lost in descending the river down to Wyoming. All our munitions of war were placed on board the boats, together with the greater part of the army. We soon reached Wyoming,* disembarked, and marched on to Easton.† Here we received the Report of the Committee, appointed by the General to estimate the quantity of corn we destroyed, belonging to the Indians. It was computed at one hundred and sixty-five thousand bushels.

Whilst here, we were ordered to attend Divine service, under arms, in a large meadow, to return thanks for the signal success of the Expedition, and the unparalleled health of the troops. A discourse was delivered by the Rev. Ira Evans, of New Hampshire.

We then proceeded in easy marches to our Winter quarters, in full expectation of receiving a full remuneration from Government, not only for our services, but also for our back rations. In this, however, we have always been disappointed.

The country is now surrounded on all sides with peace and plenty. No hostile foe invades our shores; no merciless savage thrusts himself into our quiet and peaceful dwellings, to rob us of our security and to butcher our defenceless families. The poor soldier, who spilled his blood in the service of his country, with Washington, Gates, or Sullivan, will soon follow his co-patriots to the grave, unrequited, and forgotten by that country he once "so faithfully loved and protected." In our turn, we have become the oppressors of the weak; and the defenceless Creek and Cherokee feel the full force of our insatiable avarice.

May God save our country from ruin; and may we, in the language of Mr. Clay, "Never despair of the American Republic."

III.—PETER MINUIT, FIRST GOVERNOR OF NEW NETHERLANDS.

LETTER OF J. G. SARDEMANN, PASTOR AT WESEL, IN RHENISH PRUSSIA, TO FRIEDRICH KAPP IN NEW YORK.

(Communicated by Mr. KAPP.)

WESEL, February 2, 1868.

DEAR SIR:

In the early part of last year I read your paper on PETER MINNEWIT, of Wesel, in Von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* [Historical Magazine]. Deeply interested in the history of my native city and in that of my Church, the Evangelical, my attention was drawn to that part of your History in which both appear as active participants in the great religious and political struggle of the Reformation, and in which we find so many interesting characters mentioned in the history of our own small city. Hence I welcomed with great joy your statements concerning a townsman, who, although he had occupied a prominent position among the "epigones" of our City, and although such memories cluster round his name, was yet entirely unknown to us.

At this moment the first volume of your history of German emigration to America lies before me, and I rejoice to peruse a book pervaded by a breath of fresh German feeling, bracing and invigorating, as the wind that blows over our Northern dykes. The publication of this book coinciding with the events which open a new future to Germany at home, is a great deed in our present epoch, for it will contribute to give to our people, which hitherto appeared like an Ahasuerus among the nations, the honor due to

* On the thirtieth of September. H. B. D.

† Where they arrived on the fifteenth of October. H. B. D.

it. May you see the germs of life, with which your book abounds, develop into flowers and fruits.

When I had perused your first paper on Peter Minnewit I commenced to search our Church Register for further information concerning him and his family. What I then found I published in last year's issue of the magazine edited by the Historical Society for the Duchy of Berg [*Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichts Vereins*]. Said Church Registers gave no further information regarding him. But within the last few days, when examining the City Records for the purpose of another historical investigation, I met with a few facts which I used as a basis for renewed search. I now beg leave to lay the result before you, hoping that the same may not prove uninteresting.

The Reformed Congregation (called the Evangelical since the Union of 1817.) owns to this day, besides a church formerly Lutheran, now likewise Evangelical, two other Churches, of which the one, that of SAINT WILLIBRORD, was the Parochial Church within the confines of the City; while the other, the MATHENA, is situated in the suburb. Both had separate church Registers, the Register of Marriages of the MATHENA beginning with the year 1564, and that of St. Willibrord in 1598. The Records of Baptisms for both Churches begin with the tenth of September, 1594. In November, 1628, it was first resolved to have the Registers of Deaths kept by the Sexton, [*Küster*] but this was not carried into execution for some time.

Now in the Register of Baptisms, on the Church of St. Willibrord we find, as baptized on the eighteenth of February, 1598, JAN [JOHN]. Son of Jan Minuit and Sara. In the List of marriages of the same Church, we find under the twentieth of May, 1607, entered as, "Proclamati: Gerrit [*Gerhard*] Hasenkamp and Maria Minuit." I suppose there is no doubt that all the persons here named belonged to the same family; nor do I believe myself mistaken in assuming that Peter Minuit was a son of Jan and Sara his wife, since the family name of the mother as well as the rank and descent of the father, were very rarely stated in the Registers of those days. According to your report Peter Minuit, whose family name seems to be well established by these and other facts, was said to have been a Deacon of the Reformed church of this City, a matter which cannot be doubted, because the statement of Pastor Michaelius was most probably based upon testimonials from the Church, which in those stirring times again had taken the place of the "literæ commendative" of the ancient Churches, and without which none may be supposed to have left a Church, least of all one who had held a prominent office.

I undertook to search the Lists of Deacons of our Reformed Church, from 1590 till 1625, as well as the presbyterial minutes, in which the attestations or testimonials granted to such members as left for foreign parts, are almost in every case literally recorded. But this also had no result; in none of the documents of the old Church do we find the name of Peter Minuit mentioned.

In order to explain the true cause of this silence, I must retrace my steps, and give a short synopsis of the history of our City and congregation.

Wesel, the largest and most important city of the then Duchy of Cleve, occupied a more independent position in civil and ecclesiastical administration than almost all other towns, being in close communication with the neighboring Netherlands and of much commercial importance as an old "Hanse town." It had before that time felt the influence of the reformatory movement of the age. As early as 1516, the celebrated "Humanist," Buschius was called as Rector of the High school, and here wrote his *Vallum humanitatis*; but soon resumed his wanderings. To the same school, in 1528, was called as Conrector, Adolphus Klarenbach. He became the centre of a circle of friends united by common convictions and purposes, and mainly through his efforts the Reformation began to take deeper roots. But the reaction set in, nourished by the higher clergy and strengthened by influence with the Ducal Court; and soon Klarenbach was compelled to yield. In 1529, he visited a friend lately stationed near Wesel, and one of his former supporters, who had been thrown into prison, a certain Clopprius. The latter succeeded in making his escape; but Klarenbach fell into the hands of the Inquisition and suffered death at Cologne on the twenty-eighth of September, 1529, being burned at the stake. The fire he had kindled at Wesel, was however not extinguished but continued to spread. We had some share in the troubles caused by the Anabaptists at Münster, and here too they led to scenes of bloodshed; nevertheless the party favorable to Reformation grew in numbers and influence; a Protestant Minister from Seeland, named Ortzenius, was called as early as 1538, and at Easter, 1540, almost the entire population of the City, headed by the Council, partook of the Communion *sub utraque* [in both forms] thus virtually embracing Protestantism.

In the neighboring Netherlands, the waves of persecution rose higher and higher under the reign of Charles V; moreover, through the Treaty of Venlo the Duke of Cleve, who before influenced by the Humanist, Conrad Heersbach, and by the celebrated Erasmus, had not been disinclined to favor the Reformation, was again brought under the full power of the Emperor. Then the City took a bold step. A new High-school was

founded, and on the recommendation of Melancthon, Nicolas Buscoducensis was appointed Rector of the school, and Superintendent of Churches. Their intention was to make Wesel, situated near the frontier of the Netherlands, a very, "home and hearth," for Evangelical life. The founding of the school was made known through the Netherlands; but Charles answered by a proclamation dated Bruxelles, in 1544. "In honden de Verbot ende Condemnatie van de Unwersityt ende schole van Wezele un op nieuwe opgericht in den lande van Cleve." [An Order forbidding, and condemning the University and School recently founded in Wesel in the land of Cleve.] In spite of all this the school kept flourishing, and the city dared to maintain a spiritual armory in the face of a powerful Prince and Emperor.

This bold deed had an unexpected effect. Walloons, (Netherlanders from the Southern Provinces, whose native language was the French) came as fugitives from persecution to Wesel, where they found a welcome and protection, and having settled, they established a Walloon or French Reformed Church. They were afterwards joined by fugitives from France proper. Francis Perucell, formerly a Franciscan monk in Paris, but more lately a zealous and energetic professor and minister of the Reformed Religion and a friend of Calvin, had led many Protestants from Picardy to England, where during the reign of Edward, the Gospel was allowed to be preached without restraint. After the death of Edward, Mary commenced the persecution of Protestants, and drove many out of the country, natives as well as foreigners. Thus in 1554, Perucell came to Wesel. He was soon followed by others, among them a number of English; and besides the Walloon, ere long an English Reformed Congregation was organized.

At Wesel was born Peregrin, son of Richard Berthie and Catherine Willoughby, widow of the Duke of Suffolk. Here lived Coverdale, Thomas Young, afterwards Archbishop of York, Scory, Bishop of Chichester; and John Rough, who, returning to England suffered the death of a martyr.

The Walloon or French Congregation remained in close connection with Calvin; and, later, they also exchanged letters with Beza, Hubert Lanquet, Icar Taffin, and continued to grow through the arrival of fugitives from the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands. Even more numerous became the congregation, formed by Netherlanders from the North, speaking the Dutch or Hollandish language.

When Alba held his infamous razzias in the Netherlands, and when Philip II. tried to wipe out Protestantism by "sword, fire and water" and to extinguish truth in the blood of its confessors,

nearly one hundred thousand Netherlanders fled into the Duchy of Cleve, and the Dutch Church in Wesel increased to from three thousand to four thousand souls. But the Walloon or French Church, at that time guided by Carolus Niellius, the friend of Franciscus Junius and a man whose religious courage had been tried among the gallows and auto da fe's of Antwerp, kept also increasing. It was especially this last named city, which sent many fugitives, so much so that Wesel finally received the epithet of "Little Antwerp."

At that time my native city was the asylum of the persecuted Creed, and the home of religious freedom; the Gospel was preached within its walls in the German, Dutch, French and English languages; and the citizens braved all to retain the well deserved appellation, "*Vesalia hospitalis, hospitium esulum Dei.*"

Here was the centre of reformatory agitation; from here the pamphlets and tracts, so distasteful to Spain and Rome, were scattered over the neighboring countries. They were likened by the partisans of Popery to the unceasing thrusts of a needle. Here on the eleventh of November, 1568, the Delegates of all the Churches founded by fugitive Protestants from the Netherlands, the Churches beneath the Cross, met in convention, to unite and strengthen themselves through the bands of a common organization, the Presbyterian, and laid the foundation of that church polity, which to this day has proved a blessing to our Rhenish Church.

This first synod of Wesel, held in 1568, is a significant fact in church history; it will ever for the future bear good fruits and be commemorated at the tercentenary Jubilee of the Rhenish Church, which will be celebrated this year, and most probably in our own city and church.

The decided stand taken by Wesel at that time explains a doggerel then sung by its adversaries,

"Genf [*Geneva*] Wesel and New Rochelle
"Are the Devil's other hell."

When the persecution in their native countries had ceased, many fugitive Netherlanders and Wallons left for home, and as a token of gratitude presented to the City two large tankards of gilt silver, on the covers of which was embossed the historical "geuse" with his beggar's staff and hat, besides a shield bearing this inscription, "*Domine, conserva Vesaliam inclytam, hospitium tuorum,*" and the words of Christ, "*Hospes fui et me collegistis,*" the body being adorned with emblems of hospitality, selected from Sacred History. These tankards were delivered on the twenty-fourth of February, 1588.

Still, many members of the Dutch as well as of the Walloon Church remained as citizens of Wesel. The former united, in course of time, with the German parochial Church, formed of

natives, but with the arrangement that the Church always had one clergyman preaching in the Dutch language, which was continued in force until 1830. The Walloon or French Church remained separate, receiving another addition after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and existed till the beginning of this century; but all members were natives of this city, and few have preserved their French names, most of them having been gradually Germanized. In the beginning of the present century, this Church also united with ours. Unfortunately, its old Records were badly kept, and but little remained useful for our investigation.

But it is time to return to Peter Minuit.

Peter Minuit had already been a Deacon at Wesel, as is attested by Pastor Michaelius. However, the carefully written Lists of Deacons of the Dutch and German Churches, from 1590 till 1626, do not contain his name; and as there is no reason for doubting said statement of Domine Michaelius, we can only surmise that he was a Deacon of the Walloon or French congregation, and belonged with his family to this Church, the records of which are, as stated above, mostly lost.

This supposition, that the Minuits belonged to the French Church, is not contradicted by the fact mentioned at a former place, that the Baptisms and Marriages of members of his family were recorded in the Register of the parochial Church of St. Willibrord, for it was at that time customary with the members of the Walloon or French Church to have their Baptisms and Marriages entered in the lists of the old parish Church.

That the Minuit family had been for a long time residing in Wesel, and, although originally of Walloon or French descent, had become more less Germanized, or "Batavized;" seems proved by their Dutch or German names, as Jan, Jacob, Maria, Peter; while other families had in this respect preserved their nationality. Thus we find the names of Jean, Jacques, Pierre, to a late date in the seventeenth century; and the Dutch, too, were for a long time unwilling to exchange their "Pitter," for the German "Peter," and it is thus found as the Christian name of PITTER MINUIT.

I must suppose, that the family had already become indigenous. The Hasencamp family, with which Maria Minuit was connected by marriage, had before that time been represented among the members of the Reformed Church, at Cleve, and bears a genuine German name, quite frequent to this day in the Rhinelands.

Now, the Church Registers having established only one point concerning the subject of this investigation, namely, that his name was "MINUIT," and that his family most probably belonged to the Walloon [French] Church, we find

in the Archives of the City a few additional facts concerning him.

The city authorities were intrusted not only with the political and financial affairs of the city, but also with the administration of justice, with the sole exception of trials for capital crimes; and especially with the supervision of guardians and the decision of all tutelary cases. A Law in the old Wesel Code required, that wherever children under age had been left by a person deceased, the guardians should be selected from the next of kin, provided they were inhabitants of the country. Now we find in the *Minutes* of the nineteenth of October, 1616, the following entry: "Peter Minuit, Guardian of 'the children of Gerret Hasencamp, from his 'first marriage, has prayed, inasmuch as his co-'guardian, Fontein, had died, to join with him 'another colleague in said guardianship, because 'he had information that said Hasencamp had 'sold a pasture in which he had owned one-half, 'the balance belonging to his children, without '[his, Minuit's,] consent, to Werich von Bernsaw, 'against which sale he now publicly protests." From this record it seems probable, that the Maria Minuit, who married Gerrit Hasencamp, was a sister of Peter Minuit; that she died early, leaving children; and that her husband then contracted another marriage.

In the *Minutes* of the fifth of March, 1619, we find the following entry. "Upon the application of Henry Briels, a citizen of Emmerich, 'and Guardian of the children of Samuel Fontein, PETER MINUIT is appointed to him, 'pro contutore, and has taken the oath as the 'law requires."

I here remark, that Claes Gerritsen, mentioned in your history, appears as Procurator (*Attorney*) in a volume of Law Reports, which formerly belonged to the law library of the Magistrates and is now preserved in the Court of justice in this city. In said Reports it is stated that he was victorious in a law suit of his father-in-law, Claes Reinertz, *versus* John von Beck, of Horn. Claes Reinertz too seems to have been present at the trial. The name of Gerritsen is of frequent occurrence in the Lists of Members of the Dutch Church.

There is another mention of Peter Minuit made in the *Minutes of the Magistrates*, dated the fifteenth of April, 1625. It is there recorded, that he was no longer a resident of Wesel, but that *he had left for foreign countries*; even his wife had left Wesel; and was living at Cleve.

I find a letter of the Magistrates of Wesel to those of Cleve, with the following contents: "Derrick Lewen and Gerrit van Briel, the Guardian 'and Co-guardian of the Children of Sam. Fontein, 'apply to the Magistrates of Wesel and through 'them to those of Cleve, to have Peter Minuit's wife 'ordered to hand over all papers concerning the

"Guardianship of Sam. Fontein's children to the present Guardians, inasmuch as Peter Minuit, who hitherto acted as Guardian, had *left for foreign Countries.*" Then in the *Minutes* of the twenty-fourth of March, 1626, it is again complained, that the wife of Peter Minuit had not yet handed over said papers. But from that date the matter ceases to be mentioned and no trace of it is left.

This is all I have been able to discover concerning Minuit, nor do I think that anything more can be found in the archives of our City.

From our researches it appears that

FIRST: The real name of the man was "MINUIT" and not the Batavized, "MINNEWITT;" and that he was a descendant of a family resident in Wesel since the end of the sixteenth Century.

SECOND: That he most probably left Wesel about 1624, at a time (from 1614 till 1629, when it was occupied by the Spaniards) at which time the city had lost much of its former thrift, commerce, and social refinement, and was gradually growing poor, the Protestants having lost their Churches, and religious oppression and persecution making the impoverished condition of the people still more felt.

A letter written at that time in our city contains a passage giving a fitful description of the doings of the Spaniards in Wesel: "Ignoras istam gentem; Basilisco more vincino quæ cum-que, etiam ærem vetus, tabo (?) conficere, econ-tre, quæ Batavi tenent paullaten efflorescere." Who ever was able, would leave the city in which the great number of troops, quartered upon the inhabitants, had made the typhoid fever endemic to such a degree, that the Ducal Government at Cleve restrained for some time the people of the adjoining district from visiting it to find protection through the powerful, and well inclined government of the States-general.

THIRD: The families with whom Minuit was connected by relationship were prominent through their riches, as, for instance, the families of Hasencamp, Fontein, Huyghen. William Huyghen, whom you know to have been Minuit's brother-in-law, was already, in 1612, a Deacon of the Dutch Church, and I suppose that his sister was Minuit's wife.

If Peter Minuit was educated in the Gymnasium (*College*) at Wesel (which we may suppose, because his family was before that time residing in Wesel,) he had among his teachers Rector John Brant, an excellent pedagogue and an intimate friend of the geographer Mercator, with whom he had been living at Duisburg. Among Brant's pupils we find a number of men noted for high qualities of head and heart.

FOURTH: As a man endowed with such gifts, Minuit appears already in his capacity of guardian. Boldly he espoused the cause of the orphan

children of his sister Maria against his own brother-in-law, Hasencamp, protesting against the sale of the pasture to Werrich von Bernsaw, who was the Lord of Bellinghoven and Bailiff at Bislich, Haffen, and Mehr, a nobleman of great powers, who in the records of the Court of the twentieth of April 1620, was styled: "The noble and dread Lord."

This title given to the nobleman, however, only reflects the customs of that age, and does not prove that spirit of abject submissiveness which became so loathsome at a later period, the citizens being fully conscious of their standing and privileges. The intrepidity of the stout burghers in their dealings with the aristocracy, was well illustrated by Peter Minuit's defence of his wards against the "Noble and dread Lord."

FIFTH: Wesel being at that time almost a Dutch city, in which on account of the intercourse with the Netherlands (which was not only commercial but one indicating intimate personal relations) there was a necessity of a large number of officials; and I cannot resist the impression, that Minuit too held an office. His integrity can, the Fontein guardianship notwithstanding, in no way be questioned; and that it was not doubted may be proved by the hereditary caution which the Dutch Government ever showed in the selection of its officers. No spot in his character or reliability could have escaped their scrutiny, since Wesel and its authorities had ever been on the most intimate and friendly footing with the Dutch Government, with which there was a constant open or secret exchange of letters, even while the city was occupied by the Spaniards. * *

Respectfully, yours

SARDEMANN,

Pastor at Wesel.

IV.—THE SPEECH OF MR. JOHN CHECKLEY, UPON HIS TRYAL, AT BOSTON, IN NEW-ENGLAND, 1724.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

By E. H. GILLET.

Few pieces in ecclesiastical or theological controversy ever published in this country, are, in themselves and their results, so memorable, historically, as that which appeared in Boston in 1723, under the title of *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists, &c.* It was the reprint, with slight alterations, of the noted work by Charles Leslie, but at the close of this, which extended only to forty-one octavo pages, was introduced *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, which

* This is a careful reprint of the very rare tract published by J. Applebee, in London, in 1738, and contains the verdict of the Jury, Mr. Checkley's Plea in Arrest of Judgment, and the Sentence pronounced by the Court.

We are indebted to Mr. A. Lloyd, the antiquarian bookseller, 115 Nassau-street, New York, for the privilege of republishing it, and to our untrifling friend, Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., of Harlem, N. Y., for the very carefully-prepared Introductory Note from his own pen, which precedes it. *Ed. Hist. Mag.*

extended from the forty-first to the one hundred and twenty-seventh page, the whole closing with *The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians*.

The work was published at London, by J. Applebee; but was "sold by John Checkley, at the sign of the Crown and 'Blue Gate, over-against the West-End of the Town-House 'In Boston.'" John Checkley therefore might be considered the Boston Publisher; and the *Discourse Concerning Episcopacy* was drawn up by him, who was compelled doubtless to send to England to procure its printing.

Checkley was born in Boston, in 1680. But his parents were from England; and throughout his life he was most untiringly devoted to the interests of the English Church. His feelings, or perhaps we might say prejudices, were very strong, and he was as violent an Anti-Calvinist and Non-juror, as he was Episcopalian. His education was well cared for. He was placed at an early age under the care of Ezekiel Cheever, and subsequently went to England, and finished his studies at the University of Oxford, although he seems never to have received a degree.

Abounding in wit and humor, he must have been a genial companion. After his return to this country, he fell in with one who was several years his junior, but in many respects was fully his equal; while on the leading theological questions of the day, the two young men held positions perfectly antagonistic.

Thomas Walter, the son of Nehemiah Walter, the Minister of Roxbury, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1718; and it was during his college course that John Checkley became his intimate associate. Fond of company, the learning and wit of Checkley attracted him; and he yielded to it, to the grief of his father, and in spite of the admonitions of his uncle, Cotton Mather, who warned him to beware of the man.

The intercourse between the two young men led to theological discussion, and at length to public disputation. Walter could appreciate learning and genius, but indolent as he might have been in study, he was strongly attached to the doctrines and order of the New England Churches. Checkley published in 1716, two years after Walter left college, and while he was probably studying theology with his father at Roxbury, *Choice Dialogues about Predestination*, in which he indulged his sarcasm at the expense of the Calvinistic doctrines of the New England churches. These dialogues Walter answered; and, in 1720, the "Answer by a 'Stripling'" was republished.

Walter's reply may have been the occasion of kindling Checkley's zeal for more extended controversy. But just at this time, from a variety of causes which it is not necessary to detail, a very extended movement in behalf of Episcopacy took place both in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Hitherto the progress of the Episcopal Church in New England had been very unpromising. The violent wresting of one of the Congregational Churches of Boston from the hands of the congregation for the use of Episcopallians, which occurred just before the Revolution of 1683, had not been forgotten; and Episcopacy found but little sympathy or encouragement in Massachusetts. In 1716, Benjamin Colman, writing from Boston, says, "We have but one single 'Congregation among us of the worship of the Church of 'England, who are treated by us with all that Christian respect and brotherly esteem and regard they can reasonably 'expect and desire." (Colman's *Life*, 64.) Three or four years before, he had written to Doctor Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, explaining the local zeal for Episcopacy which prevailed in some of the towns: "There happen," he says, "a discontented person or two in the place; or some difference about placing a new house for Public Worship, or about paying their little rate to the Ministry, or the like; 'Immediately they are advised, or of their own mind they 'propose to themselves, 'Let us send over to the Lord 'Bishop of London, or to the Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel, for a Minister of the Church of 'England.'" He then cites instances to illustrate the truth of his statements—as Baintree, the application in behalf of which, Rev. Mr. Miles of Boston refused to countenance—Newbury, where a number, dissatisfied about the location of the meeting-house, had gone off "only in a Pet, and to 'save their rate"—and Jamaica, on Long Island, where "Mr. Hubbard and the people there, were unrighteously 'dispossessed of the Church and Ministry House and 'Lands."

But in Connecticut, the prospects of the Episcopal Church suddenly brightened. The reaction against the disorders of the ecclesiastical condition of the Churches while left to

themselves and *ex-parte* Councils, had been signaled by the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, in 1709, and was evidently favorable to Episcopal enterprise. The donation of Bishop Berkeley to Yale College, and the perusal on the part of the students of the works of Episcopal divines procured by him for the library, were not without effect. The result was that eventually a very serious defection, helped forward by influences from New York Colony, with its Royal Governor, became imminent. In 1722, on the day following the Commencement, a paper was presented to the Clergy and others assembled in the College Library, signed by several prominent Clergymen in Connecticut, expressing doubts in regard to the validity of Presbyterian Ordination. A discussion ensued some weeks after, as the result of which some of the signers declared their scruples removed, while others did not hesitate to avow their full Episcopal Convictions.

The apprehensions excited by their defection from the faith and order of the New England Churches, extended not only to Massachusetts, but to Scotland. Wodrow wrote to Cotton Mather, on the eighteenth of March, 1723, "We were very much alarmed and grieved when, by the London prints, we found eight or ten of the Ministers of New 'England (as they were pleased to magnify the numbers) 'were conformed to the Church of England. It pleased 'me to hear that only the treacherous rector is gone to 'England. Those offences and defections must be; and I 'persuade myself Holy Providence has great end to accomplish by them. You'll please to continue your accounts of 'these apostates."

The expectations of many were disappointed in the meagre results that followed the movement. "Most of 'the few apostates," says Mather, "have reconciled themselves to their offended Churches." But for a time the apprehensions felt by the friends of New England Churches were extreme. In 1723, Timothy Cutler, the former Rector of Yale College, returned from England, where he had been invested with holy orders—not alone as Wodrow supposed—and became the first Rector of the North, or Christ, Church in Boston. The corner stone of the house was laid by Rev. Mr. Myles on the fifteenth of April, and the edifice was opened for public worship on the twenty-ninth of December, 1723.

Two years had wrought a great change in the relative aspects of Congregationalism and Episcopacy in New England. The friends of the former were full of fears, while the latter were jubilant in their anticipations.

Perhaps there was neither in New England nor out of it, a more sagacious observer of the signs of the times than John Checkley. Probably at the very time when arrangements were making for laying the corner stone of the new Episcopal Church in Boston, his orders were being executed in England for a new edition of a work, entitled *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. He determined to circulate the edition in the interest of Episcopacy in this country.

By some, the *Modest Proof* has been ascribed to Checkley himself. (See ALLEN'S *Biographical Dictionary*. Article J. CHECKLEY.) It is possible indeed that it was really his production, but it is pretty evident that he or his friends ascribed it to a Scotchman, P. Barclay, who in 1712, published in London, his *Persuasion to the People of Scotland in order to remove their prejudices to the Book of Common Prayer, with answer to the dialogues between a Curate and a Countryman*. Professor Wigglesworth, who wrote in reply to the *Modest Proof*, his *Sober Remarks on a work lately Reprinted at Boston, entitled 'A Modest Proof, &c.'*, felt naturally some curiosity to know its origin. His Scotch correspondent, Wodrow, was unable to inform him. He could only say, "Mr. P. Barclay's *Persuasion*, as far 'as I know, was not published in Scotland. We have many 'of those people that publish their virulent pamphlets in 'England and Ireland. Had it been going in Scotland 'these twenty-five years, I imagine it would not altogether 'have escaped me." (Wodrow *Correspondence*, iii, 163.)

Whether by Barclay, or by Checkley who published it, the *Modest Proof*, &c., provoked immediate controversy. Professor Wigglesworth was perhaps first in the field, but if so, Checkley's former associate and antagonist, Thomas Walter, was not far behind. In September (1723) he preached at the

* A Mr. Barclay had been laboring as an Episcopal Minister at Baintree in the early part of the century, and soon left. Regretful mention is made of his departure. Could this have been the P. Barclay, author of the book?

Lecture in Boston, on "The Scriptures the only Rule of Faith and Practice"; and we shall not probably go far astray in identifying him with the *Son of Martin Mar Prelate*, who was one of those who came forward to meet and refute the *Modest Proof*.

Still other answers were forthcoming. "The great Jonathan Dickinson," of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, appeared with *A Defence of Presbyterian Ordination; In Answer to a pamphlet entitled, "A Modest Proof, etc.,"* while to Thomas Foxcroft has been ascribed, *The Ruling and Ordaining Presbytery of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters; Being some Remarks on Mr. P. Barclay's Persuasion, lately distributed in New England, By an Impartial Hand*.

Both of these, as well as Thomas Walter's *Essay upon that Paradox—Infallibility may sometimes mistake*, were not published till 1724, and evidently drew some of their inspiration from the provocation offered in Checkley's next publication, issued in the same year [1728] with the *Modest Proof*, and only a few months, or possibly weeks after it. His republication of Leslie alone, although Leslie was a confirmed Non Juror, and really obnoxious on a civil account—would have probably produced no effect and hardly have commanded attention; but his Discourse concerning Episcopacy was a "Tract for the Times," and was speculatively adapted to affect scrupulous consciences as well as exasperate all whom it classified as *Dissenters*.

He begins with the assumption, based upon Leslie's treatise, that it was "absolutely necessary, that a lineal and uninterrupted succession of the Ministers of Jesus Christ should be preserved." Without this, Christianity would be stripped of an important part of its evidences. The late Mr. Pemberton, in his *Sermon at the Ordination of Joseph Searall*, (published after his death,) is cited to sustain his positions. Christ received his Commission from the Father; the Apostles theirs from Christ, and the "succession" from the Apostles is preserved and derived only in the "Bishops."

The Presbyterian Argument for the parity of the Ministry is next taken up and historically examined. The Episcopal Succession in England is vindicated. The Cambridge Platform is cited to show that the New England Churches "allow Laymen to ordain;" so that their Ordination must be invalid, and "our Korahites of several sizes" are blidden to "take a view of the Heinousness of their Schism; and not think their crime to be nothing because they have been taught with their mother's milk, to have the utmost Abhorrence to the very name of Bishop: tho' they could not tell why."

Church government is next argued from its necessity. The faultiness of rulers does not necessarily vacate their authority; and some of the foreign churches claimed that when they withdrew from Rome her ordination was still valid. The "Dissenters" also are reminded that they are few in number. The great mass of the Christian world is Episcopal. A citation of authorities in behalf of Episcopacy, for the period of four hundred and fifty years after Christ, is also presented, embracing the language of the Fathers and the decrees of Councils. Calvin, Beza, and "the rest of the learned Reformers of their part," are asserted to have given their testimony for Episcopacy "as much as any." Indeed, "our modern Presbyterians," it is said, "have departed from Calvin, as well as from Luther, in their abhorrence of Episcopacy; from all the Christian world in all ages. Calvin would have anathematized all of them, had he lived in our days." "Our Dissenters of all denominations, imitate the hardness of the Jews, who built the Sepulchres of those prophets, whom their fathers slew; while at the same time, they adhered to and outdid the wickedness of the Father, in persecuting the Successors of those prophets."

Checkley next argues in behalf of Episcopacy on the ground that no date of its original can be fixed short of the times of the Apostles. The change to Episcopacy would, he claims, have been noticed and recorded. Hence, the ordinations of Dissenters "in opposition to Episcopacy, are not only invalid, but Sacrilege, and Rebellion against Christ who did institute this Society and gave them their Character, and if their Ordinations are null, then their Baptisms are so too, and all their Ordinances. They are out of the Visible Church, and have no Right to any of the Promises in the Gospel, which are all made to the Church, and to no other."

"Our misled Dissenters" are then told "that when they receive (what they call) the Sacraments of Baptism and

"the Lord's Supper in their Congregations, they receive no Sacraments, nor are their children baptized any more than if a midwife had done it."

The argument against Episcopacy, drawn from the interchangeable use of the terms *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, is next considered. Checkley attempts to illustrate it by the use of the Roman word *Imperator*, sometimes rendered *General* and sometimes *Emperor*. He endeavors also to meet the objection that Episcopacy was gradually introduced. He then proceeds to apply his conclusions with a force and vehemence already foreshadowed in some of his preceding pages. He insists that "never was a cause so exposed, and stripped so naked," as the cause of the Dissenters. He assumes that their Ordinations are usurpations, and their Sacraments impositions. By setting Episcopacy aside they revolt and rebel against Divine authority. He appeals to their fears, their scruples, their affections for their children, their regard for their own souls.

"What Compassion," he asks, (page 110,) "can they have for their tender infants, to carry them to disputed baptism, when they may have that which is clear, and undisputed offered to them? will they present the provocation of their offerings, and pawn their souls upon the greatest uncertainty? Will they dare to say, that it is an uncertainty at best, when they will not because they cannot answer for themselves? Is not this to be self-condemned? To put the stumbling block of their iniquity before their faces, and then come to enquire of the Lord?"

"This I should think were enough to rouse the conscience of any dissenter that is not hardened to a stone. I'm sure if I was a dissenter, it would prick me to the heart. And till I could give an answer to what has been said in these papers, I would never go to a meeting, lest I perished in their sin: I would not receive their sacraments, lest I offered their provocations: and should think myself guilty of the blood of my child, if I brought it to their baptism; at least my own blood would lie upon my HEAD, if I did it with a doubting mind, while I could have that baptism which was undisputed to make my child a member of the church. And how can he who has thrust himself out of the Church, admit another to be a member of it? Can I make another free of any corporation who am not free myself? No. If I am baptized by a schismatic, I am baptized into this schism, and made a member of it, and not of the church against which he is in rebellion and open defiance to it. The children of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, were swallowed up with them. If we will hazard ourselves, let us have some compassion for our innocent children!"

"The charge upon them is very, very heavy; I must confess it is exceeding heavy, but it is as true, as it is great. I know it will raise the indignation of many of them, and I shall hear it from all hands. What! say they, would he unchurch us, and annul our sacraments?—would he make the ordinary ministrations of our ministers as little valid, and more guilty, than if performed by a midwife in case of necessity? Where, where is the moderation of this man? Where is his charity? He makes all our meetings to be assemblies of Korah; in rebellion against God! We are not able to bear it—we will not bear it—It is not fit that such a man should live upon the earth. All this I expect to hear. And now I desire them to bear my defence. I hope they are not all provoked beyond the bounds of reason."

His anticipations indeed proved only too true, as he found to his cost. But he proceeds again in the following strain. [Page 120.] "Now I beseech the Dissenters, as they would avoid the fierce anger of God, to look upon their own sin, in the example given of it in Korah, and which St. Jude says is an example to those who separate themselves in the Christian church."

"Now let the Dissenters see if there be one circumstance of difference betwixt their case and that of Korah? And their pretences are the very same; even at this day, they have not departed from the very words of Korah, for do they not say to their bishops, *Ye take too much upon ye?* And do they not give the same reason, the holiness of the people who are God's heritage, and that the bishops do lift up themselves and lord it over the heritage of Christ? Are not these then their very words? And the same pretences and the words of Korah against Aaron? and have they not made it apparent, that their design was the same with that of Korah, to seize upon the priesthood for themselves? And have they not lorded it over the people with ten fold the rigor that ever was shewed by the bishop-

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Thomas Walter, the son of Nehemiah Walter, the Minister of Roxbury, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1718; and it was during his college course that John Checkley became his intimate associate. Fond of company, the learning and wit of Checkley attracted him; and he yielded to it, to the grief of his father, and in spite of the admonitions of his uncle, Cotton Mather, who warned him to beware of the man.

The intercourse between the two young men led to theological discussion, and at length to public disputation. Walter could appreciate learning and genius, but indolent as he might have been in study, he was strongly attached to the doctrines and order of the New England Churches. Checkley published in 1715, two years after Walter left college, and while he was probably studying theology with his father at Roxbury, *Choice Dialogues about Predestination*, in which he indulged his sarcasm at the expense of the Calvinistic doctrines of the New England churches. These dialogues Walter answered; and, in 1720, the "Answer by a 'Strippling'" was republished.

Walter's reply may have been the occasion of enkindling Checkley's zeal for more extended controversy. But just at this time, from a variety of causes which it is not necessary to detail, a very extended movement in behalf of Episcopacy took place both in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Hitherto the progress of the Episcopal Church in New England had been very unpromising. The violent warring of one of the Congregational Churches of Boston from the hands of the congregation for the use of Episcopals, which occurred just before the Revolution of 1683, had not been forgotten; and Episcopacy found but little sympathy or encouragement in Massachusetts. In 1716, Benjamin Colman, writing from Boston, says, "We have but one single 'Congregation among us of the worship of the Church of 'England, who are treated by us with all that Christian respect and brotherly esteem and regard they can reasonably 'expect and desire." (COLMAN'S *Life*, 84.) Three or four years before, he had written to Doctor Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, explaining the local zeal for Episcopacy which prevailed in some of the towns: "There happen," he says, "a discontented person or two in the place; or some difference about placing a new house for Public Worship, or about paying their little rate to the Ministry, or the like; 'Immediately they are advised, or of their own mind they 'propose to themselves, 'Let us send over to the Lord 'Bishop of London, or to the Honourable Society for Propagating the Gospel, for a Minister of the Church of 'England.'" He then cites instances to illustrate the truth of his statements—as Braintree, the application in behalf of which, Rev. Mr. Miles of Boston refused to countenance—Newbury, where a number, dissatisfied about the location of the meeting-house, had gone off "only in a *Pett*, and to 'save their rate"—and Jamaica, on Long Island, where "Mr. Hubbard and the people there, were unrighteously 'dispossessed of the Church and Ministry House and 'Lands."

But in Connecticut, the prospects of the Episcopal Church suddenly brightened. The reaction against the disorders of the ecclesiastical condition of the Churches while left to

themselves and *ex-parte* Councils, had been signalized by the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, in 1708, and was evidently favorable to Episcopal enterprise. The donation of Bishop Berkeley to Yale College, and the persons on the part of the students of the works of Episcopal divines procured by him for the library, were not without effect. The result was that eventually a very serious defection, helped forward by influences from New York Colony, with its Royal Governor, became imminent. In 1722, on the day following the Commencement, a paper was presented to the Clergy and others assembled in the College Library, signed by several prominent Clergymen in Connecticut, expressing doubts in regard to the validity of Presbyterian Ordination. A discussion ensued some weeks after, as the result of which some of the signers declared their scruples removed, while others did not hesitate to avow their full Episcopal Convictions.

The apprehensions excited by their defection from the faith and order of the New England Churches, extended not only to Massachusetts, but to Scotland. Wodrow wrote to Cotton Mather, on the eighteenth of March, 1723, "We were very much alarmed and grieved when, by the London prints, we found eight or ten of the Ministers of New England (as they were pleased to magnify the numbers) were conformed to the Church of England. It pleases me to hear that only the treacherous rector is gone to England. Those offences and defections must be gone to 'per-suade myself Holy Providence has great end to accomplish by them. You'll please to continue your accounts of 'these apostates.'"

The expectations of many were disappointed in the meagre results that followed the movement. "Most of 'the few apostates," says Mather, "have reconciled themselves to their offended Churches." But for a time the apprehensions felt by the friends of New England Church-order were extreme. In 1723, Timothy Cutler, the former Rector of Yale College, returned from England, where he had been invested with holy orders—not alone as Wodrow supposed—and became the first Rector of the North, or Christ, Church in Boston. The corner stone of the house was laid by Rev. Mr. Myles on the fifteenth of April, and the edifice was opened for public worship on the twenty-ninth of December, 1723.

Two years had wrought a great change in the relative aspects of Congregationalism and Episcopacy in New England. The friends of the former were full of fears, while the latter were jubilant in their anticipations.

Perhaps there was neither in New England nor out of it, a more sagacious observer of the signs of the times than John Checkley. Probably at the very time when arrangements were making for laying the corner stone of the new Episcopal Church in Boston, his orders were being executed in England for a new edition of a work, entitled *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. He determined to circulate the edition in the interest of Episcopacy in this country.

By some, the *Modest Proof* has been ascribed to Checkley himself. (See ALLEN'S *Biographical Dictionary*, Article J. CROSSLAND.) It is possible indeed that it was really his production, but it is pretty evident that he or his friends ascribed it to a Scotchman, P. Barclay, who in 1713, published in London, his *Persuasion to the People of Scotland in order to remove their prejudice to the Book of Common Prayer, with answer to the dialogues between a Curate and a Countryman*.* Professor Wigglesworth, who wrote in reply to the *Modest Proof*, his *Sober Remarks on a work lately Reprinted at Boston, entitled 'A Modest Proof, &c.'* felt, naturally some curiosity to know its origin. His Scotch correspondent, Wodrow, was unable to inform him. He could only say, "Mr. P. Barclay's *Persuasion*, as far as I know, was not published in Scotland. We have many of those people that publish their virulent pamphlets in 'England and Ireland. Had it been going in Scotland 'these twenty-five years, I imagine it would not altogether 'have escaped me." (WODROW *Correspondence*, iii, 183.)

Whether by Barclay, or by Checkley who published it, the *Modest Proof*, &c., provoked immediate controversy. Professor Wigglesworth was perhaps first in the field, but if so, Checkley's former associate and antagonist, Thomas Walter, was not far behind. In September (1723) he preached at the

* A Mr. Barclay had been laboring as an Episcopal Minister at Braintree in the early part of the century, and soon left. Regretful mention is made of his departure. Could this have been the P. Barclay, author of the book?

Lecture in Boston, on "The Scriptures the only Rule of Faith and Practice"; and we shall not probably go far astray in identifying him with the *Son of Martin Mar Prelate*, who was one of those who came forward to meet and refute the *Modest Proof*.

Still other answers were forthcoming. "The great Jonathan Dickinson," of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, appeared with *A Defence of Presbyterian Ordination*; in *Answer to a pamphlet entitled, "A Modest Proof, &c."* while to Thomas Foxcroft has been ascribed, *The Ruling and Ordaining Presbytery of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters: Being some Remarks on Mr. P. Barclay's Persuasion, lately distributed in New England*, By an Impartial Hand.

Both of these, as well as Thomas Walter's *Essay upon that Paradox—Infallibility may sometimes mistake*, were not published till 1724, and evidently drew some of their inspiration from the provocation offered in Checkley's next publication, issued in the same year (1723) with the *Modest Proof*, and only a few months, or possibly weeks after it. His republication of Leslie alone, although Leslie was a confirmed Non Juror, and really obnoxious on a civil account—would have probably produced no effect and hardly have commanded attention; but his Discourse concerning Episcopacy was a "Tract for the Times," and was speculatively adapted to affect scrupulous consciences as well as exasperate all whom it classified as Dissenters.

He begins with the assumption, based upon Leslie's treatise, that it was "absolutely necessary, that a lineal and uninterrupted succession of the Ministers of Jesus Christ should be preserved." Without this, Christianity would be stripped of an important part of its evidences. The late Mr. Pemberton, in his *Sermon on the Ordination of Joseph Sewall*, (published after his death,) is cited to sustain his positions. Christ received his Commission from the Father; the Apostles theirs from Christ, and the "succession" from the Apostles is preserved and derived only in the Bishops.

The Presbyterian Argument for the parity of the Ministry is next taken up and historically examined. The Episcopal Succession in England is vindicated. The Cambridge Platform is cited to show that the New England Churches "allow Laymen to ordain," so that their Ordination must be invalid, and "our Korahites of several sizes" are bidden to "take a view of the Heinousness of their Schism; and not think their crime to be nothing because they have been taught with their mother's milk, to have the utmost Abhorrence to the very name of Bishop: tho' they could not tell why."

Church government is next argued from its necessity. The faultiness of rulers does not necessarily vacate their authority; and some of the foreign churches claimed that when they withdrew from Rome her ordination was still valid. The "Dissenters" also are reminded that they are few in number. The great mass of the Christian world is Episcopal. A citation of authorities in behalf of Episcopacy, for the period of four hundred and fifty years after Christ, is also presented, embracing the language of the Fathers and the decrees of Councils. Calvin, Beza, and "the rest of the learned Reformers of their part," are asserted to have given their testimony for Episcopacy "as much as any." Indeed, "our modern Presbyterians," it is said, "have departed from Calvin, as well as from Luther, in their abhorrence of Episcopacy; from all the Christian world in all ages. Calvin would have anathematized all of them, had he lived in our days." "Our Dissenters of all denominations, imitate the hardness of the Jews, who built the Sepulchres of those prophets, whom their fathers slew; while at the same time, they adhered to and outdid the wickedness of the Fathers, in persecuting the Successors of those prophets."

Checkley next argues in behalf of Episcopacy on the ground that no date of its original can be fixed short of the times of the Apostles. The change to Episcopacy would, he claims, have been noticed and recorded. Hence, the ordinations of Dissenters "in opposition to Episcopacy, are not only invalid, but Sacrilege, and Rebellion against Christ who did institute this Society and gave them their Character; and all their Ordinations are null, then their Baptisms are so too, and all their Ordinances. They are out of the Visible Church, and have no Right to any of the Promises in the Gospel, which are all made to the Church, and to none other."

"Our misled Dissenters" are then told "that when they receive (what they call) the Sacraments of Baptism and

"the Lord's Supper in their Congregations, they receive no Sacraments, nor are their children baptized any more than if a midwife had done it."

The argument against Episcopacy, drawn from the interchangeable use of the terms *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, is next considered. Checkley attempts to illustrate it by the use of the Roman word *Imperator*, sometimes rendered *General* and sometimes *Emperor*. He endeavors also to meet the objection that Episcopacy was gradually introduced. He then proceeds to apply his conclusions with a force and vehemence already foreshadowed in some of his preceding pages. He insists that "never was a cause so exposed, and stripped so naked," as the cause of the Dissenters. He assumes that their Ordinations are usurpations, and their Sacraments impositions. By setting Episcopacy aside they revolt and rebel against Divine authority. He appeals to their fears, their scruples, their affections for their children, their regard for their own souls.

"What Compassion," he asks, [page 110.] "can they have for their tender infants, to carry them to disputed baptism, when they may have that which is clear, and undisputed offered to them? will they present the provocation of their offerings, and pawn their souls upon the greatest uncertainty? Will they dare to say, that it is an uncertainty at best, when they will not because they cannot answer for themselves? Is not this to be self-condemned? To put the stumbling block of their iniquity before their faces, and then come to enquire of the Lord?"

"This I should think were enough to rouse the conscience of any dissenter that is not hardened to a stone. I'm sure if I was a dissenter, it would prick me to the heart. And till I could give an answer to what has been said in these papers, I would never go to a meeting, lest I perish in their sin. I would not receive their sacraments, lest I offered their provocations: and should thank myself guilty of the blood of my child, if I brought it to their baptism: at least my own blood would lie upon my head, if I did it with a doubting mind, while I could have that baptism which was undisputed to make my child a member of the church. And how can he who has thrust himself out of the Church, admit another to be a member of it? Can I make another free of any corporation who am not free myself? No. If I am baptized by a schismatic, I am baptized into this schism, and made a member of it, and not of the church against which he is in rebellion and open defiance to it. The children of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, were swallowed up with them. If we will hazard ourselves, let us have some compassion for our innocent children!"

"The charge upon them is very, very heavy; I must confess it is exceeding heavy, but it is as true, as it is great. I know it will raise the indignation of many of them, and I shall hear it from all hands. What I say they, would be un-church us, and annul our sacraments? would he make the ordinary ministrations of our ministers as little valid, and more guilty, than if performed by a midwife: in case of necessity? Where, where is the moderation of this man? Where is his charity? He makes all our meetings to be assemblies of Korah, in rebellion against God! We are not able to bear it—we will not bear it—it is not fit that such a man should live upon the earth. All this I expect to hear. And now I desire them to hear my defence. I hope they are not all provoked beyond the bounds of reason."

His anticipations indeed proved only too true, as he found to his cost. But he proceeds again in the following strain. [Page 120.] "Now I beseech the Dissenters, as they would avoid the fierce anger of God, to look upon their own sin, in the example given of it in Korah, and which St. Jude says is an example to those who separate themselves in the Christian church."

"Now let the Dissenters see if there be one circumstance of difference betwixt their case and that of Korah? And their pretences are the very same; even at this day, they have not departed from the very words of Korah, for do they not say to their bishops, *Ye take too much upon ye?* And do they not give the same reason, the holiness of the people who are God's heritage, and that the bishops do lift up themselves and lord it over the heritage of Christ? Are not these then their very words? And the same pretences and the words of Korah against Aaron? and have they not made it apparent, that their design was the same with that of Korah, to seize upon the priesthood for themselves? And have they not lorded it over the people with ten fold the rigor that ever was shewed by the bishop-

"ops? The little finger of *Presbytery* was thicker than the loins of *Episcopacy*! [as I can fully, and will, make appear if it be deny'd.]"

(Page 124.) "And who can appoint an ambassador but the King who sends him? Who else can give him his authority? How otherwise is the King obliged to ratify what is signed by his ambassadors in his name pursuant to his instructions? As it is treason for any subject to presume to send an ambassador in the name of his King, it is really taking upon himself to be King. So it is the greatest blasphemy for any man or men to take upon them to appoint priests for God, that is, in plain consequence, usurping the prerogative of God, and, as much as in our power, to dethrone him and set up ourselves in his place.

"The Apostles call themselves ambassadors of Christ. And now I speak not, (God forbid I should) of any of those learned and truly pious gentlemen who are teachers either here or in other parts of the world; but it is well known and confessed by all who know anything of the matter, that the Christian priesthood was never so shamefully debased, as it has been this hundred years last past, since Christianity has been in the world. I say, the Apostles called themselves ambassadors of Christ. And now, every Tag, Rag, and Long-tail call themselves his ambassadors too, by a call from the people! Good God, how has the priesthood been vilified of late! Was it a glory to Christ to be made a priest? and now from this vile prostitution of it, it is come to be thought (among some men) the meanest of employments and hardly befitting a gentleman!"

It was in this style that John Checkley saw fit to express himself at the very moment when the community was most intensely excited by fears and apprehensions of the spread of Episcopacy. His offence was really the insult which he offered to the religious convictions and long-established and warmly-cherished belief of his fellow-citizens. But it was not politic to persecute him for his High-Church views alone, or his attack upon the "Established order" in the country. He denied, indeed, that they were established, and arrogantly termed them Dissenters; and this position he adhered to, also, in his defence. But in the view of public opinion, this could only have aggravated the offence.

Doctor Colman probably reflected the common sentiment of the country on this subject when he said (*Life of Colman*, 138) in his letter to Bishop Kennett: "By our present Charter, granted by King William and Queen Mary, our Churches are here the *Legal Establishment*, and our Ministers, both in respect of their Induction and Maintenance, are the King's Ministers, as much as even the Church of England Ministers are in any of the other Provinces. . . . But when I say that our Churches and Ministers here are established by the King's Laws, I would pray your Lordship not to understand me, in opposition to the Church of England, for so they are not; but if any town will choose a gentleman of the Church of England for their Pastor or Rector, they are at their liberty, and he is their Minister by the laws of our Province, as much as any Congregational Minister among us is so. So far is our Establishment from excluding others from the common Rights of Men and Christians, and I hope ever will remain so."

Checkley, of course, took a very different view of the case, and one which must have tempted many to wish that the question might be brought to a legal arbitrament. Moreover, the people of Massachusetts had never before had such a specimen of ecclesiastical defiance thrown at them. "Dis-sent" was beard in its own chosen domain; and the children of the Puritans were confronted with a High Churchism, worthy the palmiest days of Archbishop Laud.

But how could the offender be reached? It was impolitic to commence any action against him, simply for his religious or ecclesiastical views, even if that were possible. The Ministers who were ready to fall upon the *Modest Proof*, etc., as soon as it appeared, would not deign to notice the *Discourse Concerning Episcopacy*.

It is true that the Congregational Clergy paid no attention generally in a controversial way to the *Discourse on Episcopacy*, appended to Leslie's *Short Method*. They must have known that its virulent style would render it comparatively harmless, and that the Non Juror principles which it set forth, and especially its views on the subject of Baptism, were offensive to many Episcopalians. Indeed, the next year after the book was published, the Bishop of London wrote over to Miles, one of the Episcopal Clergymen in Boston, a letter which indicated his sympathies strongly enough to sat-

isfy a man like Doctor Colman.* The Congregational Ministers may very reasonably have preferred, on other grounds than relieving themselves from controversy, to take no notice of Checkley's publication.

But among them there was one exception. Thomas Walter, Checkley's old friend and companion, as well as antagonist in controversy, now came into the field—emitted somewhat perhaps—with his *Essay on that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes Mistake, or a Reply to a Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, said in a late Pamphlet to be beyond the Possibility of Reply. To which is prefixed *Some Remarks upon said Pamphlet, Entitled A Discourse shewing who is a True Pastor of the Church of Christ, as also Remarks upon St. Ignatius' Epistle to the Trallians*. By a Son of Martin Mar Prelate.

In this duodecimo of one hundred and twenty pages, (1724) Walter goes far toward paying back Checkley in his own coin. He says, for instance, "*The Discourse of Episcopacy*, to which I am about to make a reply, is Lesley's, 'which he wrote in answer to the Quakers.'" "This Sneaking Plagiarism, by foisting in a few of his crude notions, and impudent raileries against our Clergy and Country, supposes to secure to himself the honor (tho' I profess but a very small one) of being the author of the whole book." (Page 26.)

The most plausible ground of Proceeding was to arraign Checkley for his Non Jurism, or at least to place this in the foreground, and make it a cover for the real offence. He would thus be deprived of sympathy from the friends of the English Government, or at least of the Royal family, and could entertain no hope of relief by appeal to the King or Parliament.

In Checkley's Speech which follows, the facts of the trial are brought to view. He was first arraigned before an inferior Court, but was allowed to bring his case to the higher Court and have a Jury trial. His own defence is able and ingenious, while it reveals a man who would not shrink from maintaining the most obnoxious positions. He was fined fifty pounds to the King, and required to enter into recognizance in the sum of one hundred pounds, with two sureties in the sum of fifty pounds each, for his good behavior for six months, and also pay costs of prosecution.

Three years after the close of his trial, he visited England (1727) with a view of obtaining Holy orders in the English Church. He was then forty-seven years old. But a letter, signed by two Congregational Ministers, John Barnard and Edward Holyoke, of Marblehead, was sent to Doctor Gibson, Bishop of London, stating that Checkley "was a bitter enemy to other denominations, a Non Juror, and that he had 'not a liberal education.'" The Bishop read the letter to Governor Shute, then in England, who confirmed its statements, and in consequence, Checkley was refused ordination, and returned to this country still a layman.

On a second application, in 1739, Checkley was more successful. At the ripe age of fifty-nine years he was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter. He returned to this country, and was sent as a Missionary to Providence, Rhode Island. There he ministered, officiating at intervals, at Warwick and Attleborough, for fourteen years. He died on the fifteenth of February, 1753.

It may not be amiss to notice here the later results of Checkley's publication.

Nothing ever was published in New England probably, on the Episcopal side of the question, so exasperating as this volume. The circulation of it was revived ("secretly" says Wells) in Connecticut, in the heat of the controversy between Hobart and Wells on one side, and Wetmore, Beach, and Johnson on the other. But it proved somewhat unfortunate, by provoking Wells of Stamford, to publish (anonymously) a pamphlet, which for popular effect was doubtless more than an offset to any *Discourse on Episcopacy*, and

* Wells says, in page 19 of his *Real Advantages*, that the Bishop of London, on the third of September, 1724, about a year after Checkley's book was published and sold in Boston, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Miles concerning the dispute on the validity of Baptism by persons not episcopally ordained: "Considering the views with which this doctrine has been lately advanced here by the Non-jurors, if any Missionary shall renew this controversy, and advance the same, I shall esteem him an enemy to the Church of England and the Protestant Succession, and shall deal with him accordingly."

which none would have relished better than "A Son of 'MARTIN MAR PRELATE'."

Most of Wells's controversial writings are very decorous and unexceptionable. They have indeed been warmly commended by persons who did not sympathize with his side of the controversy. He did not hesitate to affix his name to them, nor did he forfeit respect by doing so. But he seems to have been provoked to retort by the circulation, at this stage of the controversy, of Checkley's book. He most effectively replied to it, by taking only the slightest notice of it; but presenting another phase of the matter in which he contends more as a humorist than as a logician, and in which, of course, he is never thrown off his guard by losing his temper.

The pamphlet of Noah Wells on the *Real Advantages of joining the Episcopal Church* (8vo. pp. 47, 1762), was published anonymously, but for literary ability was worthy the reputation of the ablest writers of the day. It is composed in an ironical vein not unlike that of Swift's argument against abolishing Christianity, and administers, under the guise of a friendly anxiety for another, the sharpest rebukes of the Episcopal polity and practice in this country.

The Episcopal Church he represents as overshadowed by no repulsive, melancholy doctrines, or such teachings as are to be found in the writings of Doddridge, Stoddard, Willard, or Colman. The New York College which it had established, promised to be "a relief to polite young gentlemen who are sick of the severities they are obliged to suffer at other Colleges." They will be able to get Degrees without overmuch application to their studies.

Moreover, if a man becomes a minister in New England, he must not only have professed "this mystical jargon of 'Calvinism' himself, but he must diligently explain and warmly recommend "these ridiculous whims" to his people. Otherwise, he could not receive a license. To this it is essential that he should give "as our famous Mr. Rhind expresses it," "a long senseless story of the manner of God's dealing with the souls of the elect, etc."

Another advantage afforded is, that none need scruple subscription to Articles which have no determinate sense. He need not feel himself in the least hampered thereby. The gentle discipline of the Church is also a recommendation. It insists on no Puritanic Sunday. In its history is embodied the account of the *Book of Sports* enjoined to be read in the Churches by James I. and endorsed by his successor, Charles I. The Episcopal Church is not over scrupulous on such matters. It is engaged to its policy by its inveterate prejudice against Dissenters who murdered the "Royal Martyr." Hence among its adherents no grave melancholy airs are put on. "An inviolable regard to the 'Royal Martyr' teaches us how to keep Sunday."

The disturbances occasioned by the Missionaries of the Episcopal Church in provoking controversies and divisions are exposed by transparent plausibilities. The Church itself is commended by the fact that having a King at its head, make it more polite and fashionable. A great many Deists are allured to it by this means, and make very good churchmen.

In another respect there is a great advantage in joining "the Church." The prayers are ready printed. Its members do not sit drowsily idle. They have a part to act. The historical character of the prayer, moreover, as that on occasion of the Gunpowder-plot, makes us who join in them better acquainted with history, and "more learned than the Dissenters." The fact also, that the prayer-book contains no forms for secret prayer is a great relief by which "our people" are delivered from an irksome task. Bowing, moreover, is a considerable part of our religion, and of consequence renders us more expert at this genteel part of behaviour.

Those who officiate have no need to rack their inventiveness in prayer. This is an excellent advantage for young gentlemen who "desire to be preachers, and are conscious to themselves that they don't pray very often, and are but 'little gifted that way.' The prayers are so repeated that the time of service is well filled up, and the Sermon need not be more than fifteen minutes long, no small advantage to young clergymen who are not very well acquainted with the Scriptures, and are less studied in Divinity.

"The Church" too has "wonderful decent ceremonies." They tend to allure Papists far more than the bald worship of Presbyterians. Baptism by Sponsors provides that the rite may be performed in a polite genteel manner. Godfathers and Godmothers may be selected from the most respectable families, and thus gain greater respect for the ceremony. The sign of the cross also "waves devotion" over the whole

ordinance. The kneeling, too, is a very reverent posture. The robes of the clergyman have the advantage of comeliness. "Can a man put on a black gown and not be sincerely 'devout, or a white surplice and his hands not be clean and 'his heart pure?'"

Christmas also fills our hearts so full of joy and gratitude to Christ, whose birth we then celebrate, that "we drink most cheerfully in remembrance of him, and spare neither 'punch nor good Madeira.'"

The Music of the Church is greatly improved by organs which "charm the ear, ravish the heart, and carry the souls of churchmen in raptures to heaven."

Nor does "the Church" impose any rigorous discipline, which is a thing exceedingly distasteful to fashionable gentlemen. The introduction of lay Chancellors to discharge offices for the Church conduces to light censures, while officers can become religious, as they ought to be, by the easy method of partaking of the Sacraments. A man who proposes to enter the Ministry may likewise secure a good temporal support by turning Missionary for "the Church." The Honorable Society who sustain him are honorable paymasters.* The poor Dissenting Ministers, if they get their full salary, must take it in paper, while he is paid in silver and gold, and is as much better off than they as gold is better than paper. Besides all this, he may get all he can out of his hearers, in addition to what the Society gives.

His task moreover is comparatively light. "A Missionary" who has bought a good stock of penny sermons, may follow his diversions or practise physic, all the week, and yet "preach a tolerable sermon on Sunday. He is accountable to the Society only for his conduct." (Page 40.)

Nor is this all. He has the chance to rise to preferment. The high dignities of the Church are open to him. "The great Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's son." Here, then, are preferments and benefices to fire the ambition of young clergymen of learning and parts.

The writer confesses that he has dwelt on these temporal advantages mainly, but it has been because the hinge of the whole controversy turns on them. In fact there are good grounds to believe that there are ten times as many converts made by them, as by all other arguments put together. Still he will make a few remarks on the advantages which the church offers for the world to come.

Churchmen as a class, he holds, are less affected than others with fears about future punishment. Presbyterians allow that all who are regenerated shall be saved, but the Church of England regenerates all her members by baptism, "washing over them the sign of the cross, by which they become 'faithful disciples of the crucified Jesus.'"

There are troubles among the Dissenters also, from which Churchmen have no apprehension. In New Hampshire, the former have remodeled the Assembly's Catechism. At Boston a celebrated D.D.† at the head of a large party, boldly and openly ridicules the doctrines of the Catechism. In Connecticut, an Ordination Council proves that there is no ecclesiastical Constitution of the Colony.

"The Church of England," he says, with special reference to Hart and Todd, who defended the proceedings at Dana's Ordination, at Wallingford, "will no doubt return her hearty thanks to those sagacious gentlemen who have taken so much pains to discover, and point out to the world, the 'weakness and inconsistency of this (Saybrook) Platform.' He closes by intimating that if this letter should be serviceable and the one addressed should conform and take orders, he could give him further directions for the successful management of his mission, which would furnish materials for another long letter.

* There was more truth than irony in this statement. John Brauerd's salary as a Missionary to the Indians, where he was constantly called upon to relieve the needy, was only forty pounds; yet he remarks, in a letter published in England, in 1753, "Sundry of our Missionaries from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts have sixty, and some seventy, besides something very considerable from 'their people; I believe near half as much more." Brauerd questions whether such expenditure was wise or in accordance with the intent of the founders and donors of the Society, supplying a plentiful and populous country like New England, and sinking "thousands of pounds annually only 'to gratify a few sticklers for a party.'" *Life of John Brauerd*, 264.

† Rev. Dr. Mayhew is meant.

The Real Advantages, &c., evidently hit the mark at which its Author aimed. John Beach of Newtown, the former antagonist of the two Dickinsons, felt called upon to reply to it in a *Friendly Exposition with all persons concerned in publishing a late Pamphlet entitled The Real Advantages, &c.* This was an octavo of forty-five pages, published at New York in 1763. It is quite a tame production by the side of Wells's pamphlet. The Author complains and laments, and seems disposed to assume the tone and bearing of one who is injured and wronged without having offered provocation.

The controversy seems to have closed with a publication from the pen of the Congregational Minister of Newtown, who was of course Beach's neighbor, as well as his successor there. Beach it seems had published subsequently to his *Friendly Exposition, &c.*, another pamphlet entitled *A Familiar Conference, &c.* and upon its appearance was issued *Remarks upon a late Pamphlet entitled A Familiar Conference, published by the Rev. John Beach. In several Letters to a Friend.* By David Judson, Minister of the Gospel in Newtown. New Haven: 1765. Octavo, pp. 22.

In the preface to this, Judson speaks of the preceding Pamphlet by Beach, in which he complains of his course. But the main controversy now has degenerated into a discussion of Arminian questions, and faith and works. Indeed the interest of it was soon to be effectually superseded by the publications of the two respective champions of Presbyterian and Episcopal ordination, Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, and Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Their writings commanded indeed the attention of the whole country; and Checkley and his opponents were heard of no more.

HARLEM, N. Y.

E. H. G.

THE
SPEECH

OF

Mr. JOHN CHECKLEY,

Upon his Tryal at Boston in

New England, &c.

*May it please your Honours, and you,
Gentlemen of the Jury;*

My Counsel having made so very good a Defence on my Behalf, the saying any thing for myself may seem needless and unnecessary.

And indeed it would be so, if the charge against me was not out of the common Road, and very extraordinary.

But (may it please your Honours) I am represented as a Person *Guilty on many Accounts*: 1st, For wickedly and maliciously imagining and contriving, by the Subtilty of Arguments, to draw into Dispute his present Majesty's Title to the Crown, &c. 2dly, Of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel by *Law established* in this Province. 3dly, I am charged with *falsifying* the holy Scriptures. 4thly, With representing the Church of Rome as the *present Mother Church*; and lastly, with raising Divisions, Jealousies, and Animosities among his Majesty's *loving Subjects* of this Province.

These are Crimes of a very heinous Nature; and had they been as *fully prov'd* as they have been *strongly suggested* in the Indictment, I must acknowledge I should deserve a very severe Punishment.

Since then the charge against me is so *very extraordinary*; since *these Proceedings*, and the *Methods* of my Prosecution seem to be something NEW in this Country; and since I am so fully conscious of the Innocency of my Intentions, and that I had no Malice in my Heart: I believe your Honours will readily allow, that to be silent, at this Juncture, would look like an *Argument of Guilt*, and be *truly Criminal*.

With your Honours Permission, then, I shall go on, and will endeavour to take up no more Time, than to advert to such Things, not so fully insisted on by my Counsel, as will further shew the Innocency of my Intentions, and that I had no Malice in my Heart, nor designed any thing against the Government.

*May it please your Honours,
and you, Gentlemen of the Jury;*

The first Passage pretended to be against the Government is this, P. 63. "As the Necessity of Government, and the general Commands in Scripture of Obedience to Government, do require our Submission to the Government in being, where there is no Competition concerning the Titles; that is, where no one claims a better Right than the Possessor:" thereby (saith the Indictment) subtilly, by Arguments, to traduce and draw into Dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our said Lord the King, &c.

But this was not designed, nor can it possibly be wrested, to hurt the Title of his present Majesty; unless any Person will make it appear, that another hath a better title to the Crown than his present Majesty; which I am sure is not averred here, nor any thing like it. For the whole Sentence is no more than an hypothetical Proposition concerning Government in general (without any averment of any particular Government); and founded upon this Maxim of the Law, that *bare Possession is a good Title, till a better can be produced*.

But, (may it please your Honours) to shew you farther, that I had no evil Design against the Government, I beg Leave to remark, and to shew wherein I industriously alter'd the Phrase, to prevent any such Misapplication of it.

In the Book from whence this Passage is transcrib'd, the Words run thus; P. 36. "As the Necessity of Government, and the general Commands in Scripture of obedience to Government, do require our Submission to the Government in being, where there is no Competition concerning the Titles, or any that claims a better Right than the Possessor."

Here I beg your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, to observe, that these expressions, *where there is no Competition concerning the Titles, or any that claims in better Right than the Possessor*: I say, these expressions in this Book, are not

explanatory one of the other, but are *disjunct*; and by the Assistance of a few, useful *Innuendo's*, this expression, *where there is no Competition concerning the Titles*, might have been so dress'd up, as to have looked like *something* against the present Government. For every body knows, that there is a Competition concerning the Title to the Crown of *England*.

But to prevent all Possibility of mistake concerning this Expression, and that it might not be *pressed* and *forced* to fight against the Government whether it would or not; in *this very Book* it is explained in such a manner as (seems to me) to make it almost impossible for any one but an Enemy to the present Government, so much as to think that these Words were designed against it.

For in *this Book*, these Words, *where there is no Competition concerning the Titles*, are immediately explained in this Manner: THAT IS, *where no one claims a better Right than the Possessor*.

And by the Words, *claims a better Right*, must mean, *justly claims a better Right*.

And indeed it is impossible to force it to have any other Meaning, if the preceding and subsequent Matter, and the Design and Scope of the Argument be considered.

For it is an Argument with the Dissenters from the Church of *England*, in this Manner, viz. Episcopacy was instituted by Christ, for the standing and perpetual Government of his Church.

That Form of Government still exists in the Church of *England*.

Therefore, supposing that the present Bishops did not derive there power by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, but were appointed by the King, or by some others not having Episcopal Power; yet since they govern according to that Form which Christ appointed, tho' they did not come regularly by it, they ought to be obeyed, until some other person shall come and make it appear that they have a better Right to govern the Church, than those in actual possession.

And the Reason for such Obedience is given, viz. That if it were not so, a Door would be opened to let in Anarchy and endless Confusion, if every bold Pretender to a Right should be hearkened to, and his *BARE Pretensions*, should be sufficient to alienate the Obedience of the People, from those in actual Possession.

This (may it please your Honours) is the Argument. Now nothing is more plain, than that every different Sect among the Dissenters, expressly affirm their own particular form of (what they call) Church Government to be of Christ's Institution, and claim a better Right to the Government of the Church than the Bishops, whom they call *Usurpers*; (particular Instances of which I am ready to produce; but shall wave it,

believing it would be no pleasure to your Honours at this time, to hear with what scurrility some imprudent men have treated that venerable Order :) I say each differing Sect among the Dissenters claim a *better Right* than the Bishops; yet the Bishops and *they only* ought to be obeyed:

Why? Because none of these Dissenters have ever yet made it appear, *that their claim is just*.

May it please your Honours: This is the whole Design and Drift of the Argument; and I have been thus long upon it, to make it appear to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, that is impossible to cloath these Words, *claims a better Right*; with any other meaning than *JUSTLY claims a better right*; for otherwise, the Argument would have no design, but would be glaring Nonsense, and Contradiction to the immediately preceding and consequent Matter, and to the Scope and design of the whole Book.

I hope your Honours, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, will not take more notice of an *Innuendo* an *Inference* or *Insinuation*, than of an *express Declaration*. And if there are any Words which seem to bear a doubtful Meaning, I hope your Honours will in all such cases incline to the most favorable Side.

May it please your Honours, it is a known Rule in the *Roman Law*, *In ambiguis orationibus maxime sententia spectanda est ejus qui eas protulisset*. Wherever Words are capable of a double Construction, there the Intention of the Speaker is chiefly to be looked after and attended too.

I have solemnly declared, that I industriously altered the phrase, and with *this very intention*, viz. to prevent any Misapplication of it, as if it was design'd against the Government.

Every Man hath a right to explain his own Intentions; and *obscure expressions* must not (I hope) have Meanings put upon them, contrary to *express Declarations*.

This is a Rule in all common and civil Cases between Man and Man; but in criminal Cases, there that Law exacts a stricter and a nicer Proof. Wherever the Life or Liberty of a Citizen is concern'd, there the Proofs ought to be *Luce meridiana clariora*, as evident as the Sun at Noon-day.

But (may it please your Honours) what proofs have been produced, and in what Form have they appear'd?—Verily, in no very comely Form! For they are nothing but *bare* and *naked Innuendo's* and *Insinuations*.

May it please your Honours, I mention these Maxims of the *Roman Law*, only as they are agreeable to the common Sense and Understanding of Mankind, as Rules of Reason and Equity: and which (I would persuade myself) your Honours will always make the Rule of your Actions.

Since therefore, I affirm, that there is no person, who *JUSTLY claims a better Right* to the

Crown of *England* than his present Majesty, I hope your Honours will be of my opinion, that he who shall start at this Passage, and say, that it is against the present Government, looks like an Enemy to it; for, without an *Innuendo*, it plainly intimates, that he thinks some other person besides his present Majesty, *JUSTLY claims a better Title*: which is by no means asserted in this Passage, nor in any part of the Book; but the direct contrary.

Wherefore I have an humble confidence, that your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, will not think this passage sufficient to make the *Book a Libel*, nor me guilty.

The next (pretended) scandalous Clause is this, pag. 107. "Let then the Commonwealth-men and 'the orators for the Power of the People, (if they 'will argue fairly and upon the square with us) 'set down the time when Monarchy did begin in 'the World, and see if this Clew will not lead them 'up to the Division of the Nations after the Flood, 'which I am sure no man (who has seen that Account which Holy Scripture gives us of it) will 'venture to say, was done by the People.

Thereby (saith the Indictment) meaning and insinuating, that the Title of our said Lord the King to the Crown was not good. Now to evince beyond all Contradiction, that these Expressions likewise, bear not the least Resemblance of any Reflection, upon His Majesty's Title to the Crown, I most humbly entreat your Honours to hear me patiently, while I represent the *true design* of this Argument, and the *impious Schemes* against which it militates.

First then: The Deists, (those Men who would turn the World, and even God and Nature, upside down!) these men foolishly dream of an independent State of Nature; *that is to say*, they affirm, that once upon a time (though they never yet could tell when) all Mankind were upon a Level, and that there was no such thing as Government in the world, and that *Tom, Dick, and Harry*, ay, every individual Man, Woman, and Child had a right to the whole World; therefore, since God had not instituted any Government, they, *the People*, all of 'em met together, and (to prevent the dire Confusion that might happen upon the bloody Scramble that was like to ensue) they erected Government.

This (may it please your Honours) is the Scheme of the Deists: And I am sure I need not tell you, that it is a direct Contradiction to the Holy Scriptures; and these Deists not believing one Word in those sacred pages, no wonder they talk so wildly.

It was the want of Revelation that made the ancient Sages grope so in the dark, and have such strange Notions concerning the *Origin of the World, of Mankind, and of Government*.

The Wisdom (even) of Aristotle could never

give a Solution to this single Question, *Which was first, the Hen or the Egg?* If he said—*The Egg*—Then how came this *Egg here, unless some Hen laid it?*—If he said, *the Hen was first*.—Then from whence came this *Hen but from some Egg which must be before it?*

This was an inextricable difficulty with *Aristotle*. But a slender acquaintance with the first Chapter of *Genesis* would have informed him, that as God made the first Hen, from which all of the same species have been derived; so he likewise created the World and Mankind, and actually instituted a *particular Form of Government*, giving to one Man the Dominion over the World, and over all that he had created in it.

The *God of Order* did not create a number of People all at once, *without order and Government*, and then leave them to scramble for Property and Dominion, as some Deistical Republicans would have us believe contrary to the express Words of Scripture.

And to show that I do not abuse them, tho' I could bring a Multitude of Quotations from their own writings; (but that I may not take up too much of your Honours time) I shall only produce three lines from their *Veteran Mercenary*, their oracle, *Daniel de Foe*, who certainly knew his own Scheme,

To be as free as Nature first made Man,
E'er the base Laws of Servitude began,
When wild in Woods the noble Savage ran.

This is their wild Notion of an *independent State of Nature*.

But the Vanity and Falsehood of this *brutal Scheme* is detected, as with a Sunbeam, from the Holy Scriptures, from the first of *Genesis*, and from the Book of *Job*, where we are told (according to one Translation) *That vain Man is puffed up with Pride, and thinks himself free-born like a Wild Ass's Colt*.

These Men would have all Mankind such Savages. And they are fitly called Beasts, who range themselves in the natural State of Beasts, all independent, and no Government among them.

It is this *impious and Brutal Notion* which the Argument in this Book militates against and destroys.

Secondly; The Word *PEOPLE* is an indefinite Term, and the Republicans could never yet agree concerning its true meaning.

That great Man Mr. Locke expressly says, that the free Vote of every individual is absolutely necessary to the erecting of Government, and, at the same time, says that *it is impossible to be had*. And nothing is more certain than this, that no Country or Nation can be produced, where *every one of the People* hath a free Vote in the choice of their Rulers. And it is likewise certain, that at the very time when the *Democracy* was most in Vogue, in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, all the com-

mon People had not a Vote at the Election of their Magistrates.

The *Athenian Rabble* did not chuse the *Demarchi*.—(Here the Chief Judge interrupted and said, the Court can't spend their Time in hearing you talk about the *Greeks* and *Romans*. It is nothing to your Case.)

May it please your Honour. By the Statutes of *Magna Charta* chap. 29. 5 *Edw.* III. chap. 9.—and 23 *Edw.* III. chap. 5. No man ought to be condemned without Answer. Coke's 4 *Instit.* 38. And my Lord *Coke* says in the same place, That the more high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceeding, and to give Example of Justice to inferior Courts.

I was not suffered to defend myself in the inferior Court; I beseech your Honours to let me make my Defence.

(The Chief-justice said, well go on).

I say then that the *Athenian Rabble* did not chuse the *Demarchi*;

The *Ephori* of *Sparta* were not chosen by the *Spartan Mob*;

Nor did all the *Roman Plebeians* chuse the *Roman Tribunes*.

This wild and impracticable (pretended) Power of the People, was never reduced to Practice by any Nation, or among any People, And it is only against this rude, confused notion, that the Argument in this book is level'd.

Thus much for this licentious, unlimited, pretended Power of the People!

And as for the pretended Independent State of Nature, I'm sure that could have no Existence at the Time mentioned in the 10th of *Genesis*; when *Nimrod* (in prophane History called *Belus*) was King in *Babylon* and *Asher* built *Nineveh* the seat of the *Assyrian* Monarchs; both which are mentioned in that Chapter.

And from *Nimrod* we have the names of all the Monarchs, and their Succession, to the end of the *Assyrian* Monarchy.

And after that of the *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and from the Division of the *Roman* Empire, we have the Succession to the present Empire of *Germany* in the West, and the Sultan of *Constantinople* in the East.

And in all this Tract of Time, not the least crevice to let in this wild independent State.

These are publick Matters of Fact in which Mankind cannot be deceived. Therefore the Argument in this Book stands good and firm, and may still, with good Reason, demand of the Republicans, at what *Æra* of time they will bring in their Original State of Nature!

And I have the same humble assurance that I had before, that your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, will not think this demand, nor

the Argument against the Power of the People, as I have explain'd it, any Reflection upon His present Majesty's Title, nor sufficient to make me guilty, nor this Book a Libel.

The next and last Passage pretended to be against the government is this, p. 108. "Was there ever a Time in the World when all Mankind (all but the Usurpers!) were all asleep?"

This Clause likewise hath nothing in it against the Government any more than the foregoing. And to demonstrate that it has not, I must humbly beg leave to represent, to your Honours and to the Gentlemen of the Jury, its true and genuine meaning. In the Process of which Representation, I shall be obliged, by the Nature of my Defence, to mention the *Assembly of Divines* at *Westminster*, and other Great Men among the Dissenters; but I shall do it with all due deference to their Characters; therefore I beseech your Honours to hear me patiently.

This Question, *What think ye, my Friends? Was there ever a time in the World when all Mankind (all but the Usurpers) were all asleep,* is only an ironical *Expostulation*, with those who affirm the Government of the Church by Bishops to be an *Usurpation*, and who (with Deists) deny the uninterrupted Succession of the Gospel Ministry.

The Book argues the Impossibility of such an Order of Men creeping into the Church all at once, and all the World over, without any Body's Notice or Knowledge! And the Book is further proving positively, that in fact, these Bishops have always been in the Church since its first Institution, and proves it by this Medium, viz. *The Testimony of an uninterrupted Succession of Gospel Ministers*.

And since it is part of the Charge against me, that I have ranked such with Deists who deny the Succession of the Priesthood; I shall, in the Prosecution of this part of my Defence, (to save time) answer both in one.

And in order to it I will (with your Honours leave) entreat the Assistance of those *Presbyterian Ministers*, the Compilers of the *Divine Right of Church Government*, approved by the *Westminster Assembly*, who, when it was objected against them by the *Independents*, after the first Edition of their Book, that by their Principles, an uninterrupted Succession of ordained Persons was necessary; which Succession they could not pretend to, unless they would justify the Antichristian Ordinations of the Church of *Rome*, &c., they added an Appendix to their Second Edition, wherein they considered the Objection, and returned an Answer to it under these two Heads, 1st, That the Reformation was begun before the Council of *Trent*; and till the Council of *Trent* the Church of *Rome* was not so corrupted, as that her Ordinations were null. The Church of *Rome*

could as validly ordain as baptize, and who did ever question the validity of her Baptisms?

2dly, The English Clergy had not their Ordinations from Rome; Christianity was very early (*Anno* 63 or 64) in *Great Britain*, and Church Officers were then ordained, and a *Succession of valid Ordinations was always uninterruptedly continued*.

I must now (with your Honours Permission) seek for some Aid from *The Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, written, at least authorized, by the *Provincial Assembly of London*, published in the year 1654, which says, that *Church Power* is first seated in *Christ* the Head, and from him committed to the Apostles, and from them to *Church Officers*; and *they alone* who have received it from the *Apostles* can derive and transmit it to other Ministers. All Ordination by the People is *NULL* and *VOID*, as being not only not grounded on Scripture. but against Scripture.

And to intrude into the Ministerial Office without Ordination, is as the Sin of *Korah* and his Company.

The same *Provincial Assembly* have much more to this purpose, in their other Treatise, called, *The Divine Right of the Ministry of England*, from whence (that I may not tire your Honours) I shall quote but a few things.

Chap. 3. pag. 44. They say they think it no disparagement to their Ministry to say, they received it from *Christ* and *his Apostles*, and from the Primitive Churches, through the impure and corrupt Channel of the Church of *Rome*, "And, "p. 43. the receiving our Ordination from "*Christ* and *his Apostles*, and the *Primitive Churches*, and so all along thro' the apostate "*Church of Rome*, is so far from nullifying our "*Ministry*, or disparaging of it, that it is a great "*strengthening* of it, when it shall appear to all "*the World*, that our Ministry is derived to us "*from Christ* and *his Apostles*, by Succession of "*a Ministry* continued in the Church for 1600 "*years*, and that we have a LINEAL SUCCESSION "*from the Apostles*."

Thus far the *Westminster Assembly*. And were it not intruding too far upon your Honours Patience, I would keep company with my Indictment (*North about*) to that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and shew, that (even) the *General Assembly of Scotch Presbyterians*, held the absolute Necessity of an *uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles*; which I could abundantly prove; but shall waive it, and close this part of my Defence, with the Words of that Great and Learned Man, the late Mr. *Pemberton* in his Discourse of Ordination, p. 2. "It is not to be disputed that *Christ* has appointed a *standing Gospel Ministry* in his Church, to continue to "*the Consummation* of all things.

"It was not a temporary Constitution, but a

"standing Ordinance, that there should be in all "*Ages* of the Church an Order of Men to represent his Person, publish his Laws, exhibit the "*Promises*, and administer Seals and Censures.

"*This seems evident to a Demonstration*, from "*the Promise* of *Christ's* Presence to be with his "*Ministers* to the end of the World. *Matth.* "*xxviii. 20.*

Thus far Mr. *Pemberton*. And I firmly believe that your Honours, and most of the *Presbyterian* and *Congregational* Ministers in this Country are of the same Opinion with this Great Man. Therefore I shall say no more upon this Head.

Believing that what I have offered, will fully convince your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, what is the true Meaning and Design of this Clause, *Was there ever a time in the World when all Mankind (all but the Usurpers!) were all asleep*; and that it was not spoken concerning Civil Government at all, and therefore impossible to be any Reflection upon his present Majesty's Title to the Crown of *England*; and at the same time demonstrate, *that the ranking of such Men who deny the uninterrupted Succession of the Priesthood under the Gospel, with Deists*, notwithstanding it is part of the Charge against me, *that yet it is no Crime*; even your Honours, the late Mr. *Pemberton*, the *General Assembly of Scotland*, and the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, being my Judges.

With your Honours permission, I shall now descend to another Part of the Charge against me, and of another Nature; *viz.* Of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel by *Law* established in this Province.

And I doubt not but that I shall fully clear myself from this part of the Charge likewise.

Wherefore in order to my Vindication, I shall endeavour succinctly to prove these three Propositions.

1st. That no Acts of Assembly in this Province, either by *Right*, could, or in fact, have established any way of Worship and Ministry whether *Presbyterian* or *Congregational*; so as to make THAT the Establishment, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

2dly, That by a just and true Construction of the Laws of this very Province, the Church of *England* is established here.

3dly, That by the Laws of *England*, the Church of *England*, as established in *England*, and no OTHER, is positively established in all his Majesty's Plantations.

I shall now endeavor to prove the first Part of the first proposition, *viz.* That no acts of this Province, by *Right*, could establish any way of Worship and Ministry, so as to make THAT the Establishment, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

May it please your Honours. As the Books

say, a Law made against the Law of God is void ; so the *Charter* to this Province from whence we derive our power to make Acts and Laws, reserves and expressly provides, that no Act shall be made repugnant to the *Laws of England*, which therefore, if made, would be *ipso facto* void.

If therefore I can prove, that the *Church of England* is by the *Laws of England* established in the *Plantations*, AND NO OTHER ; then the establishing any OTHER, and making the *Church of England* to be *Dissenters*, is plainly repugnant to the *Laws of England*, and consequently inconsistent with and against our *Charter*, and therefore void.

As to the Second Part of the first Proposition.—*viz.*—That no *Laws* of this Province, in fact, have established any way of Worship and Ministry, so as to make THAT the *Establishment*, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

May it please your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury : Had these Acts (for Instance) confirmed the *Platform*, and the *Ministry pursuant to that*, then in Fact they had (or at least had attempted to have) established another Way and Ministry.

But these *Laws* make use only of general Terms, in relation to any way of Worship and Ministry, without ever mentioning either the *Presbyterian* or *Congregational* by Name ; therefore I humbly conceive that neither of these can be the *Establishment*, to the Exclusion of the *Episcopal Churches*, and so as to make them the *Dissenters*.

I shall now endeavour to make good my Second Proposition, which is this, That by a just and true Construction of the *Laws of this very Province*, the *Church of England* is established here.

And in order to it, I must ask leave of your Honours to premise a few things :—

1st. That where the Acts of Assembly make use of any Words, and do not explain what they mean by them, I humbly conceive, that such Words shall be construed according to the *Laws of England*.

As for Instance, the word *Libel* and *Defamation* in the Act about Criminals. The word *Fee Simple* in the Act for Distribution of Inheritances, &c.

2dly, Where two Expositions may be of an Act, and the one is agreeable to the *Laws of England*, and the other contrariant or repugnant to them, I most humbly believe, that your Honours will take it in the first sense, and not in the latter.

Now without reciting all the *Laws* relating to Public Worship and Ministry, which would take up too much time, though I have them all ready, if your Honours shall think it necessary, I believe it will be sufficient to remark, that the acts of Assembly make use ONLY of indefinite Expressions and general Terms.

For Example, in the 4th and 5th of *William and Mary*, the Act makes mention of a *gathered Church*, and provides, that the Minister shall be chosen according to the *Direction given in the Word of God* ; and the *Laws* likewise ordain that each Town shall have an *Orthodox Minister*, or Ministers.

But these Acts nowhere explain what those *Directions in the Word of God* are, nor what is meant by an *Orthodox Minister*.

So that, I humbly conceive, Recourse must be had to the *Laws of England*, as is usual in like cases, to know the true and undisguised meaning of these general Terms and indefinite Expressions.

And I am sure I need not inform your Honours what the *Laws of England* mean by the Words *Church* and *Orthodox Minister*.

But that the Gentlemen of the Jury (who can't be supposed to be so well acquainted with the *Laws of England*) may know what they mean, I most humbly entreat your Honours patience, while I recite Part of the 13th of *Eliz.* Chapter 12. which was designed to settle *Orthodoxy*, and declares who shall be deemed *Orthodox Ministers*.

The Act runs thus,

“That the Churches of the Queen's Majesty's Dominions may be served with Pastors of sound Religion : Be it enacted by the Authority of the present Parliament, That every Person under the Degree of a Bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a Priest, or Minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other Form of Institution, Consecration or Ordaining, than the Form set forth by Parliament, in the Time of the late King of most worthy Memory, King Edward VI. or now used in the Reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady, shall in the Presence of the Bishop, &c., declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, comprized in a Book Imprinted, Entituled, Articles, whereupon it was agreed, &c.

These (May it please your Honours) are the Articles of the Church of England ; And “(says my Lord Chief Justice Coke) the subscription hereby required is to three Articles.

“The 1st is, That the King's Majesty, under God, is the only supream Governor of the Realm, and all other his Highness's Dominions and Countries.

“2dly. That the Book of the Common-Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, &c.

“3dly, That he alloweth of the said XXXIX Articles of Religion, and acknowledgeth them to be agreeable to the Word of God.

After reciting these three Articles, my Lord Coke goes on,—And I heard Wray, Chief Justice

"on the King's Bench *Pasch.* 23d of *Eliz.* reported; That where one *Smith* subscribed to the said XXXIX Articles of Religion, with this Addition, (*So far forth as the same were agreeable to the Word of God*) that it was resolved by him, and all the Judges of *England*, that the Subscription was not according to the Statute of the 13th of *Eliz.* because the Statute requires an absolute Subscription, and this Subscription made it conditional; and that this Act was made for avoiding Diversity of Opinions, &c., and by this Addition the Party might, by his own private Opinion, take some of them to be against the Word of God; and by this means Diversity of Opinions should not be avoided, which was the Scope of the Statute; and the very Act itself, made touching Subscriptions, hereby of none effect. *Coke 4. Inst.* 324.

Now (may it please your Honours) if a Person (though episcopally ordained) who refuses to give his Assent and Consent to these three Articles absolutely, and without any Condition or Reservation, shall not, by all the Judges of *England*, be deemed *Orthodox*, or of *Sound Religion*; (which is one and the same thing) much less (in my humble opinion) shall a *Dissenting Teacher*, who absolutely condemns Subscription, and imagines that those who impose it, have not *right Opinions of Religion*, or are not of *Sound Religion*, or *Orthodox*: I say, such a person (certainly) by the Laws of *England*, will not be allowed to be of *Sound Religion* or *Orthodox*!

Who likewise, in the Eye of the Law of *England*, is *mere laicus*, not in Holy Orders, but a *mere Lay-Man*.

Since then the Laws of *England* allow no Minister to be *Orthodox*, but he who is *Episcopally Ordained*, and who subscribes the abovesaid three Articles, which is a *Minister of the Church of England*.

And inasmuch as by the Acts of Assembly of this Province, an *Orthodox Ministry* is established in every Town;

Therefore, by a just and true Construction of the Laws of this very Province (unless they are repugnant to the Laws of *England*) the Ministers of the Church of *England* are established HERE.

I beg leave to remark under this head, that our present Governour Col. *Shute*, in his Order to the Magistrates of *Bristol*, &c., wherein he prohibits their taxing the *Churchmen* towards the maintenance of any other Ministers of any other profession than *Episcopal*, calls the Church of *England* the established Church here.

And the late Governour, Col. *Dudley*, (by wise Men deservedly acknowledged the wisest Man that ever was in this Country,) in a like Order, in Favor of the Church at *Newbury*, declares the Church of *England* to be the established Church;

and speaking of their Proceedings for settling a Church there, says, that they are according to Law, and that they ought to be suffered to go peaceably on for their good Establishment.

May it please your Honours;

The Opinion of this great and wise Man, was founded upon his exact knowledge of the Laws of *England*; some of which (by your Honours permission) I shall now produce, in order to make good my third Proposition; viz.

That by the Laws of *England*, the Church of *England*, as established in *England*, and no OTHER is positively established in all His Majesty's Plantations.

May it please your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury;

The Common Law, and especially *Magna Charta*, is allowed to be the Law of the Plantations, and every *Englishman's Birth-Right*. And by that, the Holy Church, i. e. the Church of *England*, is for ever inviolably confirmed.

The Church reformed, and confirmed, and established by the 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, of *Edw. VI.* mentions *England*, *Wales*, *Calais*, and the Marches thereof, and other the King's Dominions, and says, the Inhabitants of this Realm, and other his Majesty's Dominions.

This was repeal'd by the 1st of *Mary*; but the 1st of *Elizabeth* took off that Repeal; and mentions again the Realm of *England*, *Wales*, or Marches of the same, and (or) other the Queen's Dominions;—and in the conclusion expressly inhibits any other to be establish'd within the Realm, or any other the Queen's Dominions or Countries.

The 13th of *Eliz.* which declares who are *Orthodox Ministers*, entitled an Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of *sound Religion*,—and provides, That the Churches of the Queen's Majesty's Dominions may be served with *sound Ministers*, &c.—qualified as in the Act.

Now, (may it please your Honours) I humbly conceive that by King's Dominions must be meant not only the THEN Dominions, but what shall be the King's Dominions at all times, while that Law remains in force.

As (for Instance) Acts of Trade that extend to the Plantations, bind new or acquired places, added to the King's Dominions, after such Acts were made.

And the 12th of *Charles II.* which was made after the settlement of these Colonies, confirms those former Acts, that mention the King's or Queen's Dominions or Countries.

But above all, the 5th of *Q. Anne*, entitled, *An Act for securing the Church of England*, as by Law establish'd, reinforces and confirms the 13th of *Eliz.* and the 12th of *Charles II.*—and provides, That the King shall swear to maintain the

said Settlement, (*i. e.* by the said Acts, which acts comprehend the *King's Dominions or Countries*) of the Church of *England*, and the Government thereof, *as by Law establish'd* within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, and the *Territories thereunto belonging*.

And immediately declares, that this Act shall be held a fundamental and essential Part of any Union between the two Kingdoms.

May it please your Honours ;

By all the foregoing Acts, and by this Act in particular, it appears, that the Church of *England* as establish'd in *England* and no OTHER, is establish'd in all his Majesty's Plantations.

And by the same Act it appears, that to establish any OTHER would be a Breach of the Union between the two Kingdoms.

Therefore I humbly hope, that neither your Honours, nor you Gentlemen of the Jury, will look upon this Book, as written to the Scandal of the Ministers of the Gospel, established by Law, in this Province ;—for it is a defence of THEM and their SACRED CHARACTER.

May it please your Honours ;

I have a great deal more to say in my Defence ; but perceiving that so much Time is already lapsed, I shall omit it, only begging leave to say some few Things to the Jury.

Gentlemen, I would have you seriously consider what you are about.

Remember that the Book indicted is, *The Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS*, an NO other ; a Book wrote in Defence of *Christianity*, in Defence of our Holy Faith, against the *blaspheming Deists*.

And tho' there are some Passages in the Indictment, which are spoken of the *Congregational* and *Presbyterian* Ministers in this Country ; yet I would have you consider, that *these Passages* are not in the *Book indicted*, but in *another*.

But granting that they were there, I beseech you, gentlemen, to reflect with yourselves, whether *those Gentle methods* of reasoning and perswading and *those tender and compassionate Expostulations* with those Gentlemen, to make them seriously consider with themselves, of the Validity of that Commission by which they act :—I say, reflect (Gentlemen) whether this looks like Malice, and whether it should bring upon me such a severe Prosecution, and is sufficient to demonstrate me a *Criminal*.

I would have you consider that I have suffered very much already on account of my Religion.

May it please your Honours ;

I shall now conclude, only beg leave to render Thanks for the Liberty granted to me (*which was deny'd me at the Sessions*) of making so particular a Defence ; and if in the Prosecution of it I have said any thing ungrateful to your Honours,

I am sure you will forgive me when you consider, that the nature of the Charge against me obliged me to such a manner of Defence.

Wherefore, without any further Apology, I shall submit it to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, with all *that* Humility that becomes a Christian. Hoping, nay, being well assured, that you will not find me *guilty*, nor this *Book a Libel*.

The Jury's Verdict.

John Checkley }
adsect'
Dom. Reg. }

The Jury find specially ; viz. If the Book entitled, A Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS, containing in it a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, (published and many of them sold by the said Checkley) be a false and scandalous Libel ; then we find the said Checkley guilty of all and every part of the Indictment (excepting that supposed to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King George to the Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the Territories thereto belonging) —But if the said Book, containing a Discourse concerning Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous Libel ; Then we find him not guilty.

Att. Samuel Tyley, Clerc.

The Plea in Arrest of Judgment.

May it please your Honours,

Notwithstanding that I have been heard so fully by my Counsel, in Arrest of Judgment ; I must yet beg leave of your Honours, to say something further myself on the same Plea, *Why Judgment ought to be Arrested.*

May it please your Honours ;

Upon my Trial at the Sessions, it was often declar'd from the Bench, that they would not have me suppose, that I was to be tried for writing any Thing in the Defence of the *Church of England* and of *Episcopacy*, against the *Presbyterian* or *Congregational* Ministers in this Country :—NO, *by no means ! for the ministers were able to defend themselves.*

And to demonstrate to your Honours, that their Worshipps designed to amend the Indictment in that Particular, they ordered the Attorney-General to insist upon *those three clauses only* (pretended to be) against the Government.

The Jury found me guilty of *imagining and contriving, by the Subtlety of Arguments, to traduce the Title of his present Majesty.*

(For it cannot be supposed, that they found me guilty of any thing else, since *that* and *that only*, by order of the Worshipful Bench, was all the Charge against me.)

And an heavy Judgment was thereupon given.

From which Judgment I appealed to this Honourable Court; and after a full and fair Hearing, have been *acquitted absolutely* by a Verdict of Twelve Men, from being guilty of traducing and drawing into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King George, to the Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the Territories thereto belong.

This was the Charge against me, and of this and this only, was I found guilty in the Lower Court.

But the Verdict of the Jury in this Honourable Court, is an *absolute* Reversion of the Jury's Verdict before the Sessions.

Wherefore I humbly hope, that this alone (if there were nothing else) will be thought sufficient why Judgment should not be given against me.

For, with all due Submission, I cannot yet believe, that your Honours, in your superour Wisdom, will ever give the least Occasion for the World to say, that the very formal Reason of my Condemnation was my publishing a Book entitled "A Short and Easy Method with the Deists, wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by infallible proof from four Rules, which are incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or can possibly be.

To which was added another in Defence of the sacred and venerable Order of Bishops, and in Defence of the Church of England, in whose salutary Communion (by the Grace of God) I purpose to live and die.

Nor can I possibly imagine, that this Honourable Court will give the least Umbrage to People for their supposing that your Honours think the Justices at the Sessions, did not put my Trial upon a right Footing; or that their Worships spoke unadvisedly, when they said, *The Ministers can defend themselves*.

There are likewise other Things, which, in my humble Opinion, are worthy of the Notice of this Honourable Court, before Judgment is given against me.

The Jury have brought in a special Verdict, and have not declared the Book a Libel, that being left with your Honours, whether you will adjudge it so or not.

And that the Book may not be condemned as a Libel, I humbly beg leave to remark these few Things for your Honours consideration.

It is a ruled case in my Lord Coke's 4 *Instit.* 235. b. That if one shall say of a Merchant, That he is a Bankrupt, or would be a Bankrupt within two Days; the Words contain *Matter of a Libel*, and are *actionable*.—But I humbly conceive, that if the Merchant, of whom the Words were spoken, was actually declared a Bankrupt by the Laws of the Land, at the Time when the Words were spoken; the Words would not contain in

them the *Matter of a Libel* respecting that Man, and consequently not *actionable*.

The Use I would make of it is this.

The Book, now under the Consideration of the Honourable Bench, contains in it Arguments for Episcopacy, all of them laid down, from the Beginning to the End, in a Hypothetic Manner, thus,—If *Jesus Christ* instituted Bishops, and gave to them *alone* the Power of sending others, then *those* who pretend to have Christ's Commission and have not received it, either *immediately* from Christ, or *immediately* from these Bishops, cannot be the Ministers of Christ according to Christ's Institution.

And further, that if any Person shall *causelessly separate* from any sound Part of the Catholick Church, he is a *Schismatic* and *Excommunicate*, by voluntarily cutting himself off from the body of Christ.

Now if any one shall make the Assumption and say, these are the *Presbyterian* and the *Congregational* Ministers &c. and their respective Congregations under them,

Yet, (may it please your Honours) *granting it to be so*; I humbly conceive, that the saying, concerning the Dissenting Ministers and their Congregations that they are *no Ministers*, and that they are *Schismatics* and *Excommunicates* (supposing that these Speeches were *absolute* and not *conditional*); yet, I say, I humbly hope, that this would not be *actionable*, nor respecting the Dissenters, *Matter of a Libel*. Why?

Because, the *Dissenters of all Denominations*, are declared to be *Schismatics* and *Excommunicates* by the Laws of the Land.

And in order to make this appear I beg Leave to recite the 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12th Canons of the Church of England published by his Majesty's Authority under the Great Seal of England, and now reprinted this very Year by the King's Printer, by Order of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. * * *

[After reading the Canons.

May it please your Honours:

There are no expressions in the Book at Bar, tantamount to these Censures of the Dissenters, in the Canons just now recited.

And I shall humbly leave it with your Honours, if it may not be worth your Consideration, whether the condemning this Book, will not be a Declaration, that the Church passed these Censures against the Dissenters *classe errante*?

But be that as it will, the Dissenters are affirmed to be *no Ministers*, to be *Schismatics*, and *excommunicate* by the Canons of the Church of England, which are part of the Laws of the Land; and therefore, to say the same things of them, I humbly hope, *shall not be deemed a Libel*.

The Sentence of Court.

Buffolk, ss. At a Court of ASSISE, &c.
Nov. 27, 1724.

Checkley }
adsect' }
Dom. Reg. } *The Court having maturely advised on this special Verdict, are of opinion that the Said JOHN CHECKLEY is guilty of publishing and Selling of a false and scandalous Libel. It's therefore considered by the Court, That the said JOHN CHECKLEY shall pay a fine of Fifty Pounds to the King, and enter into Recognizance in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds with two Sureties in the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, for his good Behaviour for six Months, and also pay Costs of Prosecution, standing committed until this Sentence be performed.*

Att'. Samuel Tyley, Clerc.

FINIS.

A
SPECIMEN
Of a TRUE
Diffenting CATECHISM,
Upon Right TRUE-BLUE .
Diffenting PRINCIPLES
WITH
*LEARNED NOTES,
By Way of EXPLICATION.

Question. Why don't the *Diffenters* in their Publick Worship make use of the Creeds ?

Answer. Why ?—Because *they* are not fet down *Word for Word* in the Bible.

Question. Well,—But why don't the *Diffenters* in their Publick Worship make use of the *Lord's-Prayer* ?

Answer. Oh ! ——— Because *that* is fet down *Word for Word* in the Bible.

* They're so perverse and opposite
As if they worship'd God for Spite.

V.—A COMPARISON OF THE SCALES OF DEPRECIATION OF PAPER MONEY, IN NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1783 AND 1865.

By PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL.

I. ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE IN 1783.

AN ACT for the establishing a Scale of Depreciation, with a Provision for Suits commenced for Paper Currency, and for Suspending the Operation of the Laws therein mentioned.

I. WHEREAS much difficulty hath arisen in the adjusting and settling Debts and Demands, as well within the Courts of this State as out thereof, from the rapid Depreciation of Paper Currency emitted in circulation ; and that a fixed and permanent Scale may be established for the ascertaining the value of the same in future ;

II. *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act, the following Scale shall be, and is hereby declared to be the only scale to determine the value of the Depreciation of the Paper Currency of this State, in all cases whatsoever, estimating the same in Specie ; deeming one Spanish milled dollar, weighing seventeen penny-weights six grains, to be of the value of eight shillings specie ; which scale shall be as follows, that is to say :*

<i>Years & Mos.</i>	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782
January,	00	8.50	6.00	32.00	210	800
February,	00	8.50	6.50	35.00	225	800
March,	1.25	8.75	7.50	40.00	250	800
April,	1.50	4.00	10.00	50.00	280	800
May,	1.75	4.00	10.00	60.00	300	800
June,	2.00	4.00	12.25	75.00	350	800
July,	2.12½	4.25	15.00	90.00	400	800
August,	2.25	4.50	18.00	100.00	500	800
September,	2.25	4.50	21.00	125.00	550	800
October,	2.50	4.75	25.00	150.00	600	800
November,	2.50	5.00	27.00	175.00	675	800
December,	3.00	5.50	30.00	200.00	725	800

II. ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF NORTH CAROLINA IN 1865.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the following scale of depreciation be and the same is hereby adopted and established as the measure of value of one gold dollar, in Confederate currency for each month, and the fractional parts of the month of December, 1864, from the 1st day of November, 1861, to the 1st day of May, 1865, to wit :

<i>Months.</i>	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
January,	...	\$1.20	\$3.00	\$21.00	\$50.00
February,	...	1.30	8.00	21.00	50.00
March,	...	1.50	4.00	28.00	60.00
April,	...	1.50	5.00	20.00	100.00

Months.	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
May,	1.50	5.50	19.00	.....
June,	1.50	6.50	18.00	.....
July,	1.50	9.00	21.00	.....
August,	1.50	14.00	23.00	.....
September,	2.00	14.00	25.00	.....
October,	2.00	14.00	26.00	.....
November,	\$1.10	2.50	15.00	30.00	.....
December,	1.15	2.50	20.00	.....	.....
Dec. 1 to 10th inclusive,	35.00	.....
Dec. 11 to 20th inclusive,	43.00	.....
Dec. 21st to 31st inclusive,	49.00	.....

Though the War of the old Revolution began in reality before, yet as the expectation of some compromise or accommodation was kept up till at or about July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was made, and then the people had a definite object in the war, we may regard that as its beginning. And besides, the paper money emitted by the Congress did not depreciate for the first eighteen months, though it then amounted to *twenty millions*: and the paper of the State issues, of course, was influenced in the same way as that of Congress. From June or July, 1776, to the same time in 1777, it took \$2 12½ in paper to buy one dollar in silver; and by this time the depreciation had become general, having begun at different periods in different States. We have then, the value in current paper of one dollar in silver, at the end of each of the six successive years from July, 1776, onward.

1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782
\$2.12½	\$4.25	\$15.00	\$90.00	\$400	\$900

The value, in gold, of Confederate paper, in each of four years, from April, 1861, onward.

1862	1863	1864	1865	1865	1865
\$1.50	\$5.00	\$20	\$100	Apr. 27. \$300	Apr. 29. \$800

And if we go on through April, 1865, we can fill out the parallel; for according to the record of a banking-house in Augusta, Georgia, we have the scale carried on to the first of May, when the last actual sale of Confederate notes was made.

1865.						
Apr. 20	Apr. 26	Apr. 27	Apr. 28	Apr. 29	Apr. 30	May 1
\$100	\$200	\$300	\$500	\$800	\$1000	\$1200

The similarity in the rate and progress of depreciation in both cases would be greater, if we had shorter and intervening periods. As it is, however, there is a striking correspondence. And we notice in both a rapid decline after the paper began to lose credit, until it became utterly worthless.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

E. F. R.

VI.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

By GEORGE H. MOORE, Esq., LIBRARIAN OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

14.—THE CROSS IN THE KING'S COLORS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

[Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4888. ff. 86-91.]

The second part of y^e Frier's case mention'd & recited in the Roman Horsleece, or an account of an as famous & ridiculous action & Dispute that happend in New England about y^e Year 1633 whether y^e Red Cross in the Banner of England was an Idol or no, with y^e argument's urged on both sides.

In 1633 or whereabouts when people were Revelation mad and drunk with scism & blind zeal one* of y^e chief men of Boston in New England being then in authority & warnd with a lecture against that which y^e Ignorant call superstition, with a daring Impudence set up for a Reformer of y^e Kings Colour's & haveing taken y^e same in his sanctifyd hands took his conscience to witness against a monstrous Idol that he found there in, to witt, a great Cross, & there upon drawing his Knife bravely cut it out with a great deal of self satisfaction & applause & y^e next day boldly confess'd & defended y^e same.

This unparalleld Act created great differences in y^e Town, amongst all sorts of People, as well amongst those who have nothing to do with affairs of such a nature as those that had in so much that y^e very women were fit to pull coive's about it. As for y^e common Soldier's who had as little of Religion as Courage or Honesty amongst them, most of them commended y^e Act declairing that theyd sooner turn Heathen's & yield to y^e Enemy than follow or fight under a Popeish Idol, a Cross (Lord have mercy upon us!) they'd have no more to do with now than with him that sufferd upon one. Yet others amongst them mantaind y^e Lawfulness there of, & that they would not deny following y^e same in their colours least that they should seem to cast of their allegiance to y^e Crown of England.

At length this mighty Matter was carryd on with such fury that y^e whole Collony seemd to be in an uproar, so that the General Court were forced to take it into their Cognizance, where af-

* A marginal note on the original manuscript says: "It was Sr. Harry Vane;" but this is an obvious error, for Vane did not come to New England until 1635, and John Edicott was the well known witness against the cross on this occasion. Indeed, Vane's overruling the over-scrupulous brethren in the subsequent affair of the *Hector*, when the flag was finally displayed in spite of their authority, on the personal responsibility of Vane and Dudley, was among the first occasions of the opposition which ultimately broke him down.

tr a great Bustle & Stir a Committe was chosen & appointed both by y^e Magistrates and People, of y^e Freemen of y^e Collony to examin into y^e Matter, where after many tedious Debates, It was carryed by three votes; that tho' their Brother had done well & acted like a good tender conscion'd Christian, that yet nevertheless he had not done prudently; and tho that he did not deserve any punishment for y^e Act it self, yet that he ought to be discharged his place in y^e Government for y^e same for going so bunglingly about it, & for fear that their Charters & Priviledges should by a seizure from y^e King make an attonement for y^e same. Upon which he was called in Court and this cruel, hard, Sentence of Deposition passd mildly upon him—and he himself Registered amongst y^e St & Sufferer's of y^e Lord for y^e Testimony that he bore against a Popeish Idol. Yet at y^e same time did they fully agree that seeing that y^e Cross was cut out, & that it undoubtedly was a Badg of Antichrist & a Mark of y^e Limb of y^e Divel, & that no one of their side y^e Great Dike had any Power to put it in again, that therefore y^e use of it should be forborn for y^e future amongst them, for fear that y^e People should turn Idolaters & God should bring upon them beside's y^e Plague's of Impudence, Heresey, Scism, Blind Superstition & such like, all those not half so ill y^e Ten plagues of Egypt.

The Reverend Spite-Fire's that were summond from all y^e Country round & commanded to lay their heads together upon this weighty Matter argued against y^e use of y^e Cross in y^e Banner thus:

The question, sayd they, is not whether a private Man may not march after his colour's, which have the Cross in them: for y^e Christian Legions never scrupled following y^e Labarum of y^e Roman Emperor's which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea y^e Jews themselves that made such earnest Suit first unto Pilate & then unto Petronius to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from y^e walls of their Temple: yet without any scruple followd it in y^e field. Nor is it y^e question (sayd they) whether y^e Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from our Enemy's, or to defend us from Disasters, or to procure Victorys unto us. tho' y^e faith wch y^e Roman Catholicks have in it, mentiond by Hoveden in y^e Reign of Henry y^e 2^d, when England, France & Flanders distinguished themselves by their variety's of it, Ever since retained, is abominable to all real Protestants. But y^e question is whether y^e Cross as representing y^e Cross of Christ, erected as a Badg of Christianity, & a Sign of Distinction between Christians & Infidels may by any Prince or State, be now in their Banners reserved & employd? This they approved not, & that for all these dauntly Reason's.

First—That which God hath commanded utterly to be destroyd should not be retained for y^e important uses of Men. But God has commanded y^e Cross in y^e Banner to be destroyd. this may be thus proved Images of Idols are commanded utterly to be destroyd; But y^e Cross in y^e Banner is y^e Image of an Idol, & y^e greatest Idol in y^e church of Rome. As for y^e Text in Deutr: where this is commanded it dos affect christians as well as Jews, because that y^e moral Reason of y^e command yet continues. If that it be objected that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyd, it may be answerd—Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However we may distinguish between Temples dedicated unto God by Creatures, y^e Papists which Aquinas deny their Temples to have been dedicated unto Sts. But affirm them dedicated unto y^e honour & service of God for his Blessings communicated by Y^e Sts whose names are used on this occasion. these Temples being purgd from their superstitious Designation's may be still used for our Christian assemblys, as our Saviour used y^e Jewish Water Pots to turn Water into Wine, tho' they were superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there.

2dly There is no Civel Honour to be given to y^e Image of an Idol, y^e 2^d Commandment forbids all sorts of Honour not onely sacred, but Civel also to such an Image, Yea, and elsewhere all mention of it with honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into y^e Banner is to put a Civel & no little honour upon it, it is y^e Cross in y^e Ensign which dos insignize & render it Ensign, & it was y^e Intention of Constantine to honour y^e Cross when he interdicted all execution's of Malefactors upon it, & advanced it into his banner.

3dly If y^e Figure of y^e Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badg of y^e Religion & Profession of y^e Israelites, then y^e Figure of y^e Cross may not be used as a Badg of y^e Religion & Profession of y^e Protestants, for there is a like proportion, for y^e Papists regard y^e Cross as y^e Altar where on Our Lord was offerd; now such a figure of an Altar was unlawfull to y^e People of God.

4ly That which was Execrable to Our Lord; y^e Sign of it should not be honourable to us, but so was y^e Cross or Our Lord, for it made his Death accursed, nor was it a pure Instrument of meer Martyrdom unto him.

5ly If the Partakeing of Idolothytes in y^e Places where y^e Idols were worshipd, express a Communion with Idols & Idolaters; then y^e setting up of y^e Cross in y^e Places where Idolaters do worship it, namely in y^e Banner, is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. Tis true such meats when sold in y^e Shambles might be eaten without scruple of Conscience; but besides this

that it was onely a common place where these might be eaten, whereas y^e Cross in y^e Banner is in y^e Temple where y^e apocalyptic Gentiles adore it. Besides that they were Creatures of God, whereas y^e Cross in y^e Banner is onely a human Contrivance, so if it had been Lawfull for a man to have bought y^e silver Shrines of Diana & have caused them to be worn for y^e Cognizance of his family or his attendants : y^e Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in y^e Banner for a Cognizance.

Lastly—If y^e first use of y^e Cross in y^e Banner by Constantine was superstitious, then y^e first fruits being unclean y^e whole Lump of y^e following use is also unclean : But Eusebius tells us that y^e Emperor used this Saveing Sign as a protection against all warlike & hostile Powers, & Sosomen tells us—that y^e Emperor changed y^e Image of y^e Roman Labarum for y^e Sign of y^e Cross, that so y^e Soldiers who were accustomed to worship y^e Heathen Imperial Ensign, by y^e Continual sight and Worship of y^e Cross might be weaned from their Country rights & brought to worship that God alone whose Sign it was.

On y^e otherside they that pleaded for y^e use of y^e Cross in y^e Banner, argued after this fashion. To state y^e question wee must know that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayd, & a Banner with a cross in it serves the End of a Banner as much as any other. Had y^e Cross never been superstitiously abused, the Civel use of that figure could not be questiond. But y^e superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto y^e Civel use, & accordingly y^e superstitious abuse may again be removed from it, otherwise what a Desolation of Bells & other things must be produced by a just Reformation of superstition? Wherefore if y^e Present Authority dos neither appoint nor declare any superstition in y^e observation of any civel usage, y^e superstition of that usage is at an End. Thus tho' it be notoriously known that many Person's in Authority have their superstitious conceits about Churches : yet, inasmuch as there is no Injunction of Authority upon private Persons to approve any such Conceits, tis no superstition in such Persons to use those churches unto Lawfull uses or purposes. Y^e Question then is whether y^e Civel use of y^e Cross in y^e Banner may not be separated from y^e superstitious abuse of it. And it seems as it may—

First—If names that have been abused for y^e honour of Idols may in a civel way be still used : then things that have been so abused may be in y^e like manner used for a civel Distinction. But we find y^e names of Apollo and Phoebe & y^e like used in y^e Apostolic Salutations, altho' it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed y^e names at first sinfully imposed upon them : than for y^e Cross in y^e Banner to be

now wholly layd aside. if any Heathen King put an honour upon his Idol Bell by saying O Belteshazzar, y^e Spirit of God may speak it without any honour at all to that Idol.

2dly It is one thing to describe a Cross as an Artificial thing by way of Civel Signification, & another thing to employ a Cross as a Sacramental thing, by way of sacred observation & in y^e Banner tis y^e former, not y^e latter way that it is considered. When I am relateing how a Papist crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by making an Aerial Cross like his. Where as it would not be lawfull for me to make such a Cross upon y^e same ends with him.

3dly If that y^e Cross first used by Constantine had in it any thing unwarantable, if follows not, that y^e following use of it, is of y^e same Lump with y^e first, for if it now be used upon another Design the uncleanness is taken away. Besides Constantine brought y^e Cross with as much unwarrantableness into his Coin's as he did into his banner, but tis certain that there are few or none this day that would refuse money tho' they got thereon a Popish Idol, but would set mighty esteem on it y^e bigger & y^e better y^e Cross was.

4ly Meats, tho' sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten when sold & bought in y^e Market. Now a Cross is an Effect of Art & is a Creature of Gods as well as any of Y^e meats bre'd & cooked by men.

* * * * *

15.—CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS FOR THE BETTER ACCOMODATING THE FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS WITH SERVANTS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCELL OF FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS. [Circa 1684.]

[S. P. O. Colonial Entry Book. No. 92. p. 275.]

1. It being universally agreed that people are the foundation and improvement of all plantations and that people are encreased principally by sending of servants thither, it is necessary that a settled course be taken for the furnishing them with servants.

2. Servants are either blacks or whites.

3. Blacks are such as are brought by waye of trade and are sould at about £20 a head one with another and are the principall and most usefull appurtenances of a plantation and are such as are perpetuall servants.

4. Whites are such as are diverse waies gathered up here in England, verie few from Ireland or Scotland and being transported at the charge of about £6. a head are there entertained by such as they are consigned to from hence or are exchanged for comodities with such as have occa-

sion for them at different rates according to their condition or trade by which they are rendered more useful and beneficial to their masters. These after certain years are free to plant for themselves or to take wages for their service as they shall agree and have to the value of ten pounds sterling to begin planting for themselves.

5. The wages of obtaining these servants have been usually by employing a sort of men and women who make it their profession to tempt or gain poor or idle persons to go to the Plantations and having persuaded or deceived them on ship board they receive a reward from the person who employed them.

6. When the ships is to be cleared at Graves End oftentimes the servants so obtained do make complaint that they were forced or seduced and some cunning rogues after they have been fed aboard perhaps a month or longer do by this means avoid the voyage.

7. For the prevention of the many evils which do happen in the forcing tempting and seducing of servants and for a more certain and orderly supply of them it may be necessary that an act of Parliament should pass with such powers and provisions as may be proper to the thing intended and necessary to the plantations and convenient and beneficial to the places from which servants may be drawn.

8. That all felons and such as are condemned to death unless for murder or treason and such particular heinous felonies as shall be excepted shall by the mercy of the King if he thinks it fit not to pardon them be reprieved and design'd to foreign plantations to serve twice seven years at least and to have the value of ten pounds sett up planting for themselves.

9. That all persons to whom clergy is allowed may instead of being burnt in the hand be design'd to the plantations for 7 years at least unless his Majesty shall give the man especial pardon it being found by constant experience that the chief thieves and contrivers of robberies are such as are escaped death by being burnt in the hand.

10. That all sturdy beggars as gypsies and other incorrigible rogues and vanderers may be taken up by constables and imprisoned until at the next Assizes or Sessions they shall either be acquitted and assigned to some settled abode and course of life here or be appointed to be sent to the plantations for five years under the conditions of servants.

11. And for as much as persons condemned and such rogues drawn with in all manner of villainy and habituated to a depraved and lazy conversation are but ill seed for a young plantation and will bring scandal, evil example and several inconveniences to any place or Colony to which they shall be assigned and appropriated it may be expedient that directions and instructions be given

to the Governors of the Charibbee islands to receive such as be appointed to them by the Com^{rs} here and to exchange them for servants more civil and such as have been seasoned with the climate and have been exercised in the works of planting & because it may be somewhat hard to expect such an unequal exchange it may be balanced to them by having those sent from thence under the conditions of ten years service and by excepting instead of them such as perhaps have not above three or fewer years to serve according to the custom or contracts with their masters.

12. That whereas there are divers Townes, Villages, and Parishes in this nation where the numbers of poor and idle debauched persons are exceeding great and where there is either no means for the setting them on work or by their parents or themselves they are applied to stealing or other idle or evil courses to the great scandal and inconvenience of the nation it may be advisable that a provision be made for the inviting and receiving or compelling if it shall be judged fit by the law in that case to be provided some few out of such Townes Villages or Parishes yearly who being especially to be taken care of by the Com^{rs} appointed here to the management of those affairs may be consign'd to a plantation of his Maj^{ties} in Jamaica where they may be well ordered and having served there certain years may have land assigned them and having certain tools and utensils allowed them upon the public stock may become good planters useful to the plantation and comfortable and hopeful to their friends.

13. And because a work so public and of so great importance ought to be managed by some public persons it may be expedient that the care conduct and controul of all matters relating to the transportation of servants be referred to certain Com^{rs} proper and instructed thereunto.

14. That there be before these Com^{rs} a Register or Entry of all servants that shall be transported from any part or place in England.

15. That the Com^{rs} shall appoint an Officer upon oath in such ports as they shall think fit for the registering every person that shall be transported as a servant his age and the place where he was borne and where he was last resident.

16. That all such condemned persons or others as by the laws and by the judges or justices in sessions shall be judged or compelled to go into the Foreign plantations as Servants shall within three daies after such judgment be certified by the Clarke of the peace or Clark of Assize to the said Com^{rs} or their Register and that the said Com^{rs} or Register do write to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties or Cities assigning to what other Sheriff or place or port they shall be delivered where there may be certain work

houses erected for the receiving and employing them until they shall be transported.

17. That the Com^{rs} appointed thereunto shall take a settled care for the receiving transporting and consigning such persons as shall be by the law to be disposed of.

18. That it shall be left to the discretion of the said Com^{rs} how the said servants may be the best disposed of to the advantage of his Mat^e and to the public utility in order to w^{ch} they may dispose so many as by their correspondence with his Mat^es Government upon the place shall be judged necessary for his Mat^es immediate service either to the enabling the soldiers of Jamaica to bee Planters or to any other service or occasion and may order the rest to bee hired out or exchanged for provisions or other things necessary for his Mat^es plantacion.

19. And that this waie of supplying the forreigne Plantations may prove no grievance or inconvenience to the Merchants or Planters of the severall Collonies the former accustomed liberty may be still left them fayrely to provide for their owne use such servants as they can here contract with they being obleidged to enter them at the port or places where they shall be shipped and cleared that thence they may be registered before the Com^{rs} in the Grall Registre.

20. And lastly when as the severall servants that are sent from thence shall arrive in the respective Collonies and Plantacions it may be convenient that they may be there registered by the respective Secretaries and that every six months the said Secretaries doe transmitt the names of the said servants and the places and persons to whome they are dispersed that their friends may the better understand from the Register here how they may heere of them or correspond with them.

16.—JOHN SAFFIN AND HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

[Mass. Archives, XI, 152, 153.]

TO his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^r Capitaine Generall & Comandor in chief in & over Her Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England The Hon^{ble} Council & Representatives Convened in the Great & Gen^l Court att Boston on the Twenty Sixth Day of May Anno 1703—

The Petition of JOHN SAFFIN Esq in all Humility Presenteth.

As the Parliament of England is the Supream Councill of the Nation, and the Sovereign Remedy of all grievances, Oppressions, & Male Administrations of the Greatest Peers of the Realm, and the Highest Courts of Judicature Even so this great & Gen^l Court or Assembly is (as yo^r Petion^r humbly conceives) an Embleme

or Similitude of that Power Derived from the Royall Charter granted to the People of this Province for the Reddressing of the grievances Oppressions Male Administrations and Tort Actions of the greatest Persons or Courts of Judicature Subordinate to this Grand Assembly. And therefore it is, that yo^r humble Petir (finding no other Remedy) is Imboldned humbly to Address this great Council, & Implore their Ayd, that they would be pleased to grant him Audience in a matter wherein he is greatly Injured & Oppressed; and in such a manner he presumes there hath not been the like done in New England. The thing in brief is this, Yo^r Petir hath a certaine Negro man named Adam that is with held or taken from him yo^r Petir under countenance of Authority (not collour of law) w^{ch} Negro hath sooner or later cost yo^r Petir above Threescore pounds. The pretended matter in Controversy hath been twice before no less than two Justices of the Peace, and at four severall Superior Courts, & continued above these two years last past, and yet is not Determined, nor doth yo^r Petir know when it will. in the meantime yo^r Petir is made a meer Vassall to his slave in being at continuall cost and Charges about him to supply him with all manner of Necessarys as Cloathis, Bedding food and Phisick, and attendance when lately he had the Small pox. Allso to pay the keeper for his keeping in Prison Three months where he was by the Quarter Sessions committed for his outrages & murderous attempts at the Castle: generally known, (a Narrative whereof being in Print,) yet for all this the said vile Negro is at this Day set at large to goe at his pleasure, in open Defiance of me his Master in danger of my life, he having threatned to be Revenged of me and all them that have Cross't his turbulent Humour, to the great Scandall and Evill Example of all Negros both in Town and Countrey whose Eyes are upon this wretched Negro to see the Issue of these his Exorbitant practices.

The Premises Considered yo^r Petir doth humbly Implore this Hon^{ble} Assembly to grant Redress by Vouchsafeing yo^r Petir a hearing either before this Hon^{ble} Assembly or by a Committee as in yo^r Wisdomes you shall Deeme most Convenient, the various Circumstances of those Transactions being so large as to Exceed the limitts of A petition in Writing; And allso that upon the understanding the Justice of yo^r Petir^s cause yo^r Honor^s will be pleased to doe him Right in all Respects, by Restoring his said Negro to yo^r Petir that as an English Subject he may Dispose of his said Negro, as he shall see cause for his own Safty, and all other of her Majestys good Subjects that may be Exposed to any Detriment by the s^d Negros villainous practices.

And yo^r Petion^r as in Duty bound shall Pray
&c. JOHN SAFFIN.

In the House of Representatives
June 1st 1703 Read, June 3rd Read

ORDERED That the Petitioner have a Hearing before this Court on the 2^d Wednesday of the next Session.

Sent up for Concurrence.

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker.

In Council June 3^d 1703

Read and not agreed to, and ordered That the matter be heard before the next Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk

ISA ADDINGTON Secry

In the House of Representatives June 3^d 1703
Read and Agreed.

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker.

[Endorsed]

Petition of John Saffin Esq
June 1, 1703.

TO his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^r
Govern^r Capt Gen^l and Comandr in
Chief in & over Her Maties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England &c. the Honble Council & House of Representatives Now Assembled
Novemb^r 15th 1703

SHEWETH

The Petition of John Saffin Esq^r most humbly

That there is a certaine Negro man Named Adam Servant to yo^r Petition^r who hath by his Vile behaviour Exp^l yo^r Peti^r to very much trouble and Charge above two years & half last past haveing been at no less than five Superior Courts & two Inferior Courts seeking to Obtaine his freedom under the pretence of A Writeing under the hand of yo^r Peti^r when he lett his farme at Bristol to Thomas Shepard with the said Negro, knowing him to be a Desperate Dangerous Villaine, and of a Turbulent humour I Endeavored to Oblige him to his Duty, and thereupon promised his freedome under my hand att the End of the Terme upon the Conditions in the words following Vizt Allways Provided that the said Adam my Servant Doe in the meane time goe on Chearfully quietly & Indurtriously in the lawfull Business that Either my Selfe or my Assigns shall from time to time Reasonably sett him about or Employ him in And Doe behave & abare himself as an honiest true and faithfull Servant Ought to doe Durcing the Terme of Seven years as aforesaid.

Now may it please yo^r Excellency and this Honble Assembly the said Negro hath in no wise performed the Conditions on wch he was to be free But on the Contrary hath behaved himself Tur-

bulently Neglegently Insolently and Outragiously both to yo^r Peti^r and his Tenant Thomas Shepard his wife and family, and Others where yo^r Peti^r hath placed him so that he hath had no Profit but loss by him said Negro these Eight Years and upward but was faine to abate the said Tenant of his Rent for that cause, and in the mean time yo^r Peti^r hath been at continued great cost and Charges about the said Negro to this Day in provideing him Cloaths Bedding Phisick Attendance and all manner of Necessaries when he was lately sick of the Small Pox besides about Six pounds payed the keeper of the Prison for Charges when he said Negro was Comitted by the Court upon the Complaint of Capt Timothy Clark of the said Negro's Outrage at the Castle in great danger of the said Capt Clark's life wch was proved upon oath. Also the said Negro hath often times Threatned to Kill yo^r Peti^r and lately told Mr Willard the keeper of the Prison that if he had Oppertunity he would make no more to Twist or wring off the Neck of yo^r Peti^r then he would of a Snake all wch is upon Oath and more to the Same Effect.

The Premisses Considered yo^r Petition^r Doth humbly Implore this Honble Assembly to grant Relcief, and that he may have liberty to Review the Action and Judgment the said Negro hath lately Obtained for his freedome at this last Superior Court at Boston (Notwithstanding he was cast at two Courts before) And that according to yo^r Wisdomes some Effectuall Order may be given that the said Negro may be in safe Custody, and not goe at large a his pleasure, that the Person of yo^r Petition may under God, be in safty & secured from the Danger of his life threatned by that Notorious Villaine & also that yo^r Peti^r may be Reimbursed the Charges he hath been att about the said Negro upon all Occasions as aforesaid

And yo^r Petition^r Shall Pray &c.

JN^o SAFFIN.

In the House of Representatives

Novem^r: 15th 1703. Read.

Novem : 19th 1703

ORDERED That the Petitioner have a Review at the next Superiour Court held at Boston and in the mean time the Negroe be of Bonds with Suretys for the Peace, and good behaviour. Sent up for Concurrence.

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker

In Council Dec^r pro, 1703

Read, and not concurr'd,
but y^r Pet^r is refer'd to the Law.

ISA ADDINGTON Secry

[Endorsed]

Petition of John Saffin Esq
15th Nov^r 1703.

The Narrative in print, referred to in the first of the foregoing petitions, is annexed to Judge Saffin's remarkable reply to Judge Sewall's *Selling of Joseph*—both of which were recently discovered and reproduced for the first time in the present century in the *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*. The only copy of Saffin's tract of which we have any knowledge is in the library of GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut.

Judge Saffin was a man of distinction in his day. Hutchinson speaks of him as "a principal inhabitant of Bristol, and the father of Thomas Saffin in Stepney churchyard, whose memory 'the author of the *Spectator* has immortalized.' The author of the *Spectator*, (No. 518, October 24, 1712,) quotes the epitaph, of which he characterizes the style as diffuse and luxuriant, having something of the simple and pathetic. It was more than once copied in those days, attracting much attention as

"An odd Epitaph upon Thomas Saffin.

"Here Thomas Saffin lies Interr'd, ah! why,
 "Born in New-England, did in London die?
 "Was the third Son of eight, begot upon
 "His mother Martha, by his Father John.
 "Much favour'd by his Prince he 'gan to be
 "But nipt by Death at th' Age of 23.
 "Fatal to him was that we Small-Pox name,
 "By which his Mother and two Brethren came
 "Also to breathe their last, nine Years before,
 "And now have left their Father to deplore
 "The loss of all his Children, with that wife
 "Who was the Joy and Comfort of his Life."
 June 18, 1687.

"That wife," the first of three to whom he was united, was the daughter of that distinguished Captain Thomas Willett, who was an Assistant in Plymouth Colony and afterwards the first English Mayor of the City of New York. He separated from his third wife and incurred the sharp censure of Cotton Mather for his conduct towards her. One of his biographers says that "his temper became peevish and irascible, and he 'seems to have lost the respect with which he had 'once been regarded.'" WASHBURN'S *Judicial History*: 270.

THE COTTON-GIN.—Mrs. Gage, one of the women of the *Revolution*, insists that the wife of General Greene, of Rhode Island, and not Eli Whitney, of New Haven, invented the cotton-gin. Mr. Whitney, she says, was only the mechanic who worked out Mrs. Greene's ideas. But, then, history don't agree with Mrs. Gage, and until she works out a revolution in history, Mr. Whitney will retain the credit that was secured to him by immense labor and expense.

VII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

117.—ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO GOVERNOR CHARLES LAWRENCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.*

Sea Horse AT SEA July y^e 26th 1755.

SIR,

I have received y^e favour of several different letters from you upon his Majesties service & was upon y^e point of sailing to your port, but first y^e melancholly report of the defeat of the Kings troops under General Braddock stopt me, & Imediatly after receiving Admiral Boscawen's orders, I am prevented having y^e pleasure of seeing you, but I must give you Joy of your being so much more Effectually Guarded,

between the first report of y^e General's death & any confirmation of y^e story, there was a space of ten days which gave me flattering hopes that it was only report, but y^e day before yesterday, I received a Confirmation of it by express from Mills creek, I Imagine Altho' it is a Melancholly subject you would be glad of y^e particulars & have Inclosed you a list of the killed & wounded, a copy of a letter from Mr Orme, General Braddock's Aid de Camp, to me, and a Copy of Mr. Washington's (who was likewise the General Aid de Camp.) to Gouvornour Dinwiddie.

Great Blame & shame is laid to y^r Charge of the private men of poor Sir Peter Halkett & Col. Dunbar's regiment that was upon y^e spot, Y^e loss of y^e Artillery is irretrievable as it Enables y^e french to fortify themselves so strongly, & I fear very much y^e Credit of y^e British Arms Among y^e Indians will now be lost, a number of unhappy Circumstances will attend this defeat, it may Effect Gov^r Shirley in his Attack against Niagara, as well as Many other operations that was proposed;

I Give you Joy that your Expedition by y^e Bay has succeeded so well, & I wish sir you may always be as Successfull. I am to far off to receive your Commands for England & Am Sir

your most obed & most

humble Servant

TO GOV LAWRENCE.

A. KEPPEL.

118.—GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.†

His Excellency, { HEAD QUARTERS,
 ALBANY Dec^r 29th 1812
 GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.

SIR,

It has become necessary for me to request your Excellency to order into the service of the United

* From the original in the Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

† From the original belonging to the Editor.

States, one Major, three Captains, three Subalterns, & a suitable officer to act as Judge Advocate from the detached Militia of New York, to form a General Court Martial on the 13th day of January next for the trial of such deserters & delinquents of Brig^r Gen. Petits Brigade of detached Militia & of the Companies & Corps, ordered into service, on the northern Frontier of this State, since the first day of July last, under & pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 28 of February 1795,—as may be expedient. With great respect

I have the honor to be
your Excellency's
Obedient & humble Servant
H. DEARBORN.

119.—ELKANAH WATSON TO JOHN RANDEL JR.*

MY DEAR SIR

One or two Letters passed between us—old Albany friends—On the Subject of a short rail road of 4 miles from Port Kent to Keeseville.

After Maj^r Beach's exploring & Report—Capitalists in this City, and in N—Y—had agreed to take the Stock—which I had Subscribed—Viz 1100 Shares out of 1200—at 50^c each. At the Same time my Son in Law a distinguished Member in Congress being on the Spott Strongly urged me to retain the whole Stock—& pledged himself to furnish me pecuniary aid if required.

But my advanced age (77) & the misfortunes of my Son Ch^{ls}—forbid my embarking.

I congratulate you most cordially on your good fortune—and I cannot conceive how it is possible—you cou'd invest a portion of your fortune in an object of So much certainty and growing importance as to product.

I do not mean to dwell—but enclose you Maj^r Beach's letter & original Report—which I pray you either to return me by a *Safe hand* who will pledge himself to put it in the Post Office in this City in person—or perhaps best by Mail—altho I am oppress'd with paying postages Mostly on matter of a public Nature in which I have no Interest, I will at this moment barely Suggest—to hold the entire Stock jointly between us, the object lies compared to its magnitude for 50 years—in a Snugg Small compass. I also enclose you Maj^r Bache (not Beach) U. S—engineers Report for a brakewater which has had two readings in Congress & will doubtless pass—which please Also to return.

I can Say—I pray you during the ensuing Month to Step abd the Packet boat Troy—\$2—to White Hall—when you embark abd the Steamboat 3—at Port Kent—when you arrive under my broad roof—in the Evng —besides

we have the most decisive evidences of exhaustless lead mines on Trembleau Mountain which forms South Shore of Our harbor (See Map) belonging to me—which I Shou'd be induced to Connect with the other object—on the most accomodating footing—providing we Shou'd be conjoint in the Rail road concern.

I will Say No More—only to invite you to make us a visit Short or long—and Judge for yourself—If you so Say—then name about the time you will be with us.

Adieu—
Cordially & Sincerely
Your Old friend
ELKANAH WATSON.

JOHN RANDAL JR^{ESQ}.
CIVIL ENGINEER. ALBANY 30 Ap. 1832.

☞ Pray be very careful of my documents—as I have no other

I will barely—add—this Short link is part of the Great Chain—destined to connect Ogdenburgh & Boston—Charters have been obtained for this object in four States—& Port Kent—Burlington—Montpellier Vt Concord Capital New Hampshire—Lowel (Massta)—are made points,—it was thoroughly explored by James Hayward Esq. of Cambridge Mass^{ts}—in its whole extent who was Also a Member in the rail road Convention held at Montpellier in 32 composed by Members from all these States—of which I was Also a Member & Luther Bradish of Malone—Chairman. Public Mind is gradually maturing—the first Link from Boston to Lowel is just completed; & this little 4 Mile link is considered the Second—

Adieu
E. W.

120.—COMMODORE PREBLE TO CAPTAIN MASON AND OTHERS.*

UNITED STATES FRIGATE *Constitution*,
1st October, 1803, GIBRALTAR BAY.

GENTLEMEN,—

A Letter directed to Commodore Morris has come to my hand, and as Commodore of the Mediterranean Squadron—I beg leave to observe that there can be but little danger in your proceeding to the United States, as there is two of my Squadron cruising off Mogadore, Sallee & Larache will prevent their cruisers from putting to Sea—

The Moorish Frigate is now at Lisbon, & has orders not to go out until peace is established between us & the Emperor. A Sloop of War, however, I have ordered to take a Convoy from this Bay, & pass near Cadiz, that you may take advantage of her Convoy—she will sail the first East

* From the original belonging to Mrs. Randel.

* From the original in the Consulate of the United States at Cadiz.

wind—there is no truth in the report, the Moorish Frigates having taken four American vessels.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obt^t Serv^t

EDWARD PREBLE.

To CAPT. BENJAMIN MASON
& others.

121.—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY TO
HENRY LAURENS.*

FORT JOHNSTON, Jan. 11, 1776.
8 o'clock in the ev'g.

To the Hon^{ble} HENRY LAURENS, Esq.,
President of the Council of Safety.

DR. SIR,

This morning between nine and ten o'clock we discovered from Fort Johnston Two ships & a sloop to the Northward of the Bar. The misty weather prevented us from distinguishing whether they were Ships of War or Merchantmen. The Fog not clearing up, about one o'clock I dispatched a boat to reconnoitre them and see what they were; from that boat I have this moment learnt, that there is a large ship, a smaller one, & a sloop off the Bar. that neither of them had Pendants, but one of them had a Whisp, in her ensign. It is not in my power to inform you whether they are Ships of Force or not, as the mist prevented the men from seeing whether they had guns or not, though our boat was near the Bar. This afternoon I stopped a Pilot Boat with a long Pendant as she attempted to pass the Fort, 'till I could be informed where she was going and her authority for passing. The Master of her behaved very insolently & told me I behaved exceedingly wrong in stopping him & that he would complain to your Board. I am not only warranted in what I did (according to my apprehension) by the order Congress of the 10th of Nov^r last, but the order of the late Council of Safety of the 17th of Sept. 1775 expressly directs the Commander of Fort Johnston to do all in his power to prevent people from going anywhere below Fort Johnston without a Permit from the Council of Safety giving him a good account of their intended business.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yr most obed^t & most hble serv^t
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

122.—BENEDICT ARNOLD TO MR. BALL.†
PHILADA. July 8, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have this day wrote Mr. Hosmer and Inclosed

* From the original belonging to Frank W. Ballard, Esq. of New York.

† From the original belonging to Charles L. Bushnell Esq. of New York.

him a Certificate from the Board of War. If you have not already received the Treasury notes, He will be able to obtain them on reciet of my Letter and deliver them to you.

I find the Exchange here sixty five dollars Paper for One in Specie. Bills drawn on France by the French agent at 60 days sight are sold here at 45 Dollars Paper for 5 Livres Tournois equal to about 4s 4d sterlg. The Bills drawn by Congress for interest on Loan Office certificates are sold much at the same rate. Bills drawn by Congress on Spain at 6 are sold at Thirty Six for One. I suppose the Bills which Col Wadworth expects drawn by the French Commissary are much the same as the Agents, they are not worth more than 4s 6d Lawful mony of Connecticut for 5 Livres Tournois Reckoning the Money equal to Specie & the Exchge at Sixty For One. I wish to have the money remitted me in Specie Bills or Paper equivalent without Loss as the Certificates are recd as Specie, & I would not choose to undervalue them. I drew on you in favor of Mr. Thompson Phillips for £21. 7. & in fav^r of M. D. Hopkins for £10. L. money or 2000 Dollars Paper to be paid when in Cash on my acct.

I wish you to be good enough to write me particularly on Recelt of the Notes, & to dispose of them If it can be done without loss & remit the mony to me. Mr. Mumford of N. London has money in this place perhaps it will suite him to take the Bills and Give an order on his agent here to pay me the amt in Paper at the Current Exchge here.

I expect in a few days to set out for the army I wish you to write to me directed to the Care of General Howe at Wt Point. Very probable I shall be there myself.

My sister joins me in Compliments to M^{rs} Ball.

I am with great regard

Dr Sir

Your Obed. Hbl. Serv^t

B. ARNOLD.

MR. CALEB BALL JUN^r.
HARTFORD."

[Endorsed in *Arnold's hand.*]

"Copy to Mr. Caleb Ball, July 8, 1780."

123.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JOHN
MORIN SCOTT.*

HEAD QUARTERS
10th June 1783

SIR

In reply to your favor of the 4th I enclose you copies of the resolutions of the house of repre-

* From the original in the possession of Charles Scott McKnight, Esq., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., General Scott's great grandson.

representatives of the State of South Carolina, the consequent resolve of Congress thereon, & my letter to Sir Guy Carleton on the subject of the South Carolina inhabitants.

These resolutions not appearing to me to be sufficiently explicit as to the manner in which those persons had been removed from Charleston, I was obliged, in order to put the matter on a tolerable footing, to extend the idea, by saying that they were sent off by orders of the British Commanders; without knowing the particular reasons the enemy would assign for this treatment, or being acquainted with the real circumstances under which the inhabitants left their state, but supposing that it would be alleged, that they were sent off as persons factious, disaffected and dangerous to the British Government, they would think the request of a very extraordinary nature, & would consider their compliance in the light of conferring a high obligation, especially by bearing the expense of their transportation.—On this ground I considered the request as asking a favor; and in that view of the subject I made the observation you allude to.—And I think, from Sir Guy's letter and his ease of compliance, I was not mistaken in my ideas of the light in which the British Commander has viewed the requisition.—

I have the honor to be
Sir Your most obedient
humble servt
G. WASHINGTON

HON^o JOHN M SCOTT Esq.

124.—GENERAL SCHUYLER TO THE NEW YORK
DELEGATION IN CONGRESS.*

NEWBURGH April 6th, 1782.

GENTLEMEN :

The Governor the honor of whose Company I was to have had on a visit to General Washington became suddenly so much indisposed that he could not venture to leave home, and requested me to mention to the General the necessity of ordering provisions to be issued, to the levies now actually raising and *collecting* to serve on the frontiers of the State to the first day of January next as the Contractors conceive they are not authorized to issue to any other than the line of the army and to such militia as may be called into the field by the Commander in chief or commanding officer of a department. In conversing with the General on this subject he informed me that he was not advised of the determination of Congress, and as the supplying of all such troops out of the continental magazine or not, was now in

agitation before that body, he could not with propriety decide—to gain a speedy decision on a matter so important to the state I have thought it my duty to embrace an opportunity which offers for Philadelphia to Intreat your Intervention, and to assure you It will not be in our power to find provision for these troops—

On the 2d of April 1781 Congress resolved that the levies to be raised by New York should be found with provisions out of the Continental Magazine without any Condition annexed—that of Cloathing paying and Subsisting the two State regiments to be raised on bounties of unappropriated lands they put on the contingency of our completing the continental battallions of the State. The reasons which led Congress to provide for the former still exist and in a greater degree, as the State is now much less able to sustain so heavy a charge, in addition to that incident on raising the men, for whose pay they are also to provide in the first instance.

Before I left Poughkeepsie both houses by joint resolution had requested the Governor to apply to Congress to have the suspending clause in the resolution relative to the two regiments taken of as the legislature had pursued such measures to compleat to compleat *all our* regiments Serving in the continental to their full establishment as cannot fail of being *effectual*. The Governor may not yet have had it in his power to transmit copy of the act and joint resolution. I therefore take the liberty to recommend that business also to your attention, and the rather as when that resolution was passed by us, we were not possessed of the act of the 2d of April 1781 and did not know that a supply of arms was not contained in it otherwise would have requested it, and as we have no arms, It becomes indispensibly necessary that provision should be made for arming them out of the public stores, you will therefore readily perceive the necessity of procuring an extension of the resolution for that purpose.

The legislature has also empowered the Governor on the requisition of the General to call forth any militia the latter may require to serve with the army for the term of three months, and If aid should be wanted beyond that time to make new detachments for the purpose. These exertions on our part will I hope Induce Congress to comply with any request you may make relative to the levies and two State regiments.

The legislature will rise on Wednesday next. I have had the pleasure of seeing Dr Mc Night a day or two ago, he and the family are all well.

I am gentlemen, with great regard & esteem your affectionate Humble Servant

PH. SCHUYLER.

JNO : M. SCOTT & W^m FLOYD Esq's &c.

* From the original belonging to Lewis A. Scott, Esq. of Phila.

125.—COMMODORE JOHN PAUL JONES TO JOHN WENDELL.*

Ranger NANTES 11th Dec^r 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,

The *Ranger* was wafted by the Pinions of the gentlest and most friendly Gales along the Surface of the Blue profound of Neptune; and not the swelling bosom of a Friend's nor even of an *Enemy's Sail*, appeared within our placid Horizon, until after we had passed the Everlasting Mountains of the Sea (called Azores) whose tops are in the Clouds and whose foundations are in the Center. When lo! this Halcyon Season was interrupted! the "gathering Fleets o'erspread the Sea" and Wars alarms began! nor ceased day or night untill aided by the mighty Boreas, we cast anchor in this Asylum the 2^d Curr^t but since I am not certain that my Poetry will be understood, it may not be amiss to add *by way of Marginal note*, that after leaving Portsmouth nothing remarkable happened untill I got to the Eastward of the Western Islands; and that from that time untill my arrival here, I fell in with Ships every day sometimes every hour; within Eighty Leagues of Ushant, I met with an Enemies fleet of Ten sail bound up Channel, but notwithstanding my best endeavours, I was unable to detach any of them from the strong Convoy under which they sailed. I met with and brought to a variety of other Ships, none whereof proved British Property, except two Brigantines from Malaga with Fruit for London, which became Prizes, the one is arrived here, the other I am told is in Quiberon Bay; as I have met with and brought to several Ships in the Night, I had the most agreeable Proofs of the active Spirit of my Officers and men.

I have forwarded my dispatches to Paris, by Express, and determine not to go myself unless I am sent for. I understand that in obedience to Orders from the Secret Committee, the Commissioners had, some time ago, provided one of the finest Frigates for me that can be imagined, calculated for Thirty two, Twenty four Pounders, on one deck, and longer than any Ship in the Enemies Fleet; but that it has been found necessary to give her up, on account of some difficulties which they have met with at Court. My Heart glows with the most fervent Gratitude for this, and every other unsolicited and unexpected instance of the favor and Approbation of Congress; and if a Life of Services devoted to the Interests of America, can be made Instrumental in securing its Independence, I shall be the happiest of men, and regard the continuance of such Approbation as an Honor far superior to the empty Peagantry which Kings ever had Power to bestow.

* Communicated by John Ward Dean, Esq., of Boston.

I esteem your Son as a promising and deserving young man. I have just now had some Conversation with him and am much Pleased with his diffidence and Modesty; he would not he says accept of a Commission untill he thinks himself equal to the duty of the Office of Lieutenant; there I think he shows a true Spirit; in the mean time, he tells me is perfectly satisfy'd with his present Situation; any thing within my Power to render his Situation happy and Instructive, shall not be wanting.

I must rely upon you to make my best Compliments acceptable to the fair Miss Wendell, and to the other agreeable Ladies of my acquaintance in Portsmouth. The Captain of the *Raleigh* I understand is well, and has lately been figuring it away at Paris, whereof please to acquaint my *Sister* officer. I should be exceedingly happy to hear from you, but as my destination depends on what I am to hear from the Commissioners, I cannot at Present give you my Address, but will drop you another, How do you do, shortly.

I am with Sentiments of Respect & Regard,

My dear Sir,

Your obliged

very Obedient

most humble Servant

Jⁿo P. JONESJOHN WENDELL, Esq^a
PORTSMOUTH.

[Addressed:]

JOHN WENDELL Esquire
Portsmouth
New Hampshire

VIII.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.—CONTINUED.

NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

By REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D.

The retirement of the Rev. Samuel Melyen from the pastoral charge of the church of Elizabeth-Town, on account of social delinquencies,*

* It was said, in our previous number, that he was charged with intemperance, a vice alarmingly prevalent among all classes of society, at that period. The Rev. John Miller, of New York, gives, in 1693, an appalling representation of the dissipation then everywhere observable in all ranks and professions. At the ordination of Mr. Melyen, they must have had a jolly time. Mr. Harriman, the senior pastor, has left the following record: "The exact account of w^t we spent upon ye occasion is as follows:

"p Money layd out in sweet spice at N. Y.....	3. 6
"p ¼ of a bushell of wheat at 4s 1s.....	3. 2
"p a bushell of barley mault.....	3. 9
"p 6 lb of butter.....	3. 0
"p 1 qt of rum 15s.....	1. 3
"p 8 lb shugr at 6d 1s.....	1. 6
"p pepper 9d 1s.....	0. 9
"p 4 lb of cheese.....	2. 0
"p a qtrs lamb wt 8lb ¼ at 4d 1s.....	2. 11
"p 2 qt veal.....	4. 2

left the people once more without a settled ministry. In the following year, however, JONATHAN DICKINSON, who had just completed his first score of years, was employed as a candidate for settlement. Measures were taken at the expiration of a twelve-month, for his ordination as pastor.

He was born on the twenty-second of April, 1688, at Hatfield, Massachusetts. His father, Hezekiah, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in February, 1645, whence he emigrated successively to Stratford, Hatfield, Hadley, and Springfield; marrying at Stratford, on the fourth of December, 1679, Abigail, the daughter of Samuel, and grand-daughter of Rev. Adam Blackman, of that town. Jonathan was their second child. When he was but two years old, the family removed to Hadley, and five years after to Springfield, where mostly he spent his boyhood. His mother's connection with the Stratford people, whose Pastor, Israel Chauncey, was one of the principal founders of Yale College, brought him into one of the first classes of that institution, conducted by Rev. Abraham Pierson, at Killingworth, Connecticut, of whose family he became a member. Jared Eliot, (afterwards minister of Killingworth,) and Timothy Woodbridge, (afterwards Minister of Simsbury, Connecticut,) were his classmates. He graduated in 1706. At Guilford, adjacent to Killingworth, on the West, he was in the way of hearing much about East Jersey, whither so many of their kindred had emigrated. There too, probably, he met among the Hubbards and Fowlers, and courted, their cousin, Joanna Melyen, the sister of the Rev. Samuel Melyen, of Elizabethtown, whom he married as early as March, 1709, in his twenty-first year. She was more than four years his senior.

His ordination at Elizabeth-town took place on Friday, the twenty-ninth of September, 1709. The services were performed by the Consociation of Fairfield County, Connecticut, then newly organized, and consisting of the Rev. Messrs. John Davenport, of Stamford, Stephen Buckingham, of Norwalk, Joseph Webb, of Fairfield, and Israel Chauncey, of Stratford. The Rev. Joseph Morgan, of Freehold, New Jersey, and probably, the Rev. Nathaniel Bowers, of Newark, and the Rev. Nathaniel Wade, of Woodbridge, New Jersey, were associated with them. All these were Independents. Morgan preached the sermon, the same that he had preached at his own ordination, in June, 1700, from Mark, xvi, 16, "Go ye into all the world," etc. It was printed in 1712, by W. & A. Bradford, at New York, with the title, *The Great Concernment of Gospel Ordinances, manifested from the great effects of im-*

proving or neglecting them. A copy of it is preserved in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, at Hartford. He tells the ministry, that "A tow lace ill becomes a silk garment."

The boy-preacher had a great burden laid upon him. His charge included, not only the town proper along the lower part of the Creek, but Woodruff's Farms, Williams' Farms, Lyon's Farms, Wade's, (or Connecticut) Farms, Rahway, Westfield, and Scotch Plains, and all the region beyond towards the setting sun. Neither church nor minister was yet to be found in advance of him to the West. It was the extreme border of civilization in that direction. The Episcopal society was small and feeble, and Mr. Vaughan, their missionary, had not yet arrived. He stood alone, and received this weighty charge in the first year of his manhood and ministry. His compensation was to be eighty pounds with the parsonage, and "perquisites of Marriages." Quietly and diligently he gave himself to his work, and speedily took rank among the very first of his profession.

A Presbytery, after the Scotch pattern, had been organized, at or in the vicinity of Philadelphia, about four years before Mr. Dickinson's settlement. The church of Freehold, New Jersey, was among the earliest to be taken under the care of the new Presbytery. Difficulties having occurred in the church at Woodbridge, (organized on the twenty-ninth of January, 1707-8,) they sought, in 1708, the advice of the Presbytery, and thenceforward remained under their care. One by one the Independent ministers and churches outside of New England entered into the new connection and became Presbyterian. Lord Cornbury's zeal for "The Church," and his persecution of Makemie, served to consolidate the Puritan party in New York and New Jersey, leading them to look favorably upon Presbyterian order and discipline. So largely had this influence been felt, that the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in 1716, resolved itself into a Synod of three Presbyteries. At the first meeting of the Synod, on the seventeenth of September, 1717, at Philadelphia, the name of Mr. Dickinson appears for the first time as a Presbyterian minister, the youngest member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. He had previously met with the Presbytery, at the ordination, on the twentieth of October, 1715, of Robert Orr, Maidenhead, New Jersey, and at the ordination, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1717, of John Pierson, Woodbridge, New Jersey. He had probably, on the latter occasion, been received as a member of the Presbytery.

In 1717, therefore, the old Independent church of Elizabeth-town, with its young, energetic, and influential pastor, became distinctively a Presbyterian church, being taken under the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, with no other change

The ordination dinner required a good supply of "toddy," a custom that continued to be observed a century longer.

in its constitution than what was required in the election of ruling elders. The connection of the church with the Synod is first recognized, on the nineteenth of September, 1718:

"A collection was made for the fund by the Synod, according to appointment. Mr. Dickinson delivered one pound twelve shillings from his congregation at Elizabethtown for the fund."

Not until the fifth annual meeting of the Synod, at Philadelphia, on the twentieth of September, 1721, was the church represented in the Synod, by one of its Elders, Robert Ogden, whose father, Jonathan, had been one of Mr. Harriman's two deacons. They may have been represented in the Presbytery at an earlier date, and probably were. Mr. Dickinson, almost from the first, became a leader among his brethren, and exerted his influence always on the side of liberty, opposing subscription, and protesting against the exercise of legislative authority on the part of the Synod or any of its Presbyteries. This position he maintained through life, always siding with the party of popular rights. As Moderator of the Synod, the previous year, he preached the opening sermon, on the twentieth of September, 1722, from II Timothy, iii, 17, which was given to the press; "an excellent sermon," says Foxcroft, of Boston, "where the true Boundaries of Church Power are particularly consider'd and set in their proper Light;" a discourse, in which the power of the keys is accorded to the church officers, and to them only; care is taken to distinguish between legislative acts binding on the conscience, and orderly regulations conformed to God's word, and the right of appeal from a lower to a higher court in the church is admitted.

From this time forth, Mr. Dickinson became one of the most watchful and powerful defenders of Christian truth, and one of the most strenuous and successful opposers of ecclesiastical encroachments both in and out of his own denomination. The defection of several of the Puritan clergy of Connecticut to Episcopacy in the autumn of 1722, and in the year following, growing out of "a heartless Arminianism and a hope of court favor," stimulated the friends of Episcopacy to unwonted zeal in the utterance of their exclusive claims. A parishioner of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, put forth, early in 1724, *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. Mr. Dickinson at once sent forth a reply (Boston, 1724.) entitled, *A Defence of Presbyterian Ordination*. The author of the *Modest Proof*, utterly incompetent to cope with such an antagonist, applied to Mr. Johnson for his assistance, who drew up a sketch of the common arguments in favor of the "doctrine of The Church," "and gave it to him. This the man sent in his

"own name, as an answer to Mr. Dickinson, and soon had his reply; to which Mr. Johnson furnished him with a rejoinder."* In Mr. Dickinson's reply, he affirmed, that "High-Churchism is properly no more a part of the Church of England than a wen is of the human body." The papers on both sides were afterwards enlarged and republished. Mr. Dickinson's republication was entitled, *A Dialogue between Prelaticus and Eleutherius, upon the Scripture-Bishop, or the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government*. A pamphlet appeared in reply, entitled, *The Scripture-Bishop Examined*. This was followed by *The Scripture Bishop VINDICATED. A Defence of the Dialogue Between Prelaticus and Eleutherius, upon The Scripture-Bishop; or the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government, Against the Exceptions of a Pamphlet, Intituled, The Scripture-Bishop EXAMINED. By ELEUTHERIUS, V.D.M. In a LETTER to a Friend. Isai., lvi. 5. Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the LORD be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.* BOSTON. New England: Printed by S. KNEELAND & T. GREEN, for D. HENCHMAN in Cornhill. 1733.

The only copy of this rare publication known to the writer is in his own possession. Mr. Dickinson's *Scripture-Bishop* was answered, also, by a Layman, calling himself PHILEATHES, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Eleutherius Enervatus, &c.*, which was answered, in December, 1733, by Foxcroft, in a publication, called *Eusebius Inermatus, &c.* By PHILELUTH-BANGOR, V. E. B. He speaks of "Eleutherius," the author of *The Scripture-Bishop*, as being at a "Distance from the Press." A copy of this is also in the writer's possession, bound with the foregoing. In this controversy Mr. Dickinson did good service to the Presbyterian interests.

At the meeting of the Synod in September, 1727, it was proposed to require of every Minister and candidate a subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, but no action was then taken. The following year, it was also deferred. The proposal was put in print. His constitutional love of liberty, and his fear of any infringement of the rights of the ministry, led Mr. Dickinson to oppose it. He prepared a response to it, which was issued, by Zenger, at New York, on the tenth of April, 1729, entitled, *Remarks on Thomson's Overture, introducing the Adopting Act*, of which a copy is preserved in the Old South Church Library, Boston. It clearly shows, that, while he himself cordially accepted

* Such is Dr. Chandler's statement, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, p. 70.

the Westminster Standards, he was opposed to all imposition of creeds of human composure.

At the meeting of the Synod in September, 1729, the overture having been referred to a Committee of which he was a member, he succeeded in so modifying the proposal, as to unite the whole Synod, with thanksgiving to God, in the passage of the measure thenceforward known as "THE ADOPTING ACT OF 1729," and ever since regarded as the *Magna Charta* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and the truest expression of the genius, the doctrine, and the principles of the Church.

Having entered the lists against intolerance in his own denomination, and the arrogance of High Churchism in the Church of England, he now directed his shafts, keen and effective, against the assumptions of infidelity. He prepared and preached to his people a short series of discourses, which, soon after, were issued from the press, in a convenient form, with the following title: *THE Reasonableness of CHRISTIANITY, in Four SERMONS, WHEREIN The Being and Attributes of GOD, the Apostasy of Man, and the Credibility of the Christian Religion, are demonstrated by rational considerations. And the divine mission of our blessed Saviour proved by Scripture-Arguments, both from the Old Testament and the New, and vindicated against the most important Objections, whether of ancient or modern Infidels.* By Jonathan Dickinson, M.A., Minister of the Gospel at Elisabeth-Town, New Jersey. *Cum dilectione fides Christiani: Sine dilectione fides dæmonum: Qui autem non credunt, peiores sunt quam dæmones.*—Aug. de Charit. With a Preface by Mr. FOXCROFT. BOSTON, N. E. Printed by S. KNEELAND and T. GREEN for SAMUEL GEERISH, at the lower end of Cornhill. MDCCXXXII.

Foxcroft, in the preface, speaks of him as one, "Whose Praise is in the Gospel thoroughout all the Churches in those remote parts, where Divine Providence has cast his Lot." "Those remote parts!" Boston then was, and still thinks herself to be, "the Hub of the Universe."

A sermon, preached at the funeral of the wife of his friend, Rev. John Pierson, of Woodbridge, New Jersey, was issued from the press of William Bradford, New York, in 1733. This was followed, in 1735, by a pamphlet from his pen, in defence of the treatment of the Rev. Samuel Hemphill (an Irish adventurer, employed as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Andrews, of Philadelphia), by the Synod's commission; ever watchful, as he was, for the interests of pure and undefiled religion, and ready for its defence.

Once more, he became involved in the Episcopal controversy. Colonel Josiah Ogden, (a grandson of the principal founder of Elizabeth Town), residing at Newark, was censured by the

church, of which he was an active and influential member, for a breach of the law of the Sabbath, in laboring, with his workmen, to save a crop of wheat on the Lord's Day, after long-continued rains. The censure was removed by the Presbytery, and the Synod, by kindly interposition, sought to heal the breach; but the grievance proved incurable. A party was created in the church, who sided with Colonel Ogden, and gravitated towards Episcopacy. The Rev. Mr. Vaughan, the Episcopal minister of Elizabeth Town, and others of his brethren, took advantage of the event, to introduce Episcopal services among the hitherto homogeneous people of Newark. Such was the origin of Episcopacy in that flourishing city.

To counteract these influences, Mr. Dickinson, by invitation, preached a sermon, at Newark, on Wednesday, the second of June, 1736, from Mark, vii, 15, "Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." It was printed shortly after, with the title, *The Vanity of human Institutions in the Worship of God*, and widely circulated. It was read with great interest, and called "his famed sermon." An answer was attempted by the Rev. John Beach, of Newtown, Connecticut, (a renegade Puritan,) in a pamphlet, entitled, *A Vindication of the Worship of God, according to the Church of England. A Defence of his sermon was published in 1737, by Mr. Dickinson, which was soon followed by a rejoinder from Mr. Beach, with the title, Appeal to the Unprejudiced: In a Supplement to the Vindication, etc.* Mr. Dickinson responded on the first of February, 1738, with *The Reasonableness of Nonconformity to the Church of England, in Point of WORSHIP. A second Defence of his "SERMON," etc.* "I have for the most Part," he tells Mr. Beach, "purposely overlook'd your *Flouts* and *Fleers*, and left you in the undisturb'd Possession of your Merriment, being rather too old and too dull to answer such kind of Arguments, and to find out the Force of *Sneer* and *Banter*."

In the autumn and winter of 1739-'40, during a powerful revival of religion at Newark, Mr. Dickinson preached frequently for Mr. Burr. On the ninth of May, 1740, he preached a sermon, from Romans, viii, 16, which was soon after published with the title, *The Witness of the Spirit, Wherein is distinctly shewn, in what Way and Manner the Spirit himself beareth Witness to the Adoption of the Children of God. On occasion of a wonderful Progress of converting Grace in those Parts.* A second edition appeared in 1743. It was of great service in exposing the delusions and fanaticism so current in "the Great Awakening."

The following summer witnessed "a wonder-

ful Progress of converting Grace," in his own church, of which he said, on the fourth of September, "I have had more young People address me for Direction in their spiritual Concerns within this three Months than in thirty years before."

The next year he sent forth, *The True Scripture Doctrine concerning some important Points of Christian Faith, Particularly, Eternal Election, Original Sin, Grace in conversion, Justification by Faith, And the Saints' Perseverance. Represented and Applied in Five Discourses*; a book frequently reprinted in Great Britain and America.

This was followed in 1742, by *A Display of GOD'S special GRACE. IN a familiar Dialogue BETWEEN A Minister and a Gentleman of his Congregation, About The Work of GOD, in the Conviction and Conversion of Sinners, so remarkably of late begun and going on in these American Parts; WHEREIN The OBJECTIONS against some uncommon Appearances amongst us are distinctly consider'd, MISTAKES rectify'd, and the WORK itself particularly prov'd to be from the HOLY SPIRIT. With An ADDITION, in a second conference, relating to sundry Antinomian Principles, beginning to obtain in some places. To which is prefixed an ATTESTATION, by several Ministers of Boston.* BOSTON, N. E. printed by ROGERS and FOWLE, for S. ELIOT, in Cornhill, 1742.

It had a wide circulation, was republished in the following year, and was of great service in promoting the work of grace among the churches.

A sermon that he preached in 1743, as Moderator, at the opening of the Presbytery at Newark, entitled, *The Nature and Necessity of Regeneration*, from John, iii, 3, with some Remarks on a Discourse of Dr. Waterland's, on the same subject, but of opposite doctrine, drew forth from the Rev. James Wetmore, Episcopal minister of Rye, New York, *A Defence of Waterland's Discourse on Regeneration*. And this was promptly answered by Mr. Dickinson, in *Reflections upon Mr. Wetmore's Letter in Defence of Dr. Waterland's Discourse of Regeneration. With a Vindication of the Received Doctrine of Regeneration, and plain Scripture Evidence that the Notion of Baptismal Regeneration is of dangerous and destructive Tendency*.

In the same year, 1745, his prolific pen produced *Familiar Letters to a Gentleman upon a Variety of Seasonable and Important Subjects in Religion*, an able discussion of the Evidences of Christianity, and of the Doctrines of Grace, in a popular form; a standard work even at the present day.

In the conflict that led to the disruption of the Synod in 1745, he sought to act as a mediator and pacificator, but, when it was accomplished, he

cast his lot with the "New Side," and became their acknowledged leader. He took, also, a deep interest in the work of evangelizing the Indians, and was the trusted friend and counselor of David Brainerd.

The same year several publications were issued in the interest of Episcopacy, designed as antidotes to Mr. Dickinson's writings on this subject. Immediately he set himself to the work of reply, and sent forth, in 1746, *A Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace. In some Remarks on Mr. J. Beach's Sermon, with some brief Reflections upon H. Caner's Sermon, and on a pamphlet entitled A Letter from Aristocles to Anthades*. A response was made by Dr. Johnson [*Aristocles*], which brought out, *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, published after his decease.

His last great work was the founding of the College of New Jersey, of which he was appointed, April, 1747, the first President, with its seat at Elizabeth-town. A severe attack of pleurisy terminated, on the seventh of October, 1747, his most active and useful life, in the sixtieth year of his age. The wife of his youth had died, on the twentieth of April, 1745. His second wife, Mrs. Mary Crane, of Newark, to whom he was married on the seventh of April, 1747, survived him. His decease was greatly lamented. He was regarded as "one of the greatest and safest men of that age;" unsurpassed, if not unequalled in the American Presbyterian Church during the first half century of its history; and one, of whom it has been said by a profound chronicler,—"It may be doubted whether, with the single exception of the elder Edwards, Calvinism has ever found an abler or more efficient champion in this country, than JONATHAN DICKINSON."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IX.—VOCABULARY OF THE KAH-WE'-YAH AND KAH-SO'-WAH INDIANS.

By J. H. RILEY.

[The syllable to be emphasized in pronunciation is indicated by the accent—'.]

Numerals.

Keng'-ah—One.
O-te-go—Two.
To-lor'-ko-soo—Three.
Oy-is'-sah—Four.
Moo'-soo-kah—Five.
Tah'-moo-kah—Six.
Ken-neck'-koo-koo—Seven.
Kah-woon'-tah—Eight.
Wo'-hah—Nine.
Ni-atch'-ah—Ten.
Keng'-ah-te—Eleven.

O-tuck'-soo-ka-na—Twelve.
 To-lark'-soo-ka-na—Thirteen.
 Oy-ick'-soo-ka-na—Fourteen.
 Mo-sook'-soo-ka-na—Fifteen.
 Tak-mook'-soo-ka-na—Sixteen.
 Ken-neck'-soo-ka-na—Seventeen.
 Kah-woon'-tah-se—Eighteen.
 Wo-bath'-ka-se—Nineteen.
 Ni-atch'-ah, O-to'-go, nem—Twenty, or two times ten.
 Ni-atch'-ah, To-lor'-kor-soo, nem—Thirty, or three times ten.
 Ni-atch'-ah, Oy-is'-sah, nem—Forty, or four times ten. And so on to one hundred, which is expressed by
 Ni-atch'-ah, Ni-atch'-ah, nem.

Above a hundred, they count naturally by decimals, any indefinite number, by holding up their hands and whilst exclaiming energetically, Ni-atch'-ah-Ni-atch'-ah, rapidly opening and closing the ten fingers.

Parts of the Human Body.

Han'-oh—Head.
 Pou'-sah—Hair.
 Soon'-too—Eyes.
 Nee'-to—Nose.
 Ow'-woo—Mouth.
 Koo'-too—Teeth.
 Oui'-ko-soo—Chin.
 Soo'-mo-choo—Beard.
 Tol'-ko-soo—Ears.
 Tee'-soo—Hands.
 Los'-los-kee—Fingers or Toes.
 Sa'-lah—Nails.
 Oo-toon'-dah—Thumb.
 Hot'-tah—Feet.
 Ho'-cho-noo—Legs.
 Lee'-te-poo—Thighs.
 Hi'-te-wah—Hips.
 Moo'-zoo—Breast.
 Oong'-i-you—Chest.
 Too'-you-pe—Shoulders.
 Tee'-se-ni—Elbows.
 Pah'-cha-loo—Arms.
 Kah'-woo—Back.
 Cho'-ko-noo—Belly.
 To'-kak—Posteriors.
 To'-lo-loo—Gen. organ, Mas.
 Wock'-oo-ta—Gen. organ, Fem.
 O'-no-nee—Coition.
 Ka-nut'—Excrement.
 Nong'-ah—Man.
 O'-sah—Woman.
 Esh'-el-lo—Child.
 Esh'-el-lo Koo'-chee—Good child.*
 Koo'-chee O'-sah—Good woman.
 Oo'-soo-too Nong'-ah—Bad man.

Nong'-ah Kah-woo'-wah—Powerful man.
 Koo'-che signifying good, Oo'-soo-too, bad, and Koh-woo'-wah, power, strength, ability.
 Koo'-che Nong'-ah Mee-wah—A good honorable man.
 Hi-yah'-poo Koo'-che Mee-wah—A friendly chief.
 Hi-yah'-po—A chief.
 Mee'-wah—Friendly, honorable.
 Wal'-lee—A friend.
 Ko'-chah {
 Oo'-chah { House, hut, lodge, or wigwam.
 Hooan'-nee—A village or collection of huts.
 Too'-no-tee—Covering or shelter.
 To'-le—Blankets.
 Ho'-woo-too—Beads, wampum.
 Ong'-a-lee—Bow.
 Mitch'-ka-loo—Arrows.
 You'-wah-loo—Quiver.
 Kah-lan'-no—To dance.
 Moe'-a-lee—To sing.
 Too'-yem—To sleep.
 Soo'-ye-nem—To wake.
 Choo'-sock—To rest.
 Oo'-nee—To come.
 Wook'-soo—To go.
 Wo'-num—To walk.
 Hoo'-yah—Traveling.
 Mook'-koo—Road or path.
 Hct'-tah—Foot-prints, trail.
 Tan'-oo-gock—Fatigue.
 To'-lem—Relief.
 Chah-muck'—General name for food.
 Oo'-woo—Prepared food.
 Hah-ki'-yin-nem—I am hungry.
 Hoot, or Hoot'-too—Yes.
 No—No.
 Net'-net—This.
 Na'-na—That.
 Win'-nee—Where or whence.
 Win'-nee Wook'-soo—Where are you going?
 Win'-nee Oo'-nee—Whence do you come?
 Ee'-zum—Up or above.
 Ah-lo'-wen—Down or below.
 Kah-to'-wen—Over, across, the other side.
 Woo'-ditch—Let us go.
 O'-kas-see—Thank you.
 Wook'-sum—Good bye.
 Wee'-kum—To get rid of.
 Hoo-yah'-koo—How do you do?
 Koo'-chee O'-kas-see—Very well, thank you.
 Paw'-too-luck-sick—Expression of admiration or surprise.
 Shawl'-pet—Expression of contempt.
 Kah-nut'—Expression of disgust.
 Toke'-to-kah—A pest, a bad smell.
 Ta-mas'-kal—Hot bath or sweat house.
 He-a'-mah—The sun.
 Oo'-nee He-a'-mah—Sunrise.
 Wook'-soo He-a'-mah—Sunset.
 Ko'-mah—The moon.

* The placing of the adjective before the substantive seems to be governed solely by euphony.

To'-lah—Earth.

Me-to'-kah—How much? what is the cost?

Ah-mo'-nay—Do you wish to buy?

Tee'-nay—What do you call it?

Woo'-hoo Ah-wong'-ah—Let us remove or change our dwelling.

Woo'-hoo Ah-wong'-ah Kah-to-wen—Let us remove to the other side of the river.

Woo'-hoo Wee'-kum no Toke'-to-kah—Let us get rid of this pest or nuisance.

Koo'-chee, Skotch'-ya—Very good indeed.

Tee'-nay, net'-net—What do you call this?

Koo'-sum'-moo, Wal'-lee—A salmon, friend.

Koo'-chee Chah'-muck—Is it good to eat?

Hoot'-too, Koo'-chee Skotch'-ya—Yes, very good indeed.

Hah-ki-yin-nem, Chah-muck, Wal'-lee—I am very hungry, give me food, friend.

O'-kas-see, Woo'-ditch, Wal'-lee, Wal'-lee, Wook-sum—Thank you, we are going, friends. Good bye.

The Elements, Animals, Trees, &c.

Too'-too-sah—Air.

Wo'-ka—Fire.

Kee'-koo—Water.

O'-pah—Sky.

Yan'-o-pah—Clouds.

Noo'-kai—Rain.

Ka'-lah—Snow.

Woo'-loo-too—Heat.

Ka'-lah-wah—Snowy mountain.

Si'-wah—Table mountain.

Wo'-kel'-moo-tce—A river.

See'-sah—A creek.

Ah-kah'-wa-loo—A spring of water.

Kah'-choo-mah—Wild cat.

Ep-plar-lee—Hare.

Tee'-chah-soo—Squirrel.

Lah-war'-tee—Rattlesnake.

Nep'-pee-soo—Viper.

You'-woo-lee—Lizard.

Ko-sum'-moo—Salmon.

Ah'-woo—Trout.

Kar'-kar-loo—Crow or Raven.

Hoo'-lo-wen—General name for birds.

Loy'-e-mah—General name for flowers.

Woot'-soo—An Oak tree.

Lee'-mah—Willow.

Nee'-nah-too-ya—Mazanatta.

Sock'-koo—Pine.

Sock'-oo-too—Pine nut.

Tu'-le, or Too'-lee—Bulrush.

Tow'-sa—A game of chance played with small sticks.—*Wide West.*

JOHN G. SAXE says it is a common notion in Boston, that if a person is born in that city, it is unnecessary for that favored individual to be "born again."

X.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed. HIST. MAG.*]

PROHIBITORY LAWS TWO CENTURIES AGO.

ALBANY, Sept. 10, 1858.

* * * * *

But I took my pen to call your attention to some quaint old records which I chanced to meet in the County Clerk's office, dating back some two centuries—one in particular, which I believe to be the first "Maine Law" on record, and of which I send a copy, verbatim. I commend it to our modern Solons as a model of terseness—and yet those cunning old Dutch Burghers knew well enough how to keep a wire ready for their own private pulling, as occasion served, as you will observe by the latter clause. It is, moreover, commended to the attention of our honorable Judges, particularly of the First and Second Districts, that beer (*query*: lager?) is among the contrabanded articles.

But I give you the document as it stands, leaving further comments to yourself:

"By ye Mayor Aldermen and Commonality of ye
"City of Albany and ye Justice of ye County
"aforesaid,"

"Whereas the selling and giveing of Strong
"Drinks to ye Indians at this Present juncture
"is founde by Experience Extreme Dangerous
"insomuch yt diverse Inhabitants at Schinnech-
"tady and elsewhere have made there complaint
"that there is no living if ye Indian be not kept
"from Drinke we do therefore hereby Strikly
"Prohibit and forbid in ye name of King William
"& Queen Mary yt no Inhabitants of ye City
"and county of Albany doe sell or give any Rum
"Brandy, Strong Liquer or Beer to any Indian
"or Indians upon any pretence whatsoever upon
"ye Penalty of Two months imprisonment with-
"out Baile or mainprize and moreover a fine of
"five Pounds toties quoties ye Prooffs hereof to
"be made as is Inserted in ye Proclamation Pro-
"hibiting ye selling of Strong Drink dated ye
"21st day of May 1689 which is by Prooff or
"Purgation by oath always provided yt it shall
"and may be in ye Power of ye Mayor Alder-
"men and Commonality of ye sd city if they see
"cause to give any smal quantity of Rum to any
"Sachems who come here about Public Bussiness
"any Phibition alowed in any manner notwith-
"standing—given Att ye city hall of Albany ye
"12th day of September 1689

"pord

"ROBT LIVINGSTON."

I send you also a second in which you will find a "Search and Seizure clause." It appears

by entries in the margin that the same was "re-sisted publicly by Abraham Cuyler; also that Isaac de Peyster could not be found at home and his cellar door kept always shut." But what was done to these despisers of the powers that be, or that were, the records do not state—which is to be greatly regretted as laying down no precedent for our day.

"At a meeting of ye Mayor Aldermen and Commonalty of ye City of Albany and ye Military Officers of ye same ye 29th day of June 1689.

"Whereas complaint is made to us, ye Mayor Aldermen and Commonalty assisted with ye military officers of ye City of Albany yt ye Collector is Denied ye liberty to gage ye rum yt is brought up from N. York according to ye law and former practice of this Province Pretending that there is no authority for ye same The said Mayor Alderman & Commonalty and Military officers are unanimously resolved to maintain ye sd Excises in ye self same Vigour & Power as formerly for ye use of their Majests now upon ye Throne to be accomptable to such governor or officers as their Majts shall be Pleased to send to Rule over us We ye Mayor Aldermen Commonalty and Military officers have therefore Thought fit unanimously to order and require ye high sheriff & constables of this city to be aiding and assisting to Robt Livingston Col in carrying ye sd Rum to be gaged and all ye Casks to be viewed yt is now come out of ye sloop of Peter Bogardus which is suspected to be Rum instead of Molasses and to enter into ye houses & cellars of any Inhabitants of this city where any of sd Casks are Lodged and if any person shall Resist you by force that you then take special notice who they are that Resist that the may be called to acct for their contempt in Due time, in doing where this shall be yr sufficient Warrant. Given under our hands and seales in Albany, ye 29th day of June 1689.

"PR SCHUYLER
"JOHN WENDELL."

From other documents, which are too lengthy for your columns, it seems that New York, even in that early day, was accustomed to arrogate to itself metropolitan powers over the denizens of this city. For once, when assistance was asked of New York to protect them from the Indians, the honest old Dutchmen of Albany found to their sorrow that they had, like the doves in the fable, when they sought the aid of the kite, taken unto themselves a worse enemy than their anticipated foes, for the Yorkers seized the fort and ruled the place.

Respectfully yours,
W. W. G.

INDIA WHARF, BOSTON, A HALF CENTURY AGO. TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Transcript*: A few years since the *Boston Post* contained a communication giving a list of the occupants of stores on Long Wharf in former days, and to our worthy fellow-citizen Benjamin Thaxter, formerly of the firm of Price & Thaxter, the appellation of the Nestor of Long Wharf—he being longer in business there than any other person. A few days since an article in the *Transcript* comprised a list of the occupants of stores in Cornhill in 1813, (now that part of Washington street extending from School street to Dock square.) Herewith you have a list of the occupants of India Wharf about that period, or after the war of 1812 had terminated, and before Central Wharf was built. Those whose retrospective views extend beyond the last fifty years will perceive that there are now but a solitary few of those then active and enterprising merchants who now walk the earth; all except probably two or three or thereabouts being now extinct. C.

- No. 1. Geo. Darricot.
2. Wm. Appleton.
3. Josiah Whitney.
4. John Houston, J. P. Blanchard.
5. James Andrews & Co.
6. Judah Hays.
7. Wm. Burroughs.
8. Jesse Putnam.
9. Peter R. Dalton.
10. John H. Price.
11. John Stevens, Brown & Co.
12. Joseph Stevens.
13. Wales & Beale.
14. Chas. W. Green.
15. Henry Burroughs.
16. Thomas Wigglesworth.
17. Henry Hall.
18. Lunt & Leack.
19. John Pratt.
20. David Ellis, Jona. Chapman.
21. Phineas Adams.
22. Pickman & Rogers.
23. Gardner H. Rand.
24. Ray & Grays.
25. Jonathan Davis.
26. David Hinkley.
27. Beckford & Batcs.
28. James Carter.
29. Henry Gray.
30. Daniel Sargent.
31. James & Thomas H. Perkins.
32. Stephen Deblois, wharfinger.
33. Long Room.
34. Samuel A. Wells.
35. Samuel G. Perkins & Co.
36. Long Room.
37. Boardman & Pope.
38. Jonathan Amory.

39. Nathaniel F. Ruggles.
40. William Ropes & Co.
41. Bell & Mountfort.
42. William Pickman.
43. Bray & Bolt.
44. Benjamin W. Watson.
45. Elijah Brigham.
46. Aaron Baldwin.
47. Henry Sigourney.
48. Timothy Williams.
49. Nathaniel Curtis.
50. James Hyde & Co.
51. Benj. W. Lamb.
52. Ephraim Robbins.
53. Ralph Haskins.
54. Hathaway & Davis.
55. Nehemiah Parsons.
56. Elijah Crane, Jr.
57. James Lloyd.
58. Samuel Bates.
59. Christopher Smith.
60. John Andrews.
61. Thomas Battelle & Co.
62. Gibbs & Barnes.
63. Zadock French.
64. Samuel Cutter.
65. L. Aujard.
66. Thomas Holland.
67. Levi Dame.

LOCAL CHANGES OF FIFTY YEARS IN PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—There are now in Portsmouth eight handsome Churches, and four Chapels, none of which, (except the Episcopal and Universalist Churches) were built in 1818. The two latter were built in 1808. One other large brick church on Pleasant street was built about forty years ago, and has been taken down. Fifty years ago the Unitarian Society occupied the Old South Church—the Congregational Society occupied the Old North, in neither of which the parishoners had confidence that the cold blasts of winter could be overcome by the use of stoves—and so only those who could endure the cold house for three hours on the Sabbath, with philosophic firmness were punctual in their attendance. The ladies were generally provided with foot stoves and moccasins—the gentlemen wore galoches—India rubber shoes had not then been discovered. The Methodist Society then occupied the building in the avenue on Vaughan-street, now used as a stable. The Freewill Baptists occupied what is now called the Temple. The germs of what after became the Middle-street Baptist Church, were gathered in the church of the Independents on Court street, on the site of the present Unitarian Chapel. The Sandemanian Society worshipped in the chamber of the brick school-house on State street. The Society is now extinct. These

were all the religious societies in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The Brick School-House readily designated a locality, for all the other school-houses were old wooden buildings, better fit for pig pens than for children. Now we have seven brick school-houses—one of which cost more than all the school-houses in Portsmouth fifty years ago. Not one of the public school-houses of 1818, except the State street, now remain.

The only organ then, was that in the St. John's Church. There were no Sunday schools, no Temperance meetings, no Lyceum lectures. There was no hearse in Portsmouth. The bier might be seen in the entries of the churches, and the friends or neighbors of the deceased bore them to their graves. There were no carriages used for funerals then—nor was there an Auburn street or Harmony Grove Cemetery.

Fifty years ago the present lower room of the Athenaeum was an Insurance office, and the chamber over it was St. John's Masonic Hall. The Athenaeum was just incorporated, and its five hundred volumes were on shelves in the room over Hon. J. H. Bailey's store on Congress street. There were then no bridges to connect Portsmouth with Maine, or with Newcastle, or with Rye over Sagamore creek. Lafayette road was not then opened, and Rye Beach was less thought of as a place of resort than Newington; Piscataqua Bridge being then the great place of attraction to parties of pleasure. The Assembly House, at what is now Raitt's Court, was then the only place in town for public exhibitions and balls.

Fifty years ago, an old dilapidated building on the present site of the Court House, was the "Work House," as it was called. In it was "Union Hall," where the Selectmen held their meetings, and enjoyed an annual supper. That noble brick edifice which now stands on the City Farm, well supplies its place. The Stone Jail has been built in the time, and within fifty years the iron staples have been taken from the top of the corner of the fence in front of the jail, to which we have seen the hands of many a culprit fastened, while his bare back received the cat-o-nine tails, every blow leaving a ridge, while the cries for mercy rent the air. It is but few years more than half a century that these scenes were witnessed at the close of almost every term of the County Courts. And we have seen also the branding process, when the horse thief was pinioned down on the broad stone at the west door of the Jail, and with a cork filled with needles, India ink was pricked in over his forehead and down his nose, to form the letter T. The erection of our State Prison happily terminated these legal barbarities.

There was no imposing factory building in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The spinning wheel was then as much more common than the piano,

as the piano now exceeds in number the spinning wheels. Mrs. Tucker's loom in Tanner street, used to do the weaving for many families. There was a windmill for grinding bark on the spot where the car house of the Concord railroad stands; and on the spot where the Concord station house now is, stood that long black building the Old Distillery. On the highest point between Russell and Green streets stood Bowles' windmill for grinding grain.

Of the oldest residents on Congress and Islington streets, we omitted to mention Isaac Waldron. In the shop next east of John Gainie's might be seen John Somerby, apparently not five years older now than then, industriously engaged in upholstery. And there was Jacob Pritchard the barber, in a shop in the Bell Tavern.

A correspondent informs us that fifty years ago there were several cities in Connecticut, but none in any other New England State.

To look at Portsmouth now and compare it with what it was fifty years ago, no one will deny that it has made steady progress in many important particulars—such as we may well be proud of.—*Journal*.

CURIOUS EPIGRAPH.

[The following article concerning a curious epitaph found upon a tomb-stone in Vernon, Vermont, was published in the *New York Observer* in February, 1862.

The initials attached to the communication are a sufficient guaranty of its correctness.]

The version of this epitaph given in the *Observer* of the twenty-third of January, can hardly be called "genuine," as it entirely ignores the typographical peculiarities of the original, besides mistaking several important words. A copy, which was made before the inscription was so greatly obscured by time, is as follows:

"Here lies cut down like unripe fruit,
"A son of Mr. Amos Tate,
"And Mrs. Jemima Tate his Wife,
"Called Jonathan; of whose frail life,

"The days all summed, how short the account,
"Scarcely to fourteen years amount.
"Born the 12th of May was he
"In Seventeen Hundred Sixty-Three;

"To death he fell a helpless Prey,
"On April V and twentieth day,
"In Seventeen-Hundred Seventy-Seven,
"Quitting this world we hope for Heaven.

"Behold the amazing alteration,
"Effected by—innoculation,
"The means employed his life to save
"Hurried him headlong to the grave.

"Full in the bloom of youth he fell,
"Alas what human tongue can tell,
"The Mother's grief, her anguish show,
"Or paint the Father's heavier woe,

"Who now no Nat'ral offspring has
"His ample fortune—'s possess,
"To fill his place, stand in his stead,
"Or bear his name when he is dead.

"So God ordained, His ways are just,
"Tho' Empires Crumble into dust;
"Life and the world mere bubbles are,
"Let loose to these, for Heaven prepare."

The epitaph was written by the Rev. Bunker Gay, of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard College, but remembered not so much for his scholarship as for his eccentricities. He carried his eccentricities into the pulpit, and once preached an ordination sermon from the text, "There is death in the pot."

"Mrs. Jemima Tate" was a woman whose experiences are worthy of record. She was the wife and widow of three successive husbands, William Phipps, Caleb How, and Amos Tate, the first two of whom were killed by the Indians. How was killed on the twenty-seventh of July, 1755, as he was returning from labor in the field, after which she and her seven children were taken captives and carried to Canada. The youngest child was torn from her breast and perished with hunger. The oldest daughter was taken to France, married a Frenchman, and never returned to America. By her personal heroism, and the assistance of some benevolent persons, she at length succeeded in rescuing herself and the other children, and after outliving one more husband, and all the children she had by him, died and was buried in the same graveyard with her son Jonathan. Her epitaph says, and perhaps with truth, that she "passed through more vicissitudes, and endured more hardships, than any of her cotemporaries."

P. H. W.

COVENTRY, VT., Jan. 30, 1862.

A REFERENCE TO THE "OLDEN TIMES."—A venerable and well-known layman of this city, in a recent note to the publishers, concerning Stevens's *History of Methodism*, makes the following allusions to the early times of the Methodist Church:

"I knew them before parsonage houses were invented, and when Peter Williams, who had been purchased for money, (I think fifty pounds,) was Sexton, and when he and his wife kept an eating and lodging house next door to the old frame church in John-street, for preachers only, when hungry or dry or on committee. Peter bought his freedom by savings out of his fees as Sexton, and afterward kept a tobacco factory and store in Liberty-street, where all preachers that 'chewed' or 'smoked' got their supply. Peter's son was Rector of St. Philip's Church in Center-street; his congregation now own and worship in our old Methodist church in Mulberry-street. The old man wanted to make a 'Methodist' of his son, but, as it did not pay so well, he lived and died in the Protestant Episcopal service.

39. Nathaniel F. Ruggles.
40. William Ropes & Co.
41. Bell & Mountfort.
42. William Pickman.
43. Bray & Bolt.
44. Benjamin W. Watson.
45. Elijah Brigham.
46. Aaron Baldwin.
47. Henry Sigouiney.
48. Timothy Williams.
49. Nathaniel Curtis.
50. James Hyde & Co.
51. Benj. W. Lamb.
52. Ephraim Robbins.
53. Ralph Haskins.
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were all the religious societies in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The Brick School-House readily designated a locality, for all the other school-houses were old wooden buildings, better fit for pig pens than for children. Now we have seven brick school-houses—one of which cost more than all the school-houses in Portsmouth fifty years ago. Not one of the public school-houses of 1818, except the State street, now remain.

The only organ then, was that in the St. John's Church. There were no Sunday schools, no Temperance meetings, no Lyceum lectures. There was no hearse in Portsmouth. The bier might be seen in the entries of the churches, and the friends or neighbors of the deceased bore them to their graves. There were no carriages used for funerals then—nor was there an Auburn street or Harmony Grove Cemetery.

Fifty years ago the present lower room of the Athenaeum was an Insurance office, and the chamber over it was St. John's Masonic Hall. The Athenaeum was just incorporated, and its five hundred volumes were on shelves in the room over Hon. J. H. Bailey's store on Congress street. There were then no bridges to connect Portsmouth with Maine, or with Newcastle, or with Rye over Sagamore creek. Lafayette road was not then opened, and Rye Beach was less thought of as a place of resort than Newington; Piscataqua Bridge being then the great place of attraction to parties of pleasure. The Assembly House, at what is now Ruit's Court, was then the only place in town for public exhibitions and balls.

Fifty years ago, an old dilapidated building on the present site of the Court House, was the "Work House," as it was called. In it was "Union Hall," where the Selectmen held their meetings, and enjoyed an annual supper. That noble brick edifice which now stands on the City Farm, well supplies its place. The Stone Jail has been built in the time, and within fifty years the iron staples have been taken from the top of the corner of the fence in front of the jail, to which we have seen the hands of many a culprit fastened, while his bare back received the cat-o-nine tails, every blow leaving a ridge, while the cries for mercy rent the air. It is but few years more than half a century that these scenes were witnessed at the close of almost every term of the County Courts. And we have seen also the branding process, when the horse thief was pinioned down on the broad stone at the west door of the Jail, and with a cork filled with needles, India ink was pricked in over his forehead and down his nose, to form the letter T. The erection of our State Prison happily terminated these legal barbarities.

There was no imposing factory building in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The spinning wheel was then as much more common than the piano,

as the piano now exceeds in number the spinning wheels. Mrs. Tucker's loom in Tanner street, used to do the weaving for many families. There was a windmill for grinding bark on the spot where the car house of the Concord railroad stands; and on the spot where the Concord station house now is, stood that long black building the Old Distillery. On the highest point between Russell and Green streets stood Bowles' windmill for grinding grain.

Of the old residents on Congress and Islington streets, we omitted to mention Isaac Waldron. In the shop next east of John Gaine's might be seen John Somerly, apparently not five years older now than then, industriously engaged in upholstery. And there was Jacob Pritchard the barber, in a shop in the Bell Tavern.

A correspondent informs us that fifty years ago there were several cities in Connecticut, but none in any other New England State.

To look at Portsmouth now and compare it with what it was fifty years ago, no one will deny that it has made steady progress in many important particulars—such as we may well be proud of.—*Journal*.

CURIOUS EPIGRAPH.

[The following article concerning a curious epitaph found upon a tomb-stone in Vernon, Vermont, was published in the *New York Observer* in February, 1862.

The initials attached to the communication are a sufficient guaranty of its correctness.]

The version of this epitaph given in the *Observer* of the twenty-third of January, can hardly be called "genuine," as it entirely ignores the typographical peculiarities of the original, besides mistaking several important words. A copy, which was made before the inscription was so greatly obscured by time, is as follows:

"Here lies cut down like unripe fruit,
 "A son of Mr. Amos Tate,
 "And Mrs. Jemima Tate his Wife,
 "Called Jonathan; of whose frail life,
 "The days all summed, how short the account,
 "Scarcely to fourteen years amount.
 "Born the 12th of May was he
 "In Seventeen Hundred Sixty-Three;
 "To death he fell a helpless Prey,
 "On April V and twentieth day,
 "In Seventeen-Hundred Seventy-Seven,
 "Quitting this world we hope for Heaven.
 "Behold the amazing alteration,
 "Effected by—innoculation,
 "The means employed his life to save
 "Hurried him hither to the grave.
 "Full in the bloom of youth he fell,
 "Alas what human tongue can tell,
 "The Mother's grief, her anguish show,
 "Or paint the Father's heavier woe,
 "Who now no Nat'l offspring has
 "His ample fortune—no possess,
 "To fill his place, stand in his stead,
 "Or bear his name when he is dead.

"So God ordained, His ways are just,
 "Tho' Empires Crumble into dust;
 "Life and the world mere bubbles are,
 "Let loose to these, for Heaven prepare."

The epitaph was written by the Rev. Bunker Gay, of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard College, but remembered not so much for his scholarship as for his eccentricities. He carried his eccentricities into the pulpit, and once preached an ordination sermon from the text, "There is death in the pot."

"Mrs. Jemima Tate" was a woman whose experiences are worthy of record. She was the wife and widow of three successive husbands, William Phipps, Caleb How, and Amos Tate, the first two of whom were killed by the Indians. How was killed on the twenty-seventh of July, 1755, as he was returning from labor in the field, after which she and her seven children were taken captives and carried to Canada. The youngest child was torn from her breast and perished with hunger. The oldest daughter was taken to France, married a Frenchman, and never returned to America. By her personal heroism, and the assistance of some benevolent persons, she at length succeeded in rescuing herself and the other children, and after outliving one more husband, and all the children she had by him, died and was buried in the same graveyard with her son Jonathan. Her epitaph says, and perhaps with truth, that she "passed through more vicissitudes, and endured more hardships, than any of her cotemporaries."

P. H. W.

COVENTRY, VT., Jan. 30, 1862.

A REFERENCE TO THE "OLDEN TIMES."—A venerable and well-known layman of this city, in a recent note to the publishers, concerning Stevens's *History of Methodism*, makes the following allusions to the early times of the Methodist Church:

"I knew them before parsonage houses were invented, and when Peter Williams, who had been purchased for money, (I think fifty pounds,) was Sexton, and when he and his wife kept an eating and lodging house next door to the old frame church in John-street, for preachers only, when hungry or dry or on committee. Peter bought his freedom by savings out of his fees as Sexton, and afterward kept a tobacco factory and store in Liberty-street, where all preachers that 'chewed' or 'smoked' got their supply. Peter's son was Rector of St. Philip's Church in Center-street; his congregation now own and worship in our old Methodist church in Mulberry-street. The old man wanted to make a 'Methodist' of his son, but, as it did not pay so well, he lived and died in the Protestant Episcopal service.

"I don't expect to find this in the 'history,' but it is a fact for all that. The improvement in the style of our churches is a modern characteristic; plainness is no longer a requisite. More brethren, and sisters too, were shocked at the ornamental work on the front of the first brick church in John-street than there were at the steeple of St. Paul's and the stained glass. What would Bishop Asbury say should he come among us now?"—*Christian Advocate*.

GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE.—The memory of the gallant French noble who espoused our revolutionary cause with so much ardor at its darkest period, is retained so freshly in every true American heart, that an incident in the life of his son may possess interest for your readers.

In April, 1796, while Lafayette languished in his European prison, his son, in loneliness and sorrow, was an exile from France and an inmate of a school in the State of New Jersey. The Congress of the United States, in grateful remembrance of his father's services, upon learning that George Washington Motier Lafayette was in America, instituted an inquiry as to the pecuniary circumstances of the youth. A committee was appointed for the purpose, of which the Honorable Edward Livingston, member of Congress from New York city, was chairman. In answer to Livingston's letter, the young Frenchman penned the following touching response:

"Sir—I have just received the honorable resolution which the merits of my father have procured for me. Deign to express to the representatives of the people of America his gratitude; my youth forbids me yet to speak of mine. Every day recalls to me what he taught me at every period of his life, so full of vicissitude, and what he has repeated in a letter written from the depth of his prison. 'I am convinced,' he says, 'that the goodness of the United States, and the tenderness of paternal friends will need nothing to excite them.'

"Arrived in America some months since, I live in the country, in New Jersey, occupied in the pursuits of my education. I have no wants. If I had felt any, I should have answered to the paternal solicitude of the President of the United States, either by confiding them to him or by accepting his offers. I shall hereafter consider it a duty to impart them to the House of Representatives, which deigns to inquire into my situation.

"I am as happy as a continual inquietude relative to the object of my first affections will permit. I have found benevolence wherever I have been known, and have often had the satisfaction of hearing those who were ignorant of their interest in the fate of my father, express

"their admiration of, and partake the gratitude I feel for, the generous Dr. Bollman, who has done so much to break his chains.

"It is amid all these motives of emulation that I shall continue my studies; every day more convinced of the duties which are imposed upon me by the goodness of Congress, and the names which I have the honor to bear.

"GEO. WASHINGTON MOTIER LAFAYETTE.

"The Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON,
"Chairman of the Committee of Congress."

In the month of June following, General Washington and his lady were at Fountain's Inn, in the city of Baltimore, and young Lafayette was with them. They had invited the son of the gallant French soldier to spend several weeks at their home at Mount Vernon, which was their destination. In October of the same year, the young Frenchman sailed from New York, in the brig *Clio*, bound to Havre de Grace, in the expectation of meeting his father and family. He was attended by his governor, M. Frestel. A large party of ladies and gentlemen accompanied him to the vessels, in honor of his father, and he sailed for *la belle France* with many a blessing wafted after him.—*Home Journal*.

SCRAPS.—On the visit of General Lafayette to Montpelier, Vermont, in 1825, the only carpet in town was the one put down in his room at the State House.

—The "last man" of the Revolution, really. This is John Gray, aged one hundred and four years, who lives in Brookfield township, Noble county, Ohio. Congressman Bingham got him a pension two years ago, by special act. He is now nearly helpless.

—It is stated that the only man who lost his life in the *Kearsarge*, during her fight with the Alabama, William Gwin, of Detroit, Michigan, left a widowed mother, who was entirely dependent on her son for support, and though entitled to a pension of one hundred dollars a year, she has not yet received a dollar, and that no contribution has ever been made for her relief, though a sum of money was raised in Paris for the erection of a monument to the brave sailor.

—Our old opponent, Honorable Henry Champion Deming, lately gave to a Providence, Rhode Island, military organization an autograph letter of General Israel Putnam, written evidently during one of the hardest spells of the war:

"CAMP AT PERFECT HILL.

"Sir Pleas to deliver the Barror hearof
"2 Tons of Bread to some red-Islanders
"as they came from Roxbury yesterday
"and nothing to eat.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM."

—The steamboat Lexington was burnt on the thirteenth of January, 1840.

—The Great Western entered the harbor of New York, at eleven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third of April, 1838.

—The Bedford-street Methodist Episcopal Church originated in a small class formed, in 1808, in what was then called "Greenwich Village," in a private house near the place where the church so-called now stands.

—The Astor-Place opera-house was erected in 1840.

—The first interment in Greenwood Cemetery was on the fifth of September, 1840.

—One of the most interesting relics in Philadelphia may be seen in North Second-street, viz., the first lightning rod erected by Dr. Franklin, which still stretches its attenuated finger toward the heavens.

—Mr. George Wise, the last survivor of the pall bearers who officiated at the funeral of General Washington, died at Alexandria, (Va.) recently.

—About the meaning of 'Illinois,' Father Louis Hennepin, the missionary, says: "This word 'comes from 'Illini,' which, in the language of 'that nation, signifies a man of full age in the 'vigor of his strength—a perfect accomplished 'man.'"

—Maria Monk died in the female department of the Prison Hospital, Blackwell's Island, in 1849. Maria, for many years previous to her demise, was an outcast on the Five Points, and was sent from there a common vagrant to the Island, where she soon after died of prison or ship fever.

—George Frederick Cooke died in this city, at a public house called *Mechanic Hall*, where he had lodgings, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1812. His age at his decease was eighty-seven years and five months.

—The value of property on Chesnut-street, Philadelphia, nearly half a century ago, may be shown by the following: "John Stoddard, a "much respected merchant of this city, who "failed in 1820, was the owner of several properties on Chesnut-street, which are thus valued "by the assignees in their printed statement, (a "copy of which is in my possession :) One four-story brick house and lot, northwest corner of "Seventh and Chesnut streets, twenty-one feet "on Chesnut-street, one hundred and two feet "on Seventh-street; value, twenty-one thousand, "one hundred and seventy-seven dollars; rent, "one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. "Two three-story brick houses and lot, southwest "corner of Third and Chesnut streets, twenty-three "feet six inches front on Chesnut-street, forty-two feet on Third-street, and over an alley three "feet three inches more; value, twenty-four thousand dollars; rent, one thousand six hundred "dollars. One three-story brick house and lot,

"No. one hundred; (new number three hundred "and four) Chesnut-street, twenty-six feet front, "one hundred feet deep, privilege of an alley; "value, eighteen thousand dollars; rent, one "thousand dollars. Shakspeare Buildings, north-west corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets, twenty-three feet nine inches front on Chesnut-street, "one hundred and fifty feet on Sixth street, four "stories high (ground under arch belongs to "theatre :) value, forty-seven thousand, five hundred dollars; rent, two thousand eight hundred "dollars. One three story brick house and lot, "ninty-eight; (new number three hundred and "two) Chesnut-street, twenty-two feet six inches "front, forty-two feet deep, narrows to twelve "feet and runs thirty-six feet three inches more; "privilege of an alley; value, fourteen thousand "dollars; rent, eight hundred. One three-story "brick house and lot, one hundred and thirty-seven; (new number four hundred and five) "Chesnut-street, one hundred and six feet front, "sixty eight to seventy feet deep more or less, "value, eight thousand five hundred dollars; "rent, six hundred dollars."

XI.—NOTES.

A NEWLY FOUND LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.*

BERGEN COUNTY, IN THE }
STATE OF NEW JERSEY, Oct. 9, 1780. }

DEAR SIR—I was very much obliged by the letter which you did me the honor to write me by our amiable young friend the Marquis de La Fayette, whose exertions to serve this country in his own are additional proofs of his zealous attachment to our cause, and has endeared him to us still more.

He came out flushed with the expectations of a decisive campaign and fired with hopes of acquiring fresh laurels; but in both he has been disappointed, for we have been condemned to an inactivity as inconsistent with the situation of our affairs as with the ardor of his temper.

I am sensible of all I owe you, my dear sir, for your sentiments of me, and while I am happy in your esteem I cannot but wish occasions of giving you marks of mine.

The idea of making a tour together, which you suggest, after the war, would be one of the strongest motives I could have to postpone my plan of retirement and make a visit to Europe, if my domestic habits, which seem to acquire strength from restraint, did not tell me I shall find it impossible to resist them longer than my

* The Trenton (N. J.) Gazette thinks the following letter from General Washington has never before been published.

ing Arnold's cruise, which ended in his disastrous battle and gauntlet running at Valcour-island. Such permanent and prominent "ground-marks," or monuments—especially if natural—as Split-rock, always control and often either supply, or cause to be rejected for discrepancy as inconsistent surplusage, *courses* and *distances*; than which those *fixed facts* (everlasting and visible hills or rocks) are more certain, when corresponding with "locative calls" of a deed. Between such termini as Split-rock and Batten-kil a line would be run on survey or map drawn straight, if not rendered crooked, like shore-trend of the Hudson and Wood-creek, separated at Sandy-Hill by about a mile in width of ground through which runs Fort-Edward Creek. This would cause a jog to Wood-creek along the East side of which the West Patent line runs to its termination, (either at White-hall, Ticonderoga, or Crown-Point,) and thence on a *straight* line to Split-Rock; rejecting Mr. Duane's interpolation about "water to the Northward" of Wood-creek; which is disingenuous as Mr. Hall's substituted statement that the Dellins tract of land extends "as far to the North as the Rock Retsio is Situated," instead of the descriptive Patent language, "lying between the Northernmost bounds of Saraghtoga and the Rock Retsio," etc. The East line, which necessarily continues North as far as the latitude of that rock to which it then turns, is obviously continuous of the South portion of that Patent's Eastern boundary, as far, its last clause "from said creek, by a line twelve miles distant from said river;" making an irregular oblong square. Much might be urged from "coteremporaneous construction" and "practical location;" excellent subjects for protracted discussion; because "a great deal may be said on "both sides of the question;" and (since revocation of the *pious-fraud* Patent, and settlement of territorial boundary-lines between the Empire and Green Mountain States,) it is no wise important, although very entertaining.

WM. HAY.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

DUTCH SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK. (*H. M.*, II, ii, 182.)—Peter Van Steenburgh, who taught in the Collegiate Church School from 1773 to 1791, was called to teach and did teach in *both* languages. Stanton Latham, his successor, in 1791, taught only in English.

Vaubombeler was the last (private school) master who taught in the Dutch language *exclusively*, about 1785.

Yours truly

HENRY W. DUNSHEE.

142 West Tenth street.
NEW YORK CITY.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE LONG ISLAND TURF. (*H. M.*, II, i, 885.)—"THE WRITER" may find location and somewhat more of interest, perhaps, concerning *Ascot Heath*, by reference to pages 317, 328 of Dr. Stiles' *History of the City of Brooklyn: New York*, volume I. See also pages 311 to 326, for information concerning its "spirited manager," Charles Loosley. I think he is also mentioned in Sabine's *Loyalists*, second edition. S. X.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION. (*H. M.* II., iii., 180.)—If R. C., who inquired concerning the authorship of this work in our last number, will turn to the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the New York Historical Society* (N. Y.: 1859) Page 550, he will find the following note appended to the title of the book: "'I purpose sending 'you a copy of Bouquet's Expedition to Muskegeth, which I drew up from some papers he favored me with, and which is reprinted in 'England, and has had a very favorable reception.'—MS. letter from William Smith to Sir William Johnson, dated at Philadelphia, 13th January, 1766, in the collection of Colonel Peter Force."

To all who know Mr. Moore, the Librarian of the Society, under whose direction this Catalogue was prepared, and who copied the extract from the original of Doctor Smith's letter, no further evidence concerning the Authorship of the work will be required. H. B. D.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for April, 1867, (Page 233,) is the statement from Bancroft's *History of The United States*, with regard to free negroes not having the right of Suffrage in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia: but enjoying this right in the other ten original States. In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, 1868, (Page 114,) is the inquiry as to how late this right was continued to them.

In North Carolina, they voted until a change was made in the Constitution, in 1835. When any question arose on the point, the Courts of that State decided that they had the right. And in the Convention which formed the New Constitution, Honorable Alfred Dockery, now living, and the late Judge Gaston, one of the brightest names connected with the Bench of that State, recorded their votes in favor of continuing to the free negroes the same privilege under the new Constitution, as under the old.

The latter had just before, in 1832, in a public address before the Literary Societies, at the University, at Chapel Hill, expressed himself on the

subject of Slavery thus: "On you too will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the southern part of our Confederacy. Full well do you know to what I refer, for on this subject there is, with all of us, a morbid sensitiveness, which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages skill, impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt however that I could not discharge my duty, without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation, and firmness of these *who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it.*" This extract is found on page 20 of the published speech, of which, at least *four* editions, in different places, had been printed before 1849. The late Chief-justice Marshall spoke of it in terms of high commendation.

And it is not a little singular that Judge Gaston, in North Carolina, should speak on the subject of Slavery very much as Guizot does, not far from the same time, concerning that institution and its abolition in the Middle ages. In *The History of Civilization*, 182, third American Edition, he says: "The Church combated with much perseverance and pertinacity the great vices of the Social Condition, particularly Slavery. It has been frequently asserted that the abolition of Slavery in the modern world must be altogether carried to the credit of Christianity. I believe this is going too far; slavery subsisted for a long time in the bosom of Christian society without much notice being taken of it—without any great outcry against it. To effect its abolition required the co-operation of several causes—a great development of new ideas, of new principles of civilization. It cannot however be denied that the Church employed its influence to restrain it; the clergy in general, and especially several popes, enforced the manumission of their slaves as a duty incumbent upon laymen, and loudly inveighed against the scandal of keeping Christians in bondage. Again, the greater part of the forms by which slaves were set free, at various epochs, are founded upon religious motives. It is under the impression of some religious feeling—the hopes of the future, the equali-

ty of all Christian men, and so on—that the freedom of the slave is granted. These, it must be confessed, are rather convincing proofs of the influence of the Church, and of her desire for the abolition of this evil of evils, this iniquity of iniquities." E. F. R.

DAVIDSON'S COLLEGE, N. C.

XIV.—BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to HENRY B. DAWSON, MOHICAN, N. Y., or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Recollections of the Early Days of the National Guard*, comprising the prominent events in the history of the famous Seventh Regiment, New York Militia. By an ex-Orderly Sergeant, a Veteran of the National Guard. New York: J. M. Bradstreet & Son. 1863. Quarto, pp. (4) iv, 201. Price 15.

In this handsomely printed volume an "ex-Orderly Sergeant" tells some of the many circumstances, concerning the early history of the Seventh Regiment, which crowd his memory; and he could perform no more acceptable service to a noted body of men, whose effective services are recognized and honored wherever they are not envied, from one end of the country to the other.

The venerable author opens with an allusion to the Company of Artillery, commanded by Alexander Hamilton, of which we have heard so much more than was heard of it by those who were its contemporaries. He alludes, also, to the Regiment of Artillery, in the army of the Revolution, which Colonel John Lamb so admirably commanded. He mentions, also, the Brigade of Artillery of a later date. All these he brings together, forming what seems to be a regular line of succession, from which *may* have sprung the famous Seventh of which New York is so justly proud.

The venerable author of these *Recollections* was a member of the Regiment, at a very early day; and he remembers nearly everything concerning its public history, while very few know more of its private history than he. Thus the Abolition riots, when the Spring-street and Laight-street meeting-houses paid the penalty of the rashness of those who preached therein; the Flour-riots, when English radicalism, transplanted to a more genial climate, ran wildly through the city and made heroes of Eli Moore and Levi D. Slamm; the episode of "The Man in the Claret-colored Coat"—the late Simeon Draper—and other locally notable events, have found a faithful annalist and been opportunely preserved.

These *Recollections* make no pretence to elegance of style; nor are they arranged, in the printing, in every respect, agreeably to the most modern pattern of elegant typography. They are, however, undoubtedly accurate; and they will be as welcome, years hence, to those inquiring minds who shall come after us, as they must be now, to those, connected with the Regiment or loving "old New York," who take an interest in the Past of our local affairs.

The volume is from the Bradstreet Press, which has become so justly famous for fine printing, and reflects credit on the taste and mechanical abilities of that establishment.

2.—*The Economy of the Animal Kingdom Considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically.* By Emanuel Swedenborg, Late Member of the House of Nobles, in the Royal Diet of Sweden, &c. In two volumes. Boston: T. H. Carter & Sons, 1868. Octavo, pp. 1, 11, 482.

We confess we were not looking for another issue of the Scientific Writings of the great Swedish Seer. The volumes before us (not often excelled in beauty and perfection of type, paper, and workmanship) for the first time published in America, have been stereotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry, as though *now*, after a period of over a century and a quarter since they were first published, in Latin, at Amsterdam, and after a period of over twenty years since they were translated into English, by Clissold, and published in London, the world were still in need, and would continue to need, the scientific knowledge of that day. When it shall be remembered that Swedenborg himself, after he had come into his state of Spiritual illumination, regarded his Scientific researches as of little importance, save as they had served to discipline his mind, and fit him to appreciate and record the things he was subsequently to see and hear, it must be regarded as a matter of surprise that, after a century of immeasurably the most rapid progress in scientific knowledge the world has ever seen, a call, exclusively from the scientific world (for the religious world certainly makes no call for this work) should be heard, sufficiently loud to induce a pecuniary adventure so considerable as the publication of these volumes. We think we may safely rely upon those instincts of enlightened interest that pervade the trade, for the assurance that no work, of the magnitude of this, is republished, unless the demand for it unmistakably justifies the venture. This, it seems to us, is irrefragable proof that the world demands that the light shed upon Science, nearly a century and a half ago, by the researches of Emanuel Swedenborg, shall be reproduced for the enlightenment of man at the present hour.

The lesson this fact teaches has many aspects which challenge contemplation; but this is not the place to deal with it. It seems to belong to

that branch of religious inquiry to which so many of the best intellects of the time are devoting themselves. We venture to predict that whoever shall deal with these aspects of the subject understandingly, will not want for readers.

3.—*CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co., of Boston, Mass., June 8, 1867.* Sermon by Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., of New York. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 76.

An "ancient" concern that is, most truly, which can honestly celebrate a two hundred and twenty-ninth Anniversary, in the United States; yet there *is* such an organization; it is a Company of Artillery, whose Head-quarters are in Boston; in Massachusetts, and whose leading duties, we are pleased to say, are to listen to a sermon once a year and eat a dinner at Faneuil Hall.

This "Ancient and Honorable Company" whose Captain is a Brigadier and third Sergeant a Colonel, listened, at its last anniversary, to a sermon by our good friend, Doctor Osgood; and a very singular sermon he preached for it, all things considered.

He told of the original organization of the Corps, and wondered how it appeared, when on Parade. He took a general survey of the country and of Europe, at that period. He told of the mission of "the stout men" of New England, of that day, of their love of liberty, of their antagonism to "absolutism"—as *he* understands those subjects;—and he talked of "the New England mind," and "the strong arm of *our* New England," and of "the characteristic IDEA" that has marked *our* New England manhood," as if there had never been a "mind," nor a "strong arm," nor an "idea," to the Westward of Byrum river or Lake Champlain. He told what "the radical idea" of New England had ever been, as he has seen it—"that man has his manhood from God above all, and in the name, and truth, and spirit of God, he is called to be a man"—as if Henry Vane, and Roger Williams, and John Underhill, and Anne Hutchinson, and Obadiah Holmes, and Mary Dyer, had never lived and suffered: as if Samuel Maverick had never been a negro breeder; as if the victims of the *genuine* "New England radical IDEA" of that day, had never been swapped for negroes in the West Indies nor sent to the Moors for a market.

We cannot pretend to follow Doctor Osgood through all his wanderings, since that would require too much of our space and time; but we do not hesitate to say that in his misrepresentation of the spirit of the Fathers of New England and of the leading, overwhelming, "radical New England" "idea," of the time of which he speaks, he is without excuse. It is as much the duty of a public teacher to learn the Truth, himself, as it is

to teach it to others; and we can never excuse any one, much less a minister of the Gospel, who, shall close his eyes to the teachings of the Truth,—even that which is seen in the records of Massachusetts Bay—and bid defiance to Him whose livery he wears for an entirely different purpose.

The colonization of New England, as Doctor Osgood must know, was induced by a hope of gain—it was a *Commercial Speculation*—and the transfer of the Corporation to America, as he also undoubtedly knows, was of very questionable legality and yet more questionable morality. That man was ever called to be a man, in New England, or is thus called at this day, has ever depended, and still depends, upon the party to which he will attach himself, both in Church and in State; and no one better than Doctor Osgood knows the danger which has ever attended and still attends the man, in New England, who really assumes to think for himself, to decide for himself, and to declare for himself that he is truly “a man.” If he will content himself to run in the New England rut; if he will say “Aye” when the Elders make the motion and “Nay” when they wink; if he will swear that the Pilgrim and the Puritan fathers were the *only* progenitors of Civil and Religious Freedom in America; that their descendants were and are the *only* republicans who have ever dared to confront a monarchy; that New England is the *only* source whence have been drawn the men who, both in the cabinet and in the field, have secured the independence of the United States and sustained and conducted them to their present high estate—such a parrot, we say, may be “a man,” even in Boston; but let him attempt to run on a track of *his own* selection, whether better or worse than the well-worn rut; let him suggest that the Elders’ motion is mistimed or mis-judged; let him *seem*, even to think—much less to say—that the Fathers were only *men*, with the failings of other men,—that they were fond of authority, impatient of control, self-willed, superstitious, intolerant, aristocratic, arrogant, absolute,—let him suggest that the first Committee of Correspondence was chosen by the Colonial Assembly of New York, many years before “Samuel Adams’ great invention,” or that a three days’ fight of the citizens with the soldiery in New York was publicly announced in London before even the “King-street Massacre;” let him hint that New York, or Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or Virginia would not inevitably sink but for the New Englanders who, having gone there for shelter and a better living, are therein—in short, let him cease to be a parrot and become truly “a man,” and his “Day of Doom” may be surely foretold, as far as New England can fix it.

In the face of New England’s bitterness against Episcopacy—even in her earliest days—to say

nothing of her antagonism to Presbyterianism, and the peaceful Friends, and the teachings of the upright Channing, we are astonished that one who is so earnest in his love of “an enlarged humanity” as is the author of this Sermon, should so trifle with the Truth or so willingly become the apologist of the intolerance, and bigotry, and supreme selfishness, and unparalleled sectionalism, which have prevailed to the Eastward, from the beginning until now.

But this is not all. Doctor Osgood has gone out of his way to libel the memory of Anne Hutchinson and those who concurred with her in holding to the doctrine of Grace, by averring that they tended to favor a laxity of morals, such as John Underhill is said to have been guilty of.

After his disregard of the teachings of History in the beginning of his sermon, to which we have already referred, it does not surprise us that the most illustrious victims of New England’s intolerance have been thus singled out by New England’s apologist, as the particular objects of his willing condemnation. We rejoice that he has thus furnished a touch-stone with which we may test his own claim to respectability, as a herald of the Truth; and we are content to test him by that standard. We shall then know if, as he says, the Puritans really “wished no evil to the savage ‘natives’—the son of Philip, for instance, whom they sold into West Indian slavery;—if it was ‘manly valor,’ at all times, which was exercised by the Fathers while fighting the Indians or despoiling the Dutch of their legally acquired possessions; if that was ‘despotism,’ in 1765, ‘that called for taxes without representation,’ which, in 1867, is called ‘patriotism,’ when applied to Virginia or Louisiana. We shall be glad to know, also, when ‘prominent Massachusetts men’ were near the heart of Nation and of its chief, in ‘the days of Washington,’ if the Adamses, or James Lovell, or Timothy Pickering, or John Hancock were among them? And if the Doctor will just tell us where Elbridge Gerry, and John Hancock, and Samuel Adams, and a *majority of the Freemen of the State*, were, when the same ‘prominent Massachusetts men’ are said to have been ‘at one with the fathers of the Federal Constitution,’ he will do us a favor and become somewhat wiser, himself. John Adams is said to have been ‘more of a Democrat than ‘Jefferson’; and the latter is said to have been the representative of fundamental principles of Government which were the opposite and antagonists of those maintained by Mr. Madison: who besides Doctor Osgood has made such discoveries?

But we must go no further, except to say that the Doctor’s noble address, delivered a year ago in New York, was made of different material and seems to have exhausted the Author’s supply. We hope that he will not again trifle with his

These *Recollections* make no pretence to elegance of style; nor are they arranged, in the printing, in every respect, agreeably to the most modern pattern of elegant typography. They are, however, undoubtedly accurate; and they will be welcome, years hence, to those inquiring minds who shall come after us, as they must be now, to those, connected with the Regiment or loving "old New York," who take an interest in the Past of our local affairs.

The volume is from the Bradstreet Press, which has become so justly famous for fine printing, and reflects credit on the taste and mechanical abilities of that establishment.

2.—*The Economy of the Animal Kingdom Considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically.* By Emanuel Swedenborg, Late Member of the House of Nobles, in the Royal Diet of Sweden, &c. In two volumes. Boston: T. H. Carter & Sons, 1868. Octavo, pp. 1. ; II, 482.

We confess we were not looking for another issue of the Scientific Writings of the great Swedish Seer. The volumes before us (not often excelled in beauty and perfection of type, paper, and workmanship) for the first time published in America, have been stereotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry, as though *now*, after a period of over a century and a quarter since they were first published, in Latin, at Amsterdam, and after a period of over twenty years since they were translated into English, by Clissold, and published in London, the world were still in need, and would continue to need, the scientific knowledge of that day. When it shall be remembered that Swedenborg himself, after he had come into his state of Spiritual illumination, regarded his Scientific researches as of little importance, save as they had served to discipline his mind, and fit him to appreciate and record the things he was subsequently to see and hear, it must be regarded as a matter of surprise that, after a century of immeasurably the most rapid progress in scientific knowledge the world has ever seen, a call, exclusively from the scientific world (for the religious world certainly makes no call for this work) should be heard, sufficiently loud to induce a pecuniary adventure so considerable as the publication of these volumes. We think we may safely rely upon those instincts of enlightened interest that pervade the trade, for the assurance that no work, of the magnitude of this, is republished, unless the demand for it unmistakably justifies the venture. This, it seems to us, is irrefragable proof that the world demands that the light shed upon Science, nearly a century and a half ago, by the researches of Emanuel Swedenborg, shall be reproduced for the enlightenment of man at the present hour.

The lesson this fact teaches has many aspects which challenge contemplation; but this is not the place to deal with it. It seems to belong to

that branch of religious inquiry to which so many of the best intellects of the time are devoting themselves. We venture to predict that whoever shall deal with these aspects of the subject understandingly, will not want for readers.

8.—*CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co., of Boston, Mass., June 8, 1867.* Sermon by Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., of New York. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 76.

An "ancient" concern that is, most truly, which can honestly celebrate a two hundred and twenty-ninth Anniversary, in the United States; yet there *is* such an organization; it is a Company of Artillery, whose Head-quarters are in Boston; in Massachusetts, and whose leading duties, we are pleased to say, are to listen to a sermon once a year and eat a dinner at Faneuil Hall.

This "Ancient and Honorable Company" whose Captain is a Brigadier and third Sergeant a Colonel, listened, at its last anniversary, to a sermon by our good friend, Doctor Osgood; and a very singular sermon he preached for it, all things considered.

He told of the original organization of the Corps, and wondered how it appeared, when on Parade. He took a general survey of the country and of Europe, at that period. He told of the mission of "the stout men" of New England, of that day, of their love of liberty, of their antagonism to "absolutism"—as *he* understands those subjects;—and he talked of "the New England mind," and "the strong arm of our New England," and of "the characteristic IDEA" "that has marked our New England manhood," as if there had never been a "mind," nor a "strong arm," nor an "idea," to the Westward of Byram river or Lake Champlain. He told what "the radical idea" of New England had ever been, as he has seen it—"that man has his manhood from God above all, and in the name, "and truth, and spirit of God, he is called to be a man"—as if Henry Vane, and Roger Williams, and John Underhill, and Anne Hutchinson, and Obadiah Holmes, and Mary Dyer, had never lived and suffered: as if Samuel Maverick had never been a negro breeder; as if the victims of the *genuine* "New England radical IDEA" of that day, had never been swapped for negroes in the West Indies nor sent to the Moors for a market.

We cannot pretend to follow Doctor Osgood through all his wanderings, since that would require too much of our space and time; but we do not hesitate to say that in his misrepresentation of the spirit of the Fathers of New England and of the leading, overwhelming, "radical New England" "idea," of the time of which he speaks, he is without excuse. It is as much the duty of a public teacher to learn the Truth, himself, as it is

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But we must go no further, except to say that the Doctor’s noble address, delivered a year ago in New York, was made of different material and seems to have exhausted the Author’s supply. We hope that he will not again trifle with his

reputation as he has trifled with it in the address now under consideration.

The pamphlet is very handsomely printed; and appears to have been intended for private circulation only.

XV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

—The first American religious services held in Alaska took place on the twelfth of October, in a Lutheran church, by Reverend Mr. Rainer, an army Chaplain, who was peculiarly fitted by previous pioneer service to inaugurate religious services in that far off American possession. Fifteen Finland Russians, eleven Americans, and about thirty natives were present.

AN INDIGNANT HISTORIAN.—In the January number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed, briefly and justly, a portly volume of local history entitled *Early History of Cleveland*, by Colonel Charles Whittlesey. This notice has not pleased the Colonel, and he has employed some more ready writer than himself to write a letter on the subject, which, over his own signature, has been sent to us.

In this letter, which was duly received, the writer complains that "no public reply" to our criticism of the Colonel's *History* "can be made" "to reach your [our] readers," and he evidently supposes that our article has been "doing a direct injury to my [his] reputation and my [his] purse." As a recompense, and in order to assure to Colonel Whittlesey that exact justice which he supposes we have withheld from him in the notice of which complaint has been made, we take great pleasure in giving him an opportunity to do justice to himself. Our readers will also be enabled to understand, from the Colonel's own words, just how much he is entitled to their sympathy and our respect.

The following is the Colonel's letter:

"SIR: I have just seen the notice of my *Early History of Cleveland*, in a late number of your work. It is so unkind and unjust that I might well attribute it to some personal ill-will, but know of no cause for such a feeling on your part. It is possible it may have had a malicious origin elsewhere, and was inadvertently admitted to your Magazine, but I know of no one who would take this course to do me a personal injury. Whether it was conceived in malice or in a thoughtless disregard of the feelings and interests of others, the consequences are the same to me.

"It shows such a perversion of the position of a journalist, that I characterise it as personal and dishonorable.

"It has been out some months in the only Historical Magazine of the country, where no public reply can be made to reach your readers—doing a direct injury to my reputation and my purse.

"It gives no proper idea of my book, or its objects and pretensions as declared by myself in the preface, but only a wholesale and slanderous notice of what you consider its defects. It does not approach the character of honorable criticism; it is merely an attack that cannot be defended by the pretence of literary duty or independence.

"I have been patiently engaged more than twenty years in collecting documents and original statements relating to our local history. Of the value, interest, and credibility of these papers, we are better judges than you are. The book at which you sneer, professes to be nothing more. Yours is the first abusive notice I have encountered since I have undertaken to put the public in possession of this kind of information.

"I had a right to expect from an Historical Magazine, not only fairness, but encouragement. For the time, labor, and money I have expended, I have never before been publicly scandalized. By continuing this course you can do a great injury to the cause of local history, for no one whose skin is not very thick and well tanned, will be inclined to waste their time in so thankless a business. The literary merits of my work, for which you express such contempt, where it is of my composition. I am ready to have, any portion of it, compared, the same number of sentences in a body, with those contained in your notice.

"Perhaps from a chronic disposition to find fault, you assail the typographical execution of the book. I am willing to include this in the comparison with any number of your Magazine.

"I feel (and as I think justly) indignant at an attack which in your position, is not only ungenerous, but may be properly characterized as wanton; and shall make no secret of my sentiments, wherever your Magazine may circulate. How this purely local history ever came into your hands, I do not know, but I must insist, in case any other of my publications are equally unfortunate, that you let them entirely alone. If you must amuse yourself and enliven your columns by attempts at literary smartness, any other humble writer or publisher of local history will answer your purpose, and it will be merely a just reciprocity in you to try your hand on them.

"I, am yours, &c.,

"CHAR. WHITTLESEY."

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. III. SECOND SERIES.]

MAY, 1868.

[No. 5.

I.—JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, WHICH ADOPTED THE FEDERAL CON- STITUTION, A.D. 1788.

NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

A JOURNAL of the proceedings of the Honble Convention assembled at the Court House in Exeter, on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of February, Anno Domini, 1788, for the investigation, discussion, and decision of the Federal Constitution.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1788. About fifty members being assembled, they proceeded to the choice of a Chairman, and the Hon. JOSIAH BARTLETT, Esq., was chosen.

The Hon. Samuel Livermore, the Hon. John Taylor Gilman and Benjamin West, Esqs., were appointed a Committee to receive the returns of members elected. They were also appointed a Committee to prepare and lay before the Convention such rules as they shall judge necessary for regulating the proceedings in said Convention.

Adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment. About one hundred members present. Motion was made for the choice of a Secretary for the Convention,

* We take particular pleasure in presenting to the readers of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* the first printed copy of the official Journal of the Convention of New Hampshire, which "adopted the Federal Constitution, A.D. 1788."

We assure ourselves that the production of this important State Paper, which has lain uncared for among the Archives of New Hampshire during more than eighty years, will be joyfully recognized by every student of *The Constitution for the United States*; and to all such we have pleasure in stating, that at an early day, we shall issue it in another form, accompanied with a very carefully prepared historical Introduction and with such Notes and Appendices, mostly from papers which have never been published, as will present the subject, in all its phases and with all its legitimate accompaniments, to those who shall desire to know more about it.

In this very important labor, we shall enjoy the active assistance of Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U.S.A., whose zeal in this branch of neglected study is as earnest as it is unusual. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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and the ballots being taken, JOHN CALFE, Esq., was chosen for that purpose, and sworn to, the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him.

Motion was then made for the choice of a President, and the ballots being taken, His Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq., was chosen President.

VOTED, THAT Mr. Livermore, Mr. Gilman and Mr. West, be a Committee to examine the returns of the elections of the several members of the Convention, and report thereon.

The Convention being informed that there were two persons returned as members to said Convention, from the Town of Newington, and after examining said returns, and inquiring into the matter, agreed to postpone the determination thereof until the afternoon.

Adjourned to three o'clock P. M., then to meet at the Meeting House in Exeter.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare Rules for regulating the proceedings in Convention, reported the following, viz—

First, That as it is essential to the public interest, so it shall be considered, and enjoyed as the incumbent duty of each member of this Convention, seasonably and punctually to attend in his place, and not be absent without leave.

Second, That freedom of deliberation, speech and debate in the Convention be allowed to each member thereof, yet no member shall by speech or behavior in Convention give just occasion of offence to another.

Third, That any member disposed to make a motion or speech to a matter in debate, shall rise from his seat and address the President, but on being called to order by the President, he shall be silent; yet if such silenced member shall conceive himself injured thereby, the President shall take a vote of the convention thereon, and such member shall submit to their determination.

Fourth, No member shall speak more than twice to any subject in debate, until each member have an opportunity to offer his opinion.

Fifth, No motion from one member shall be received or debated unless seconded by another.

Sixth, When a motion is regularly before the Convention it shall at any time, at the request of

a member, be reduced to writing by the person making it.

Seventh, On the question for adopting the Federal Constitution, and on that only, the yeas and nays may be taken if desired by a member.

Eighth, When it shall appear that any person returned is not legally chosen, he shall be dismissed.

Ninth, That in determining any question the votes of a majority of the members present shall be necessary, excepting such members as may by consent of the convention be excused from voting, on their giving satisfactory reasons therefor.

Tenth, That a motion to postpone any Question or adjourn, shall take place of any other motion.

Eleventh, That no vote be reconsidered when there is a less number of members present, than there was at passing the same—which report was read, considered, received, and accepted.

Resumed the consideration of the returns from Newington, and came to the following vote:

VOTED, that in order that the Convention may ascertain whether it is the sense of the inhabitants of Newington, that Ephraim Pickering, Esq., or Benjamin Adams, Esq., should represent them in this Convention, That the Selectmen of Newington be requested to notify a meeting of the voters in said town, on Monday next, to ballot for such of those two Gentlemen as they may think proper, and make return thereof, in common form.

Motion was made to proceed to the consideration of the proposed Federal Constitution, which being read, it was agreed to proceed to the investigation by paragraphs.

ARTICLE 1.

On Section 1, no debate. After some debate on the 2d section, agreed to adjourn to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment. Resumed the debate on the second Section, in Article 1, respecting biennial elections, and after much debate adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly. Proceeded to the consideration of the 3d section of the first article; considered the 3th, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th sections. Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1788. The convention met according to adjournment.

Proceeded to the consideration of the 8th section of the 1st article, and after much debate thereon, adjourned to half-past two o'clock P. M. Met according to adjournment; and resumed the consideration of the 8th section, and debated largely thereon.

Adjourned to Monday next, at nine o'clock A. M.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1788. The convention met according to adjournment. Proceeded to the further consideration of the 8th section, and after much debate thereon, agreed to adjourn to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly.

Proceeded to the consideration of the 9th section, after some debate thereon, proceeded to the 10th section. Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1788. The convention met according to adjournment.

Proceeded to the consideration of the second article, and after some debate on the several sections and paragraphs, proceeded to the consideration of the third article.

Adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly; resumed the consideration of the third article, and after debating on the first and second section, adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1788. The convention met according to adjournment.

Resumed the consideration of the second section, in the third article. Adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly.

Proceeded to the consideration of the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles, and after some debate respecting a religious test adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment.

Resumed the consideration of the last paragraph in the sixth article, and after much debate thereon, proceeded to the consideration of the remainder of the proposed Constitution; after which motion was made to proceed to general observations on the said Constitution: but a motion for adjournment taking place, the general observations were postponed until the afternoon. Adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly.

Proceeded to general observations on the Constitution.

Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment.

A motion was made and seconded that the Convention adjourn to some future day; but the determination was postponed until some general observations were made.

The question was put, and it was voted to adjourn to some future day.

Voted, that when the Convention adjourn that it be to meet again at Concord, on the third Wednesday in June next. Voted that the Convention now adjourn.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment at Concord, in said State. Several persons appeared and produced certificates of their being elected members of the Convention; some of which were from towns, which had before made returns of other persons, who had been admitted to a seat in Convention at Exeter; and after much debate thereon, came to the following votes.

Voted, that it is the opinion of this Convention that Mr. Allen, returned by the town of Walpole, was not legally elected a member of Convention.

Voted, that it is the opinion of this Convention, that Mr. Foulser, returned by the town of Boscowen, was not legally elected a member.

Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment.

Motion was made to appoint a Committee to consider of, and report such amendments as they should judge necessary to be proposed in alteration of the Constitution; which motion was postponed for the further discussion of the Constitution, and after some debate, Adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly.

Proceeded to a general discussion of the Constitution. Adjourned to eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment.

Resumed the motion of yesterday for a Committee, and voted that Mr. Langdon, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Badger, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Atherton, Mr. Dow, Mr. Bellows, Mr. West, Mr. Livermore, Mr. Worcester, Mr. Parker, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Barrett, be a Committee to consider of, and report such articles as they shall think proper to be proposed as amendments to the Federal Constitution, and lay the same before this Convention.

Adjourned to three o'clock P. M. Met accordingly.

The Committee to consider of, and report such articles as they should think proper to be proposed as amendments to the Federal Constitution,

Reported as follows, (viz.)

First. That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised.

Secondly. That there shall be one representative to every thirty thousand persons according to the census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of representatives amount to two hundred.

Thirdly. That Congress do not exercise the powers vested in them by the fourth section of the first article; but in cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress; nor shall Congress in any case make regulations contrary to a free and equal representation.

Fourthly. That Congress do not lay direct taxes, but when money arising from the impost, excise, and their other resources are insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the States to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said Constitution, in such way and manner as the Legislature of the State shall think best, and in such case, if any State shall neglect, then Congress may assess and levy such State's proportion, together with the interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed in such requisition.

Fifthly. That Congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixthly. That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of life, until he be first indicted by a grand jury; except in such cases as may arise in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Seventhly. All common law cases between citizens of different States shall be commenced in the common Law Courts of the respective States. And no appeal shall be allowed to the Federal Court in such cases, unless the sum or value of the thing in controversy amount to three thousand dollars.*

Eighthly. In civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in Actions at common law, shall be tried by a jury, if the party or parties or either of them request it.

Ninthly. Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept a title of Nobility, or any other title or office from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Tenthly. That no standing army shall be kept up in time of peace, unless with the consent of three fourths of the members of each branch of Congress: nor shall soldiers in time of peace be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners.

Eleventhly. Congress shall make no law touching religion or to infringe the rights of Conscience.

Twelfthly. Congress shall never disarm any citizen, unless such as are or have been in actual rebellion.

Signed, JOHN LANGDON, for the Committee, which report being read and considered, was received and accepted.

Motion was then made by Mr. Atherton, seconded by Mr. Parker, that this Convention ratify the proposed Constitution, together with the amendments.

But that said Constitution do not operate in the State of New Hampshire, without said amendments.

After some debate, motion was made by Mr. Livermore, seconded by Mr. Bartlett and others, to postpone the motion made by Mr. Atherton, to make way for the following motion, (viz :) That in case the Constitution be adopted, that the amendments reported by the Committee be recommended to Congress; which motion of Mr. Atherton being postponed.

Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1788. The Convention met according to adjournment.

Resumed the consideration of Mr. Livermore's motion; which being determined by the Convention in the affirmative. Motion was then made by Mr. Atherton, seconded by Mr. Hooper, that the Convention adjourn to some future day; but it was negatived. Motion was then made by Mr. Livermore, seconded by Mr. Langdon and others, that the main question be now put for the adoption of the Constitution, and the yeas and being called were as follows:

<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Mr. Langdon,	Mr. Runnels,
Mr. Pickering,	Mr. McMurphy,
Mr. Long,	Mr. B. Clough,
Mr. Gilman,	Mr. Sias,
Mr. Blanchard,	Mr. J. Clough,
Mr. Adams,	Mr. Smith,
Mr. Weeks,	Mr. Emery,
Mr. Goss,	Mr. Fifield,
Mr. Prescott,	Mr. Chase,
Mr. Thurston,	Mr. Sleeper,
Mr. Toppan,	Mr. B. Stone,
Mr. Langdon,	Mr. Taylor,
Mr. Wiggin,	Mr. Dow,
Mr. Fogg,	Mr. Steward,
Mr. J. Bartlett,	Mr. Palmer,
Mr. Stow Ranney,	Mr. Harper,
Mr. Rogers,	Mr. Badger,
Mr. J. Bartlett,	Mr. Hooper,
Mr. Chadwick,	Mr. Austin,
Mr. Gray,	Mr. Page,
Mr. Glidden,	Mr. Cummings,
Mr. Calfe,	Mr. Bixby,
Mr. Bettan,	Mr. Hunt,

Mr. Moody,	Mr. Bean,
Mr. Green,	Mr. Dole,
Mr. Sullivan,	Mr. Page,
Mr. Carr,	Mr. Kendrick,
Mr. Hale,	Mr. Atherton,
Mr. Bedee,	Mr. Barrett,
Mr. Shannon,	Mr. T. Bixby,
Mr. Chesley,	Mr. Jones,
Mr. Hall,	Mr. Cragin,
Mr. Dakin,	Mr. Cochran,
Mr. Abbott,	Mr. Jona. Dow,
Mr. Wilkins,	Mr. Green,
Mr. Morss,	Mr. Gaskill,
Mr. Gerrish,	Mr. Parker,
Mr. West,	Mr. Harvy,
Mr. Shepherd,	Mr. Thhmas,
Mr. Hall,	Mr. M. Stone,
Mr. Whetcomb,	Mr. Remmelee,
Mr. Chamberlain,	Mr. Grout,
Mr. Temple,	Mr. True,
Mr. Bellows,	Mr. Penniman,
Mr. Chase,	Mr. Tainter,
Mr. Griffin,	Mr. Winch,
Mr. Kimball,	Mr. Hutchins.
Mr. Livermore,	
Mr. Worster,	
Mr. Crawford,	
Mr. Johnson,	
Mr. Freeman,	
Mr. Payne,	
Mr. Simpson,	
Mr. Patterson,	
Mr. Young,	
Mr. Weeks.	

47 Nays.

57 Yeas.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In Convention of the Delegates of the People of the State of New Hampshire, June 21, 1788.

The Convention having impartially discussed and fully considered the Constitution of the United States of America, reported to Congress by the Convention of Delegates from the United States of America, and submitted to us by a Resolution of the General Court of said State: passed the fourteenth day of December last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in affording the People of the United States, in the course of His providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably without fraud or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to, and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, do in the name and in behalf of the people of the State of New Hampshire, assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United

States of America; and it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this State, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the Federal Government; the Convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said Constitution.

First.—That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised.

Secondly.—That there shall be one representative to every thirty thousand persons, according to the census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of representatives amount to two hundred.

Thirdly.—That Congress do not exercise the power vested in them by the fourth section of the first article, but in cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress, nor shall Congress in any case make regulations contrary to a free and equal representation.

Fourthly.—That Congress do not lay direct taxes, but when the money arising from the impost, excise, and their other resources are insufficient for the public exigencies: nor then, until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the States to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said Constitution, in such way and manner as the Legislature of the State shall think best, and in such case if any State shall neglect, then Congress may assess and levy such State's proportion, together with the interest thereon, at the rate of six $\frac{7}{10}$ cent. $\frac{7}{10}$ annum from the time of payment prescribed in such requisition.

Fifthly.—That Congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixthly.—That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of life until he be first indicted by a grand jury, except in such cases as may arise in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Seventhly.—All common law cases between citizens of different States shall be commenced in the common law courts of the respective States, and no appeal shall be allowed to the Federal Courts in such cases, unless the sum or value of the

thing in controversy amount to three hundred dollars.*

Eighthly.—In civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in actions at common law, shall be tried by a jury if the parties or either of them request it.

Ninthly.—Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept a title of nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Tenthly.—That no standing army be kept up in time of peace, unless with the consent of three fourths of the members of each branch of Congress; nor shall soldiers in time of peace be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners.

Eleventhly.—Congress shall make no laws touching religion or to infringe the rights of conscience.

Twelfthly.—Congress shall never disarm any citizen, unless such as are or have been in actual rebellion.

And the Convention do, in the name and in behalf of the People of this State, enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress at all times until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered agreeably to the 5th article of the said Constitution to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions in such manner as is provided in the said article.

And that the United States in Congress assembled, may have due notice of the assent and ratification of the said Constitution by this Convention, It is resolved that the assent and ratification aforesaid be engrossed in parchment together with the recommendation and injunction aforesaid and with this resolution, and that John Sullivan, Esq., President of the Convention, and John Langdon, Esq., President of the State, transmit the same, countersigned by the Secretary of Convention & the Secretary of the State under their hands & seals to the United States in Congress assembled.

JOHN CALFE, *Secretary*.

[ROLL OF DELEGATES, AND THEIR SERVICES IN CONVENTION.]

In the original manuscript, the following Roll of Delegates and Record of their attendance in the Convention preceded the Journal: for greater convenience, in this place, it is made to follow it.

[EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

* *Sic*. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

<i>Names of Towns & Places represented.</i>	<i>Names of Delegates to Convention.</i>	<i>Years & Days.</i>	<i>No. of miles Travel to & from Exeter.</i>	<i>Wednesday, Feb. 18th.</i>	<i>Thursday, Feb. 14th.</i>	<i>Friday, Feb. 15th.</i>	<i>Saturday, Feb. 16th.</i>	<i>Sunday, Feb. 17th.</i>	<i>Monday, Feb. 18th.</i>	<i>Tuesday, Feb. 19th.</i>	<i>Wednesday, Feb. 20th.</i>	<i>Thursday, Feb. 21st.</i>	<i>Friday, Feb. 22d.</i>	<i>No. of miles Travel to & from Concord.</i>	<i>Wednesday, June 18th.</i>	<i>Thursday, June 19th.</i>	<i>Friday, June 20th.</i>	<i>Saturday, June 21st.</i>
Hancock, Antrim, & Deering.....	Mr. Evan Dow.....	y	190	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					
Henniker & Hillsborough.....	Mr. Robt. B. Wilkins.....	y	140	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	80	1	1	1	1
New Boston.....	John Cochran, Esq.....	n	104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	25	1	1	1	1
Weare.....	Mr. Jonathan Dow.....	n	104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1	1	1	1
Hopkinton.....	Mr. Joshua Morse.....	y	100	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1
Dunbarton & Bow.....	Mr. Jacob Green.....	n	73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1
Salisbury.....	Col. Eben'r Webster.....	n	112	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	1	1
Boscawen.....	Col. Joseph Gerrish.....	y	92	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	1	1
Fishersfield, Sutton, & Warner.....	Nathaniel Bean, Esq.....	n	124	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18		1	1	1
New London, Andover, & Gore.....																		
Charlestown.....	Benjamin West, Esq.....	y	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	55	1	1	1	1
Alstead.....	Capt. Oliver Shepherd.....	y	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	69	1	1	1	1
Keene.....	Rev. Aaron Hall.....	y	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Swansey.....	Maj. Elisha Whitcomb.....	y	170	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	63	1	1	1	1
Richmond.....	Mr. Jona. Gaskill.....	n	190	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	89	1	1	1	1
Jaffrey.....	Mr. Abel Parker.....	n	144	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Winchester.....	Capt. Moses Chamberlain.....	y	203	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	80	1	1	1	1
Westmoreland.....	Mr. Archelaus Temple.....	y	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	76	1	1	1	1
Chesterfield.....	Dr. Solomon Harvey.....	n	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	70	1	1	1	1
Rindge.....	Capt. Othniel Thomas.....	n	150	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60		1	1	1
Walpole.....	Gen. Benja. Bellows.....	y												53	1	1	1	1
Claremont.....	Mr. Aaron Allen.....	y	192	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					
Cornish & Grantham.....	Dea. Matthias Stone.....	n	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	55	1	1	1	1
Newport & Croydon.....	Gen. Jona. Chase.....	y	210	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Aeworth, Lempster, & Marlow.....	Mr. John Remelee.....	n												45	1	1	1	1
Wendell & Unity.....	Daniel Grout, Esq.....	n	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	54	1	1	1	1
Surry & Gilsun.....	Mr. Moses True.....	n												39	1	1	1	1
Stoddard & Washington.....	Col. Jona. Smith.....	n	190	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Dublin & Packersfield.....	The Penniman, Esq.....	n	180	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1	1	1	1
Mariborough.....	Sam'l Griffin, Esq.....	y	180	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	55	1	1	1	1
Fitzwilliam.....	Mr. Jedidiah Tainter.....	n	160	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	1	1	1	1
Plainfield.....	Lt. Caleb Winch.....	n	160	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
Hinsdale.....	Maj. Joseph Kimball.....	y	230	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	79				
Proctorworth.....	Mr. Uriel Evans.....	n	220	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					
Holderness, Campton, & Thornton.....	Hon. Sam'l Livermore.....	y	174	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	47	1	1	1	1
Plymouth, Rumney, & Wentworth.....	Francis Worcester, Esq.....	y	168	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	47	1	1	1	1
New Chester, Alexandria, & Cockermouth.....	Mr. Thomas Crawford.....	y	166	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	44	1	1	1	1
Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan, Dorchester, & Grafton.....	Jesse Johnson, Esq.....	y	180	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50	1	1	1	1
Hanover.....	Jona. Freeman, Esq.....	y	200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	62	1	1	1	1
Lebanon.....	Col. Elisha Payne.....	y																
Lyme & Orford.....	William Simpson, Esq.....	y	236	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	89	1	1	1	1
Haverhill, Piermont, Warren, & Coventry.....	Col. Joseph Hutchings.....	n												80	1	1	1	1
Lincoln & Franconia.....	Capt. Isaac Patterson.....	y												85	1	1	1	1
Bath, Lyman, Landaff, Littleton, & Dalton.....	Maj. Samuel Young.....	y	284	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1
Lancaster, Northumberland, Stratford, Dartmouth, Piercy, Cockburn, & Coleburn.....	Capt. John Weeks.....	y	340									1	1	150	1	1	1	1

II.—EARLY NEW YORK HISTORY FROM CANADIAN SOURCES.

THE N. Y. EXPEDITION OF 1699.

By JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

It is often necessary for the understanding of the history of one country to read likewise the history of those on its borders. A scholar well versed in South American history gives an example in the treatment of the great battle of Ayacucho. In the Buenos Ayrean Histories and their lives of General San Martin, the battle is described without an allusion to Bolivar, as

though his campaigns in the North had not been part of the operations that made that victory possible. On the other hand, the lives of Bolivar describe his operations in detail, but omit all mention of San Martin, and mention the victory of Ayacucho as resulting solely from the skill of Bolivar.

Here is, doubtless, the petty jealousy of neighboring States, requiring close weighing of statements and comparison of testimony to attain absolute truth.

The history of Canada and the history of New England and New York, in the same way bear on each other. But besides this, Canadian history

sometimes fills a hiatus in our Colonial histories. A singular case of such a hiatus occurs in the New York historians, in regard to the expedition against Canada in 1690.

Smith, who wrote his *History of New York* with many advantages, alludes to it merely in a note, and cites as his authority as to this Expedition, got up in his own colony, only the *Life of Sir William Phipps*, by the New England worthy, Cotton Mather, and the *History of New France*, by Father de Charlevoix. Cadwallader Colden, who wrote his *History of the Five Nations*, not forty years after the Expedition in question, knew so little of it, that he confounds it with one under Major Peter Schuyler, in 1691, mistaking him for the Captain John Schuyler who was detached from the Expedition in 1690. Although Connecticut furnished the Commander and two Companies of whites and Indians, the name of the Commander is not mentioned in Hollister's recent *History of the State*, nor the Indian services in De Forrest's *History of the Indians of Connecticut*.

Yet this Expedition in 1690 was really part of a grand effort to reduce Canada, in which New England and New York combined with the Five Nations. While Phipps was to attack Quebec from the sea, a land army was to advance through New York, on Montreal. To make up this force the Five Nations were to furnish one thousand, eight hundred and twenty men, New York four hundred, Connecticut one hundred and thirty-five, Boston one hundred and sixty, Plymouth sixty, according to an agreement made on the first of May, 1690. (Leisler to Shrewsbury, *New York Colonial Documents*, iii, 751.)

The sudden and successful attack made by the French on Casco, now Portland, Maine, induced Massachusetts and Plymouth to retain their troops for home service, and these Colonies sent none. (*Ib.*, 727.) New York raised troops, and Connecticut sent Fitch and Johnson's Companies. (*Ib.*, iii, 752, iv, 193.) Of the Indians, there came, according to French accounts, nine hundred Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, and four hundred and seventy Mohawks, Oneidas and Mohegans. (DE LA POTHERIE, iii, 126, 127; *New York Colonial Documents*, ix, 518, 514.)

As Commander of the whole force, New England urged the appointment of Fitzjohn Winthrop, (born on the fourteenth of March, 1639, son of Governor John,) already commissioned by the Governor of Connecticut—WINTHROP'S *Journal*; *New York Colonial Documents*, iv, 193)—and Leisler commissioned him as Major, on the thirty-first of July, (*Documentary History*, iii, 158.)

The new Commander left Hartford on the fourteenth of July, (*New York Colonial Documents*, iv, 193,) and on the twenty-first arrived at

the camp near Albany, with fifty men and thirty Indians, completing the Connecticut quota, (*New York Colonial Documents*, iii, 752.) He found New York affairs in great confusion; and though Leisler says that New York furnished all her four hundred, Winthrop states that he found not more than one hundred and fifty, (*New York Colonial Documents*, iv, 194.) He found small-pox increasing in the army, (*Ib.*, confirming CHARLEVOIX, ii, 88.)

His coming did not bring peace or harmony. He is charged with having at once taken sides with the anti-Leisler party. Be that as it may, he advanced to Wood Creek, where all his forces met, close by the lake, on the sixth and seventh of August, and he held a Council of War.

Here the Indians set to work to make canoes. The Connecticut men say the Indians refused to accompany them, and furnish canoes. (Allyn to Leisler, *Documentary History*, iii, 160.) This Leisler denies, (Letter to Shrewsbury, *New York Colonial Documents*, iii, 758,) but the French accounts again confirm the fact of a quarrel in regard to the canoes, (CHARLEVOIX, ii, 89,) and to the mode of conducting operations. (Letter of Bishop Laval, Nov. 20, 1690, *Relation*, 1690-1, in *New York Colonial Documents*, ix, 531-534; DE LA POTHERIE, iii, 126, 127.)

The Indians advised an advance, but the Western Iroquois, from sickness, failed to come; provisions ran short, even for the forces already assembled; and on the eleventh of August, the small-pox broke out at the Fork of Wood Creek, as the French state, from the Indians plundering some boxes of infected clothing, intended for Canada. (CHARLEVOIX.)

While the army was thus paralyzed, they were discovered by the French scouts, and two officers, Clermont, a Frenchman, and La Plaque, an Indian, reconnoitred the whole force. (CHARLEVOIX, ii, 59.)

At last, on the thirteenth of August, Winthrop called a Council of War, and it was decided to send out a small party, and that the main body should return. (*Documentary History*, ii, 162-9.)

On the fourteenth, he accordingly sent out Captain John Schuyler, with forty Christians and one hundred (120) Mohawk, Schaghticoke and Mohegan Indians, to make a raid into the French territory. (*New York Colonial Documents*, iv, 196; *Documentary History*, ii, 160-2.) They stole up between Chambly and Laprairie, and surprised a party of reapers, killing six, and taking nineteen (SCHUYLER) men and women, killing some of the prisoners on the retreat.

After the departure of Schuyler's expedition, Winthrop returned to the Fork, and began his homeward march. On the eighteenth, leaving his troops at the Half-Moon, under Captain Fitch, he went to Albany. Here he was accused by Leisler

of cowardice and treachery, (Letter of Leisler to Bradstreet, Sept. 15, 1690; HUTCHINSON'S *History of Massachusetts*, i, 134; *New York Colonial Documents*, iv, 196.)

Leisler did not halt at these charges against Winthrop; he put him under arrest, (Allyn to Leisler, Sept. 1690, *Documentary History* ii, 162,) but at the request of the Indians he released him, and allowed him to go to New York, to make his defence. (Leisler to Shrewsbury, *New York Colonial Documents*, iii, 753.) In his *Journal*, put in shape apparently in 1696, Winthrop ignores Leisler altogether.

The French accounts, (CHARLEVOIX, ii, 88, 89,) represent the Indians, on their return, as highly incensed; they accused the English of having poisoned them, and in retaliation killed cattle and ravaged the fields near Albany.

Thus, until the labors of O'Callaghan, Alofsen, and Brodhead had brought out the documents and correspondence, including Winthrop's *Narrative* and Schuyler's *Journal*, the works of the French on Canada, especially Charlevoix's *New France*, gave the only connected account of the operations; and the French documents come in with the English, to complete our information in regard to it.

J. G. S.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

III.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

HON. WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON, OF BANGOR, MAINE.*

HON. WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON, Author of the *History of Maine*, was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, on the thirty-first day of July, 1779. He was named for his maternal grandfather, William Durkee, of Hampton, in that State. Through his father, he was probably a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts. A family tradition has long existed that three brothers by the name of Williamson came from England soon after the landing of the Pilgrims, and established themselves in the Plymouth Colony. Prince and other historians mention a "Master Williamson," who accompanied Governor Winslow when the first Treaty with Massasoit was made, in March, 1621.† His name does not appear in the list of passengers by the *Mayflower*; nor among the signers of the Combination which was formed at Cape Cod, in November, 1620.

* We are indebted to our esteemed friend, Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, Maine, for this interesting memoir of the historiographer of Maine. *ED. HIST. MAG.*

† PRINCE'S *New England Chronology*, 290; *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, i, viii, 229; HOLMES'S *American Annals*, i, 167; MOUR'S *Relation*—PUECHAS, v, Lib. x. C. 4. 1850.

‡ GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S *History*, Appendix I.

No reason is assigned for the omission, and nothing definite is known of him or of the three brothers.

The most remote ancestor from whom the descent of the subject of the present sketch can be distinctly traced, is TIMOTHY WILLIAMSON, of Marshfield, Massachusetts, a soldier in King Philip's Indian war. He was admitted and sworn as a Freeman, in 1657, and died or was killed in 1676, as his Will was dated and approved during that year.* He left four sons—TIMOTHY, who died unmarried; CALEB, who lived in Hartford, Connecticut, and had no issue; NATHAN, who died before June, 1718, leaving two sons, Timothy, Samuel, and six daughters; and GEORGE, who was born in 1675, and died in 1742, aged sixty-nine.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON, last mentioned, the great-grandfather of William D., resided in Marshfield and Middleboro', Massachusetts, and Harwich, Connecticut. His children were two sons—GEORGE, who left no children, and CALEB—and five daughters. CALEB was born in Harwich in 1715, married Sarah Ransom of Middleboro', Connecticut, in 1737, and died in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1795. His children were nine, viz.: SARAH and NATHAN, both of whom died unmarried; CALEB, who married Mercy Jackson, by whom he had eight children; ROBERT, who died childless; EBENEZER, who married Hannah Foster, of Canterbury, Connecticut, and resided at Pittston, Maine, and Brooklyn, Connecticut, where he died on the thirtieth of June, 1830, aged eighty, leaving no issue; MARY, who married Captain Seth Tobey, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, where she died about 1800; GEORGE; THANKFUL, who married William Paddock, of Malone, New York; and JOSEPH, who died at Richfield, New York, in 1809, aged fifty-two.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON, the fifth son of the second Caleb, and the father of William D., was born in Middleboro', Massachusetts, on the fifteenth of January, 1754, and afterwards removed with his father's family to Canterbury, Connecticut, where in 1778, he married Mary, daughter of William Foster, of that town. He served in the Revolution, and participated in the battle of White Plains. After peace was declared, he was Captain of an Artillery Company. In 1793, he transferred his residence to Amherst, Massachusetts, where he cultivated a farm until 1807, when he removed to Woodstock, Vermont, of which town he was repeatedly chosen a Selectman. Thirteen years afterwards, he became a resident of Bangor, Maine, and died there on the tenth day of October, 1822, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was a man of strong native powers, of sound judgment, and of high moral rectitude.

* *Plymouth Records of Wills*, Part II, 29.

The want of early mental discipline, which he always regretted, made him a constant and zealous advocate of education, and induced its bestowment upon his sons, to the extent of his limited resources. His wife survived him ten years, and died at Belfast, Maine, on the sixteenth of January, 1832, aged seventy-three. For over half a century she was a devoted member of the Congregationalist Church.

The children of George and Mary (*Foster*) Williamson were WILLIAM DURKEE; ASENETH, who married Jacob Childs, of Constable, New York, where he died in 1862, aged eighty; ROBERT, who died at Amherst, Massachusetts, on the first of August, 1803, aged nineteen; GEORGE, who resided at Pittston, Maine, where he died on the first of February, 1860, aged seventy-three; JOSEPH, a graduate at the University of Vermont, in 1812, who resided at Belfast, Maine, from 1816, to the time of his death, on the thirtieth of September, 1854, at the age of sixty-five; MARY, who married Doctor Roswell Bates, of Fort Covington, New York, where she died on the ninth of August, 1828, aged thirty-five; HANNAH, who died on the second of August, 1803; and SARAH, who married Doctor Ora F. Paddock, of Fort Covington, New York, where she died on the seventeenth of February, 1829, aged thirty.

The subject of this notice received all the elementary instruction which the common schools of Canterbury and Amherst, kept only during the winter months, were able to furnish. At an early age, he evinced a taste for books and reading, and when but thirteen years old had mastered the Latin Grammar without the assistance of a teacher. As his father was in moderate pecuniary circumstances the labor of his sons on the farm—which embraced the hill where Amherst College now stands—was constantly required. This labor William D. faithfully performed for several years, until the fall of 1797, when he determined to undertake the experiment of teaching. Furnished with a certificate of his competency from Doctor Parsons, Minister of the Parish, he soon found a situation in the neighboring town of Whately, at a monthly compensation of seven dollars and a half, besides board. He afterwards taught nearly two years at Pittstown, New York, constantly employing all the leisure time at his command in preparing for college. Having attended the Academy at Deerfield, during the summer of 1800, he joined the Freshman Class of Williams College, in October of that year. He was qualified to enter at an advanced standing, which, however, the anticipated absences necessary to enable him to pursue the course by means of keeping school, induced him to forego. During the first two years, he was with his class only in the summer terms, the remainder of the time being spent in

teaching. By constant application, he was able to maintain a high rank. At the close of the Junior year, party politics excited deep interest throughout the country, and extended even to the halls of learning. The Faculty and a large majority of the students of Williams were Federalists, while Williamson was a Democrat. Prejudice was carried so far, that at the annual exhibition no part was assigned him, while others, his inferiors in scholarship, received appointments. Believing that his course caused the omission, he obtained a dismissal, and entered Brown University, where the political atmosphere was more congenial. He graduated on the fifth of September, 1804, honored by having two parts at Commencement, one of which was an Oration. Among his classmates were Professor Chamberlain of the University of Vermont; Hon. Virgil Maxcy, afterwards Chargé at Belgium; Governor Morton, of Massachusetts; and Judge Randall, of Rhode Island.

Immediately after completing his collegiate course, Mr. Williamson entered upon the study of law with Hon. Samuel F. Dickinson, of Amherst, which he afterwards pursued with Hon. Samuel Thacher, of Warren, Maine, and completed in the office of Jacob M'Gaw, Esq., of Bangor. He was admitted to the Bar of Hancock County, Maine, on the twelfth day of November, 1807, and commenced practice at Bangor, then a small village of some six hundred inhabitants, but destined from its favorable position and peculiar commercial facilities, soon to become among the most important of New England cities. Here, at the age of twenty-eight, with but little money, he embarked upon the business of his profession with a persevering industry, which soon placed him in the front rank of a Bar distinguished for ability and skill. Three years afterwards, the Executive of Massachusetts conferred upon him the appointment of County-attorney, an office which he filled through different political administrations until 1816, when he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Senate. This position he occupied for four years, until the organization of Maine, when he was returned to the Senate of the new State, and elected President of that body. Hon. William King, the first Governor, having been appointed a Commissioner under the Spanish Treaty, Mr. Williamson succeeded him as the acting and constitutional Chief-magistrate. This position he held from the twenty-eighth of May, 1821, to the fifth of December of the same year, when he resigned to take his seat in Congress, to which he had been elected in the September previous. In consequence of a re-districting of the State, he was not chosen a second time. In 1824, he was appointed by Governor Parris, Judge of Probate for the County of Penobscot, a position which he occupied for

sixteen years, being then disqualified by a constitutional change in the tenure of judicial offices. He was afterwards President of the People's Bank at Bangor; and in 1843 received the appointment of Bank Commissioner for the State.

Although the various and almost uninterrupted publications which for thirty years were bestowed upon Judge Williamson, attest his eminence as a politician, no less than do the records and Reports of the Courts his successful professional career, yet it is as an Historian that his name and memory will descend to posterity, and his *History of Maine* will be read and appreciated as long as any interest remains in the local events of the State to which it is devoted. This work was first projected while its author was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. In Boston, the libraries of the Athenæum and of the Historical Society, as also the rich treasures contained in the Secretary of State's office, were placed at his service. Volumes of manuscripts, copied from these sources exclusively by his own hand, bear witness to the indefatigable research and persevering labor which in the midst of legislative duties he found time to bestow upon his great undertaking. It would seem that for many years he occupied every leisure moment when abroad in transcribing some historical fact or in verifying some date from authorities not accessible at home. Bangor, the place of his residence, contained no public library, and his own collection of books was limited both in number and value. While acting as Governor and when in Congress, he availed himself of the facilities which these positions afforded for increasing his store of materials. Nor did his efforts stop here. He visited all portions of the State, drawing information from every source, whether contained in the almost illegible but invaluable Records of the first Proprietors, or the obscure traditions of the almost extinct Indian tribes. In 1820, he addressed to some prominent citizen in every town in the State, a printed circular soliciting answers in detail and at length to a large number of inquiries concerning settlements, lands, wealth, religion, literature, monuments of antiquity, and other subjects of interest. These answers, in some instances comprising of themselves quite respectable town histories, were carefully incorporated as parts of the work. Most of the originals have been preserved, and are deposited in the library of the Maine Historical Society.

In the year 1832, the first edition of the *History of Maine* was given to the public. It comprised two volumes, octavo, of six hundred and sixty and seven hundred and fourteen pages respectively. One thousand copies were printed, three hundred and fifty of which were purchased by the State, and distributed to the different towns. A second edition, containing a portrait of the author, appeared in 1839.

The publication of this work at once gave Judge Williamson a high reputation. It was favorably noticed by the press, and the prediction made in the *North American Review*, that it would "long be regarded as a standard history," has been verified by the lapse of nearly forty years, during which time it has remained without being superseded. In point of literary execution, the work is far from being faultless; the style is not perspicuous, and the narrative is too frequently encumbered with matter which more properly belonged to notes than to the text. But it was written in the midst of political duties and professional employments, and with but little opportunity for condensation or correction. Upon retiring from active business, the author intended to have revised and improved both volumes. Impaired health, however, prevented an accomplishment of this purpose, and the work remains as originally prepared, a simple, unvarnished record of truths. In the language of Hon. William Willis, "we could not now spare it, and the student of the history of Maine could not do without it. This State and all the States are greatly his debtor for this fruit of his unwearied and abundant labor. How low do the rewards of his political life sink when compared to this enduring monument! His political acts have perished in the using; the history will be his perpetual record."*

With the exception of occasional contributions to the newspapers, Judge Williamson published but little during the last fourteen years of his life. His fondness for statistics and biography never diminished, and a large mass of unarranged materials found among his manuscripts, indicate an intention, which illness probably induced him to abandon, of preparing historical and biographical sketches of the Lawyers and Ministers of Maine. Besides the *History of Maine*, the following is believed to be an accurate list of all his productions which have appeared in print: *Law and Lawyers, Jewish, Roman, English and American*, published in the *American Quarterly Register*, xv, 31, 253, 397; *Notice of Orono, a Chief at Penobscot*, published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, III, ix, 82; *Indian Tribes in New England*, published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, III, ix, 92; *The Lutherans*, published in the *American Quarterly Register*, xiii, 162.

The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Judge Williamson by Harvard College, in 1820. He was one of the founders of the Maine Historical Society, which became incorporated in 1822; and in 1836 was chosen a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Other associations also honored him with membership; among which were the Am-

* WILLIS: *Law and Lawyers of Maine*, 531.

erican Academy of Language and Belle Letters; Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences; New York and Connecticut Historical Societies; and the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.

Judge Williamson was first married in June, 1807, to Miss J. M. Rice, of Amherst, Massachusetts. She died on the twenty-second day of June, 1822, aged thirty-six. Five children were the fruits of this marriage, viz.: CAROLINE J., who married first Nathaniel Haynes, of Bangor, and second, John Chapman, of Boston, where she now resides; HARRIET HANNAH, who married Paul R. Hazeltine, of Belfast, Maine; WILLIAM FOSTER, who died on the sixth of September, 1832, aged eighteen, while a member of the Junior Class of Bowdoin College; MARY CELIA, who married first Richard W. Shapleigh, of Boston, and second, Livingston Livingston, of New York; and FRANCES AUGUSTA, who married Mayo Hazeltine, of Boston, and died on the thirty-first of March, 1847. His second wife was Susan Esther, daughter of Judge Phineas White, of Putney, Vermont. She died on the ninth of March, 1824, at the age of twenty-two. The following year he was married to Mrs. Clarissa Wiggin, of York, Maine, who still survives him.

After a long and painful illness, induced by incessant labor and study, the life of Judge Williamson terminated on the twenty-seventh of May, 1846, at the age of sixty-six years and ten months. Through all the duties of his career, he ever bore in mind his obligations to his Creator, and sustained his profession as a Christian. His early religious impressions increased, and his faith grew stronger and brighter, with increasing years. That hope which animated him through every event in life, cheered and supported him through his last protracted sickness.

BELFAST, MAINE.

J. W.

IV.—MEMORIAL OF THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCHMEN TO THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, 1868.*

TO THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

The Memorial of the undersigned, *Respectfully represents:*

That they are members, pew-holders, or attendants of the "*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*" "*in North America*," a religious body, the General

Synod of which was made a Corporation by an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed in the year 1819, by the title of "*The General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*."

That this Church, or ecclesiastical body, thus incorporated by the Legislature of New York, was founded soon after the discovery, by the Dutch, of the said State, by emigrants from Holland, the chief Province of the Dutch Republic, who began Christian worship in Manhattan Island, as early as the year 1626. That a church was then established there, which was the first ever established in Manhattan Island, to which a minister was sent from Holland in 1628; that afterwards a regular succession of ministers was, and has been, maintained in the said church until the present time; and that other churches were planted in other parts of the Dutch Province of New Netherland—now forming the States of New York and New Jersey—all of which said churches were established under the authority of the Reformed Protestant Church of the Dutch Republic conformable to the Synod of Dordrecht.

And your memorialists further represent that in the year 1664, the said Dutch Province of New Netherland was conquered by the superior forces of the King of England, and was surrendered to him, upon Articles of Capitulation, one of which provided that "*The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline*." That upon such capitulation, the English Government changed the name of the Province of "New Netherland" to the several names of "New York" and "New Jersey," into which said Dutch Province was sub-divided. That, at that time, there were Dutch Ministers settled, and Dutch Churches established in various places in the said English Province of New York; namely, in the metropolis of New York; at Flatbush and at Brooklyn, on Long Island; at Esopus or Kingston; and at Fort Orange, or Albany. That, from and after such capitulation to the English, these Churches, and their Ministers, and other Churches and Ministers, their successors, were invariably recognized by the predominant English Government, as "Dutch" Churches and Ministers in the said Province; and that during the whole period that New York remained an English Province—namely, from 1664 until the American Revolution—the word "Dutch" was constantly and necessarily used to distinguish

* Our readers are generally aware that the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America, in November, 1867, voted to change the title of that ancient body to "The Reformed Church in America;" and many of them are aware, also, that the proposition for that change has not been favorably received by the great body of those who particularly respect the landmarks of "Old New York" and the memory of their founders.

As the General Synod is a body corporate in New York, application was made at the last Session of the Legislature

for a legal change of the title, in conformity with the Resolution of the Synod; and a Bill was introduced for the purpose into the Senate. It was met, however, with the earnest protest of those who had resisted the change; and a Memorial, setting forth the views of the remonstrants, was laid before the Senate. The Synod was not successful in its application for a change of name.

The importance of this Memorial to every student of the History of New York, induces us to find a place for it in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

those Churches founded under the auspices of the Protestant Dutch Republic, from those founded under the auspices of the King of England, as well as from those planted by French Calvinists and German Calvinists and Lutherans, and others.

And your memorialists further represent, that in the year 1696, Benjamin Fletcher, then the Governor of the Province of New York, in the name of his Sovereign, King William the Third of England, granted a Charter, incorporating the said "Dutch" Church in the said City of New York, by the name and style of "*The Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in the City of New York*," with perpetual succession; which said Charter the Legislature of the Province of New York, in the year 1753, ratified and confirmed; and that this Act was approved by King George the Second, in the most ample manner.

And your memorialists further represent, that in the year 1772, the several Dutch Churches in the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, which until that time had remained subordinate to the said Reformed Church of the Protestant Dutch Republic, formed themselves into an ecclesiastical body, independent of that ancient authority in Holland; which independent ecclesiastical body, after the American Revolution, in the year 1792, by its General Synod, adopted Articles for its government, which were published as "*The Constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States of America*." That, by such action, the name "*Reformed Dutch Church*" was then understood, and declared to be, the proper distinctive or denominational description of the said independent Church in this country. That this Church afterwards requested the Legislature of the State of New York to grant it an Act of Incorporation; and that accordingly, in the year 1819, the Legislature, by law, incorporated the said Church as an ecclesiastical body, under the name and style of "*The General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*," with the usual corporate powers. That from and after the passage of the said law, the said General Synod has held, and now holds, its corporate property, by virtue thereof.

Your memorialists further represent, that this corporate name, "*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*," rightfully and properly describes the said independent ecclesiastical body in this country, which was originally derived from the Protestant Dutch Republic; that the word "Dutch," therein, has been invariably used by English and American lexicographers, and has been properly understood, as relating to, or describing Holland, or the Republican Netherlands, and not as in any way relating to, or describing, Germany; that it was always so used and understood in the Province and State of New York, after the year

1664; and that any other use or acceptance of the word "Dutch," would be unscholarly and wrongful in such connection.

But your memorialists are pained to learn that the word "Dutch"—so honorable in the history of the Old and the New World—has lately, with some persons, become a term of reproach. Such persons, happening to form a majority in the General Synod of the said "*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America*," which met at an adjourned Session thereof in the City of Albany, in November, 1867, voted to alter the ancient name of that ecclesiastical body, by cutting out of it the distinctive words, "Dutch" and "Protestant;" and ordained that the style of the said Church should thereafter be, "*The Reformed Church in America*."

Your memorialists represent to your Honorable Bodies, that this ancient title of their Church, venerable from its antiquity, and associated with all that is sacred or distinctive in its history, is dear to the hearts of a very large and influential number of its members. They cannot but think that the aforesaid synodical action was offensive and injurious, because it was founded on a vulgar error, which confounds the word "Dutch" with the word "German," in ignorance or contempt of proper usage, which has always distinguished the "Dutch" who lived at the mouth of the river Rhine, from the "Germans" who lived around its upper waters. This error, your memorialists believe, was a chief cause of the action of the said Synod; some of the prominent members of which insisted that both the words "Dutch" and "German" were words of reproach; that they were "foreign;" that "the Dutch must trail in the dust" in this country; that the words "Dutch" and "German" suggested low associations, not worthy of "Americans;" and that both the words "Dutch," and "Protestant," in its title, were hindrances to the growth of the said "*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*," among ignorant people in this and other States of our Nation.

Nevertheless, your memorialists do not believe that either "Dutch," or "Protestant," should, at this day, be considered words of contumely in an American State, any more than "English," or "French," or "German," or "Scotch," or "Irish," or "Catholic," or "Episcopal," or "Presbyterian," or "Methodist," or "Moravian." The history of our own new world is the history of the descendants of separate national ancestries in Europe, which had diverse forms of religious belief. If the Mormon Church be excepted, every ecclesiastical body in this country has been derived from the old world. The action of the said adjourned Synod at Albany, in repudiating the distinctive word "Dutch," seems, therefore, to have been an attempt to falsify history, and

cast a stigma upon the name of a noble nation—the first, in modern Europe, to maintain the principles of Republican liberty, and which founded the States of New York and New Jersey. In rejecting the word “Protestant,” the said Synod has endeavored still further to obscure the truth. The new name which it voted to assume, is “*The Reformed Church in America*.” This is an offensive pretence that the said “*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*” is THE ONLY “*Reformed Church in America*”—which assumption, your memorialists are persuaded your honorable bodies cannot be willing to confirm by a Law of New York.

And your memorialists are informed and believe that in the opinion of sound lawyers the action of the said Synod, at its aforesaid adjourned Session, in November, 1867, was contrary to the Constitution of the said Church. It certainly was a violation of precedent, and against the mature judgment of many of the oldest and ablest members thereof. The large majority which was obtained in the Synod, in favor of its said action, does not appear to be decisive of its righteousness. If in civil affairs it is good doctrine that majorities must always be right, that doctrine can hardly be applied to a questionable act of the Synod of a Church, one of the standard hymns of which pronounces that

“numbers are no mark
“That men will right be found;
“A few were saved in Noah’s ark,
“For many millions drowned.”

Your memorialists further understand, that in order to render its action in this matter binding on the several Congregations or Churches under its ecclesiastical authority, the said Synod has directed an application to be made to the Legislature of the State of New York, to amend its aforesaid Act passed 1819, incorporating “*The General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*,” by striking out of the same the words “*Dutch*,” and “*Protestant*.”

Therefore, your memorialists most respectfully pray your honorable bodies not to pass any such law:—Because

I. The name hitherto borne by the “*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*,” in this country and State, is historical, honorable, and truly descriptive of its derivation from Republican Holland, and of its Protestant faith.

II. The title of the said Church, as proposed by the said Synod to be thus falsified, by cutting out the descriptive and historical words “*Dutch*” and “*Protestant*,” would be reduced to an unmeaning name—“*The Reformed Church in America*”—constantly requiring explanation, and producing confusion, hostility, and ridicule, and which the said “*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*,” has no right to appropriate or arrogate

to itself, over other “*Reformed*” Churches, which have been planted in this country by “*Protestant*” Europeans, other than the Republican “*Dutch*.”

III. The said Resolution of the said General Synod to change the name of its constituent body, was in violation of the Constitution of the Church, and usurpatory; it was founded, mainly, on an unworthy prejudice against the word “*Dutch*,” which history honors as synonymous with civil and religious freedom; and it manifestly tends to present discord, and to the eventual annihilation of the “*Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*,” as a distinct ecclesiastical Body in our State and Country.

February, 1868.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

AUGUSTUS SCHELL,
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD,
WILLIAM BOGARDUS,
RICHARD AMERMAN,
CALVIN E. KNOX,
ROBERT SCHELL,
JAMES H. ANDERSON,
ELBERT B. MONROE,
JAMES W. BECKMAN,

JAMES ANDERSON,
WILLIAM WOOD,
RICHARD SCHELL,
ABRAHAM DUBOIS,
EBENEZER MONROE,
PETER R. WARNER,
ELBERT A. BRINK-
ERHOFF,
and many others.

V.—PLAN FOR A RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORDECAI GIST.*

That confidence which Troops ought to place in Officers of high rank frequently wants an object in consequence of the local motives which direct their appointment; by abolishing the Colonial distinction this mischief will probably be cured, and would it not therefore be proper & highly advantageous to the Interest of America, as well with respect to her internal strength, as her reputation with foreign Powers to Consolidate all the Forces raised in the States into one Army; to abolish the distinction between State Troops & Continental as it is certainly the business of Congress to defend every part of the Continent alike? Would not all confusion in rank & all Colonial Jealousies by this means be put a stop to?

Instead of each State being obliged to furnish a certain number of Regiments, would it not be advisable that each State should be bound by articles of Confederacy to furnish a certain number of Men by a stipulated time, or make good the deficiency by draughts from the State until the quota of men is completed? as the mode of furnishing Regiments introduces a great number of Supernumerary officers & but few men, by

* From the original manuscript, belonging to G. De F. Burns, Esq., of New York city.

which the expense of the Army is enhanced & its strength not at all increased— Will not 80,000 Men be sufficient for the defence of the Continent next Campaign? and cannot that number be easily raised including the present army in the field? Would it not be proper to fix on some established rule as soon as may be for reducing Supernumerary Officers, establishing & forming a Grand Army & Armies of Observation, as soon as possible? Would not the following be the best mode of executing these advisable purposes & of selecting the best officers the Continent affords?

Plan for modeling the Army anew & providing for the defence of the Continent.

Sixty thousand men to be raised & embodied for the service of the current year, exclusive of six Regts of Artillery, Eight Regts of Horse, & seven hundred & fifty Marines.

The whole Army to be under one head or Captain General who shall recommend Six Lieut. Generals (one to each 10,000 men or ten Regts) to be commissioned by Congress, if approved of, when commissioned they with the approbation of the Commander in Chief to recommend twelve Major Generals to Congress, who when commissioned are in conjunction with the Lt. Generals & the approbation of the Commander in Chief to select twenty four Brigadier Generals to be recommended to Congress to be commissioned if approved of.

The Field Officers of each Regt to be recommended by a majority of the Lieut. Generals & approbation of the Commander in Chief.

The Captains and Subalterns to be recommended by the Field officers of the respective Regts, & so of the Staff.

A Regt of Infantry to consist of one Colonel, one Lt. Colonel, & one Major, ten Captains, twenty Lieutenants, ten Ensigns, Sixty Sergeants, Forty Corporals, & nine hundred and sixty Privates, including Grenadier and light Infantry Companies.

One sixth of each Lieut. Generals command to be light Infantry & Grenadiers to be always kept full by draughts of picked men.

An Artillery Regiment to be annex'd to each Lieut. Generals Command, to be raised exclusively, but afterwards to be filled by draughts.

Artificers of all kinds to be raised exclusive.

A certain number of Marines to be attached to each Grand Division for the purpose of making descents by water &c.

Such officers as are or may be out of this arrangement to have the Lands assigned them by Congress, & such as can procure certificates signed by the Commander in Chief & Lt. Generals of their good conduct, shall be entitled to half pay until called into service when any augmentation of the Army shall be necessary.

Officers having accepted of their nomination should have their rank immediately established &

should be bound to adhere to the conditions of their appointment.

No Officer should be promoted out of turn except in cases of Merit or by purchase, when the preemption had been offer'd to the next succeeding officer, & refused. In the first of these cases the Commander in Chief, with the advice of a Council of War consisting of Lt. Generals, should recommend him to Congress in writing, assigning the reasons why he should be promoted; which being done it should be held disgraceful & unbecoming the character of an Officer to object to.

The institution of some order of Knighthood for those above the rank of Colonel who had distinguished themselves to which adequate pensions should be annex'd on quitting the army; and the Conferring a Medal, Sword, or some other honorable mark of approbation on those beneath the rank of General, who had distinguished merit: & Pecuniary rewards to Non Commissioned Officers & Soldiers, would greatly tend to excite the laudable principle of Ambition throughout the Army which would stimulate its members to great and noble actions.

When the first arrangement of Officers is fix'd any future appointment of General Officers to be wholly at the disposal of Congress.

That Commissions should be held in more estimation; good officers be made fond of accepting them, & when accepted be happy to remain in the Service & to make a Military life their business, pleasure & study, we would propose

1st That officers be nominated as before.

2d That they immediately on being nominated be informed of the rank they are to hold in the Army when reformed, & after having accepted, they are not to object on account of rank.

3d That when they have served one or more years (as shall be stipulated) with reputation & honour, they may, with the Commander in Chief's permission, have liberty to sell their Commissions, giving the next in Command the preemption, or option to buy, and so in succession.

4th That a value be set on every Commission & a man purchasing from a lower to a higher shall pay the difference.

5th That the money paid for Commissions shall not be paid into the hands of the Seller, but into the Treasury of the Board of War, & the Seller when retiring as above to receive the interest of the full value of the Commission sold during life & after his death the capital to be funded & the Interest arising from such fund to be paid to Officers Widows & Orphans according to the rank of their deceased Husbands or Fathers.

Till a fund can arise from the mode proposed, where any Officer in the Continental service dies leaving a Widow & distressed Family, would it not be Consistent with Justice that Congress should establish a fund for the support of such Widow

and Family? this fund to be established as soon as possible as it must be a great consolation to a needy Officer to be certain that in case of accident his Family will be provided for.

6th That Officers resigning without leave, or being dismissed or cashier'd shall be entitled to none of the above privileges.

7th That officers Maimed, Wounded, or Incapacitated by loss of Constitution should over & above the Interest of his Commission receive half pay for life, or be otherwise provided for in some Military Accademy or Corps of Invalids.

At the end of the War if Regiments are reduced, the Officers so reduced shall be entitled to half pay until called in again.

We wish to see all rank taken from those who do not serve in the line which will lessen the number of Officers & of course enhance their honour.

Let the Staff be composed of Commissioned officers from the line, which will obviate any inconvenience for want of rank in that department, will hold out to the needy officer a project of redeeming his losses, & will also give some share of ease and profit to those who suffer the toil & danger. This will also give an opportunity of changing the Constitution of the Army without disbanding those Officers who have suffered and fought for their Country.

An army being modelled, & the Officers thus selected, there would be little doubt but that order, regularity and discipline would take place, & that Slovenly dress, Straggling, filth, and their concomitants Sloth, Desertion, & Disease would be banished the Camps of the American Armies. Inattention to general orders & every unofficerlike conduct and behaviour would be look'd on in a disgraceful point of view—Officers guilty of such crimes being punished with the loss of Commissions honorable from the mode of their being conferr'd & profitable while possessed would be stimulated to exert themselves, especially when the rewards of their Merit and Services were set before them. The Staff who are at present left at large to commit various enormities and omit many necessary duties without any mode of rectifying them, except that of an arrest, might be perhaps put on a better footing by instituting a Weekly or Monthly Board to hear such complaints as might occur in that line & investing that board with power to dismiss all such as did not hold Commissions in the line, with disgrace from their employments when such complaints were justly founded; this might at least be done in the Army with deputies; through this board complaints might be transmitted to the board of War of any neglect in principals.

Officers who hold Commissions in the line might be arrested and tried by Courts Martial.

The food and cloathing of soldiers ought to be

strictly attended to, & in the latter article convenience and warmth should be the chief considerations, good Shoes, Stockings, Overalls, warm Woolen Caps & Blankets should be constantly supplied & provision made in case of accident, a certain number of Watch Coats to each Troop or Company for Vedettes & Sentries & Patrolls by night (without which guards should never mount) would save the lives and health of thousands; Straw and Wood should be supplied by the Quarter Masters in sufficient quantities, which would prevent the disorders contracted from lying on damp ground—the business of the Quarter Master (which is now almost a sinecure) would then be of importance.

The utmost accuracy should be observed by the officers in seeing the Camp utensils kept clean & a due proportion of Vegetables furnished the men, & that they bake their bread, or have well baked bread issued to them, & that their food be chiefly boiled instead of broiled or fried by which last mode of cooking Dyssenteries & bilious Camp disorders are contracted.

Physicians & Surgeons should be obliged once a week to make a report to a Board of Officers of the state of the Sick & Hospitals under their care from their own ocular inspection & a General officer be frequently appointed to see if the report corresponds with the true state thereof, & if there is any remissness in that Department, the offender should be, by the above board instantly be dismissed with disgrace, & as an inducement for them to discharge their duty they should be entitled to sell their Posts, receive the benefit of half pay & all the pecuniary emoluments arising from their Commissions when quitting the Army with reputation that officers have, their Commissions being valued in proportion to the pay they receive.

In fine, Every Officer & Soldier entering into the Army, or on receiving a Commission, should be obliged to take an Oath of Allegiance to the United States & of abjuration of the supremacy of the Crown & parliament of G. Britain, & of obedience to the lawful commands of his superior officers.

SIR

Impressed with sentiments of real concern for the Safety & Freedom of America, apprehensive that the Constitution of the Army in its present languid & weak state may not be productive of the great end for which it was raised, should not an immediate reformation be effected; We take the liberty of offering to Your Excellencies perusal the hints & observations contained in the inclosed sheets. Our Knowledge of Mankind hath taught us that Interest, tho' inferior to others in point of honour is yet the most general motive to action; that by consulting the Interest of any body-politic, Government may be strength-

ened & obedience secured, & that those rewards which will acquire estimation in Men's minds, must be either honorary, or lucrative.

The Officers of the Army of the United States under its present Establishment, have neither of these to attach them to the Service; their pay is of little value when we consider the scarcity & dearth of every necessary of life; their other allowances are small & difficult to be obtained; thro' the unlicensed chicanery of the Staff, & to support their rank as Gentlemen, they must either injure their Patrimonies, or incur Debts which they can have no prospect of discharging. The rank they ought to derive from their Commissions, will not distinguish them or command respect; that is lost in the deluge of those to whom that privilege is extended, consequently the Officers having nothing to induce them to Duty & obedience, but the commands of their superiors & the love of their Country (which latter Consideration ought to be common to the Citizen as well as the Soldier, but having unhappily failed in the Country cannot be relied on in Camp) do not act with that cheerfulness and alacrity which will produce good order and discipline. The exertion of Power is ever bitter & unless sweetened with some real advantage will become Irsome and Odious; from these Causes the Officers of the American Army are disgusted with trifling occurrences & any opportunity serves as an excuse for resignation—these frequent resignations, among other evils, introduce a continual rotation of Officers which keeps our Army young and raw, when the bravery & exertion of Veterans is expected from it.

We cannot help complaining of excentric Promotions—Promotions not calculated the reward the meritorious; which only prefer the Favourite & tend to disgust the Army. Our honor as Soldiers obliges us to dwell on this article. Bravery, Enterprise, or Accident will sometimes make an Officer ostensible & render him famous; we mean not to obviate such a man's promotion; we know it is necessary to keep this inducement to Gallantry & Valour: but when an Officer is thus promoted, whom even good Fortune has not favoured with an appearance of superior military abilities it must argue great demerit in those to whom he is preferred, & is an affront which they must highly resent.

Should we prove so happy as to have afforded in these Essays any observations on the present state of the Army which may meet with your concurrence we shall think our time well bestowed & beg that you will be pleased to communicate them to Congress.

We have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect

Your Excellency's mo. obl^d serv^ts

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VI.—NATHAN BEMAN vs. BENEDICT ARNOLD.

By REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

No part of our country has been more fabled about than the region of Lake George and Ticonderoga. Every old man has his story to tell and his myth to defend. This is done in all sincerity, the individual usually supposing himself to be the veracious chronicler he *might* have been, if endowed with a less treacherous memory and a fuller acquaintance with the facts.

Among these fablers one Nathan Beman stood pre-eminent. As an illustration of the accuracy which attaches to the stories of men of this class, I give the following relation by Beman, who claimed that he was with Ethan Allen at the capture of Ticonderoga, served as his guide in going into the fortress, and stood by his side when the demand was made for the surrender. He also furnished an account for Doctor Sparks, who was greatly misled by his story. Nathan Beman was never heard of in this connection until he set up his own claim. Allen himself tells us that he was guided to De la Place's Headquarters by the soldier at the gate, whose life he spared for this purpose. This account also disagrees with that given by himself to Doctor Sparks. He informed the Doctor that his father was *unacquainted* with the fortress, while in the account below he tells us that his father and mother dined with the Commander and spent the day there previous to the capture.

Beman's account stands as follows:

"I well recollect all the circumstances attending the transactions above stated. I was then eighteen years old, and resided with my father, Samuel Beman, in the town of Shoreham, Vermont, nearly opposite the fort. I had been in the habit of visiting the fort very frequently, being well acquainted with Captain De la Place's family and other young people residing there. On the day preceding the capture, my father and mother dined, by invitation, with Captain De la Place. I was one of the party, and spent the day in and about the fort. On our return to Shoreham in the afternoon, and just as we were landing, we discovered troops approaching, whom we soon learned to be Allen and his party. To my father—with whom he had been long acquainted—Allen stated his object, and the proper measures were at once concerted for accomplishing it. It was agreed that I should act as guide, and I believe the above statement of the manner of the capture to be correct. There is however, one error of very considerable importance. Arnold did not accompany us as a volunteer, or in any other character. He was not present at the capture of

"the Fort. According to my recollection of the facts, as stated and believed at the time, Arnold wished to assume the command at Castleton, but the troops would not consent to serve under him, and he did not accompany them to Shoreham. It was some days after the capture of the Fort before Arnold arrived at Ticonderoga.

"Before the arrival of Arnold, we had thrown a floating bridge across the narrow part of the Lake, from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence, on the Vermont side. Arnold and Allen first met, after the capture, on this bridge. I was present at the meeting. Arnold handed to Allen a paper, understood to be an authority for him to supersede Allen, and take the command. I well recollect the laced jacket, ruffles and cocked hat of Arnold, and that in the dispute which arose on the occasion, Allen struck off the hat of Arnold from his head, into the water, where it sunk from the weight of the tinsel with which it was adorned, and was lost.

"I accompanied Colonel Warner to Crown-point, and was present at the taking of that fortress. I shortly afterwards enlisted in Colonel Warner's regiment and served in it during the war. Had I time and health, I could relate many of the spirit-stirring adventures of that day—many, that shortly, with the few surviving actors of them, will sink into oblivion and be forgotten.

"NATHAN BEMAN.

"MALONE, N. Y., May 26, 1835."

I give the above as a specimen of the tales which, in the region of Lake George, we are invited to accept as historic truth. One thing alone is sufficient to stamp Beman as incompetent and untrustworthy. It will be noticed in the above relation that "one error of very considerable importance" is refuted. The "error" referred to is the statement contained in all the documents of that period, which unanimously prove that Benedict Arnold *was* at the capture of Ticonderoga, and bore a principal, if not the leading part. But here we are informed that Arnold was *not* at the fort, and that "it was some days after the capture before Arnold arrived at Ticonderoga."

Thus at one swoop does this veritable "eye-witness" demolish every writer of those times, nullifying the official documents of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and sending to the historic limbo the ponderous *Archives* of Peter Force. It is by witnesses of this class that country gossips demolish Mr. Bancroft and the contemporaneous official documents relating to the murder of Jane McCrea, who is thus proved to have been shot by accident, instead of being despatched by savages. The same kind of testimony also sets aside of-

ficial documents and makes Daniel Parks a hero at Fort George.

This narrative of Beman has never been published in the columns of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, and it is now, therefore, placed on record as a warning to all men in the situation of the late President Sparks, who may feel tempted to rely upon the recollections of a garrulous old man whose partisan prejudices stand unshaken amid the ruins of memory.

NEW YORK CITY.

VII.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

By REV. E. F. HATFIELD, D.D.

The pulpit of Elizabethtown, made vacant by the decease, on the seventh of October, 1747, of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, could not readily be supplied. President Edwards, writing on the twentieth of May, 1749, more than eighteen months afterwards, says: "Mr. Spencer is now preaching at Elizabethtown in New Jersey, in the pulpit of the late Mr. Dickinson, and I believe is likely to settle there. He is a person of very promising qualifications, and will hopefully in some measure make up the great loss that people have sustained by the death of their former Pastor."

This conjecture soon became a fact. A call was soon extended to him, and the Rev. ELIHU SPENCER became the sixth Pastor of this ancient Church. In common with all his predecessors, save Melyen (who, however, was educated at Harvard), he was a native of New England, of Puritan antecedents and parentage. His first American ancestor, Jared Spencer (the fourth of five brothers), emigrated from England in 1634, and settled at Newtown [Cambridge], Massachusetts. He removed soon after to Lynn, where he was made a Freeman on the ninth of March, 1637, and received a grant of the ferry. In 1660, he had removed with his wife, six sons, and five daughters, to Haddam, Connecticut, which thenceforth became the family home. One of these daughters, Hannah, became the wife, about 1665, of Daniel Brainerd, the grandfather of David and John Brainerd, the well-known Presbyterian missionaries to the Indians.

Samuel, the third son of Jared, married Hannah, a daughter of Isaac Willey, of New London, who previously had been married successively to Thomas Hungerford, of Hartford, and Peter Blatchford, of Haddam. Isaac Spencer, their son, married Mary, a daughter of Joseph Selden, of Hadley, Massachusetts; and Elihu was their seventh child. He was born at East

Haddam, Connecticut, on the twelfth of February, 1721. He grew up with the two Brainerds, his second cousins. His brother, Samuel, married their sister, Jerusha, and another brother, Joseph, (afterwards a well-known Major-general of the Revolutionary Army), married their sister, Martha. Jerusha's house was David Brainerd's home whenever he visited his native place, in subsequent years. Spencer and John Brainerd were Classmates in Yale College, and graduated there in 1746. Rev. Doctor Ezra Stiles belonged to the same class. Colonel Oliver Spencer, of Elizabethtown, and afterwards the founder of the Spencer family at Cincinnati, was the son of Jerusha Brainerd.

Mr. Spencer began his ministry as a missionary to the Indians, having been strongly recommended to this work by David Brainerd, a few days only before his decease. He entered upon a course of preparation for the work, first with John Brainerd, at Bethel, New Jersey, and then with President Edwards, at Northampton, Massachusetts. He was ordained at Boston, on the fourteenth of September, 1748, and proceeded at once to Onobhaguaga [*Unadilla*], on the Susquehanna, where he spent the winter with the Oneida Indians. A visit to Elizabethtown, in the following spring, led to his settlement. He was installed by the Presbytery of New York, on the seventh of February, 1749-50, under which date his Diary has the following record: "This day was installed E. Spencer, and took the great charge (*onus humeris angelorum formidandum*) of the ministry in Elizabethtown, *ætatis suæ* 28. The "Lord help me."

He married on the fifteenth of October, 1750, Joanna, a daughter of John Eaton, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, at whose house he had been a welcome guest during the winter that he spent with his cousin, John Brainerd. His ministry appears to have been attended with a fair amount of success, considering whom he succeeded. The memorials of the period are few and meagre. No record, of the Church at that time remain. He lived in peace with his people, and secured their respect, and that of his Excellency, Governor Jonathan Belcher, who was a member of his congregation, and greatly attached to his Pastor. He closed his pastorate in 1756, about seven years after his coming to the place.

Subsequently he supplied the Presbyterian Churches of Jamaica, Long Island, and Shrewsbury, New Jersey, after which he became Pastor, first, of St. George's, Delaware, and then of Trenton and Maidenhead, New Jersey, where he continued until his decease, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1784, having, two years before, been honored, by the University of Pennsylvania, with the Doctorate. On his tombstone was inscribed this encomium: "Possessed of fine genius, of

"great vivacity, of eminent and active piety, "his merits as a Minister and as a man stand "above the reach of flattery."

With the ministry of Spencer terminated the line of New England ministers, who, for about ninety years, had presided over the spiritual concerns of the Church. Their seventh Pastor was the Rev. ABRAHAM KETELTAS, a native of New York City, and the son of the well-known Dutch merchant of the same name who had emigrated from Holland at the close of the previous century. The son was born on the twenty-sixth of December, 1732, and passed a part of his early days among the Huguenots at New Rochelle, New York. He graduated at Yale College, in 1752, and was licensed to preach on the twenty-third of August, 1756, by the Fairfield East Association. At the close of the next winter, being then twenty-four years old, he commenced to preach at Elizabethtown, as a candidate for settlement. At the end of six months, he received a call to be their Pastor, at a salary of one hundred and thirty pounds "Lite Money," per year. He was ordained by the Presbytery of New York on the fourteenth of September, 1757, a fortnight after the decease of the venerable Governor.

He had married, on the twenty-second of October, 1755, Sarah, the third daughter of the Honorable William Smith, member of the Council and Judge of the Court of King's Bench, a sister of the historian. Mr. Keteltas and his estimable wife occupied a high social position, and were personally much respected. His ministry here continued nearly three and a half years, closing in July, 1760. The remainder of his life was passed mostly in retirement, at Jamaica, Long Island. He preached occasionally to the Dutch and French churches of New York City, and elsewhere as opportunity offered. During the Revolutionary War, his intense patriotism drove him into exile, within the American lines. After the war he returned to Jamaica, where he continued until his decease, on the thirtieth of September, 1798, in his sixty-sixth year. His daughter, Ann was married, in 1799, to Thomas Hackett, a Hollander, and became on the fifteenth of March, 1800, the mother of the distinguished actor, James Henry Hackett.

After a vacancy of more than eighteen months, the Rev. JAMES CALDWELL was installed, the eighth Pastor of the Church. He was a Virginian, of Scotch ancestry, of an old Presbyterian stock. His father, John, emigrated from Antrim, Ireland, settling first at Chestnut Level, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and soon afterwards in the southern part of Virginia, on Cub Creek, a branch of Staunton river, Charlotte county, where James was born, in April, 1734. One of his brothers, by the marriage of a daughter, became the grandfather of the Honorable John Caldwell Calhoun,

of South Carolina, the great statesman of the South.

Having fitted for College under the tuition of the Rev. John Todd, a Presbyterian, and an assistant of the Reverend Samuel Davies, he entered the College of New Jersey, then located at Newark, and graduated in 1759. He studied theology at Princeton, whither the college had been removed, under the direction of President Davies; and was licensed, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1760, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, by whom, also, he was ordained as an Evangelist on the seventeenth of September, 1760. One year he spent in missionary work at the South; and then, in November, 1761, he accepted a call to this Church, where he was installed Pastor, March, 1762, by the Presbytery of New York, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

His appearance was quite prepossessing, his address agreeable, and his prospects of usefulness more than ordinarily good. He married, on the fourteenth of March, 1763, Hannah, a daughter of John Ogden, Esq., of Newark, with whom he had probably become acquainted and enamored while in his collegiate course. He soon acquired a commanding influence over his congregation, which had come to be regarded as one of the most important charges in the Presbyterian Church. Such men as William Livingston, (afterwards the first Governor of the State of New Jersey,) William Peartree Smith, Esq., and Elias Boudinot, (afterwards President of the Continental Congress,) had become members of his flock. Abraham Clark, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was also one of the number, and a warm admirer of his Pastor. Mr. Caldwell was honored of all as a devoted servant of his Lord and Master, and a faithful Minister of the Gospel.

It was in Mr. Caldwell's Church, that every alternate year, beginning with 1766, the Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers was held, until the Revolution occurred, to resist the encroachments of Episcopacy. The ministry of Mr. Caldwell was eminently successful. He was a warm admirer of Whitfield and Davies, an earnest and awakening preacher, and devoted himself to the spiritual welfare of his congregation. A powerful work of grace characterized his labors during the years 1771 and 1772, resulting in numerous additions (one hundred and ten at least) to his Church.

In the proceedings that led to the War of the Revolution, he took an active and a leading part. He threw his whole soul into the contest, entered the army as a Chaplain, served as Commissary, and in every other possible way labored for the cause. A price was put upon his head by the enemy, and it became dangerous, owing to the vicinity of the tories on Staten Island, for Mr.

Caldwell to live at home. He was obliged, especially after the burning of the parsonage by marauders, to find a home for his family some miles in the interior. His church was burned down on the twenty-fifth of January, 1780, and his lovely wife was killed by the shot of a British soldier, on the eighth of June following, at Connecticut Farms. He himself also fell, at Elizabethtown Point, by the shot of a sentinel, totally unjustifiable, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1781, in the forty-eighth year of his age. His death created a great sensation, and was regarded as a serious public calamity. Of the nine children who survived him, John E. and Elias B. rose to distinguished eminence in the departments of religion and benevolence, and all of them were highly respected in the various circles in which they moved.

This ancient and influential Church, previous to the Revolution, had become an honored mother of churches. In the allotments of the common lands of the town, 1699-1700, one-hundred-acre lots were parceled out among the settlers, leading many of them to take up their abode several miles in the interior. This was the origin of the town of

WESTFIELD.

A Presbyterian Church was organized here about 1727. Their first minister was the Rev. NATHANIEL HUBBELL, a descendant, probably, of Richard Hubbell, of New Haven, Connecticut. He was born about 1700, graduated at Yale College in 1723, and was ordained as early as 1727, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. His people were greatly scattered, and he had a difficult field, his ministry contrasting not very favorably with Mr. Dickinson's of the parent Church. He was dismissed in 1745, through some dispute with his people about a hundred-acre lot. His death occurred at Lebanon, New Jersey, in 1760.

He was succeeded by Rev. JOHN GRANT, a graduate of Yale College, in 1741, and a member of the Presbytery of New York, by which he was ordained in September, 1746. He died much lamented, on the sixteenth of September, 1753, aged thirty-seven years.

Their third Pastor was the Rev. BENJAMIN WOODRUFF, a descendant of John Woodruff, one of the founders of Elizabethtown, and a son of Alderman Samuel Woodruff, a distinguished merchant, Mayor of the Borough, an Elder of the Church, and a lover of all good men. The son graduated at the College of New Jersey, in 1753, and was ordained on the fourteenth of March, 1759, by the Presbytery of New York; Pastor of the Westfield Church. His ministry extended through a period of forty-four years, increasingly honored and useful to the end. He died on the third of April, 1803, aged seventy.

A numerous body of settlers, early in the eighteenth century, had removed back towards the sources of the Rahway river; and about 1730, a portion of them, had been organized into a Presbyterian Church at what was then called

CONNECTICUT FARMS.

It is now called Union. The first Pastor was the Reverend SIMON HORTON, a native of Southold, Long Island, where he was born on the thirtieth of March, 1711. He graduated at Yale College, in 1731, and was ordained by the Presbytery of East Jersey, early in 1735, the Pastor of this infant Church. He continued here until 1746, when he removed to Newtown, Long Island, where he died, on the eighth of May, 1786, aged seventy-five.

Their next Pastor was the well-known JAMES DAVENPORT, the eccentric revivalist, of whose erratic course so much has already been written, and much remains to be said. He was a great-grandson of that excellent divine, Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven, Connecticut, and a son of the Rev. John, of Stamford, Connecticut, where he was born in 1710, graduating at Yale College in 1732. He was ordained the Pastor of the church of Southold, Long Island, on the twenty-sixth of October, 1738. In 1740, he became an itinerant, going from place to place for four years, and preaching everywhere with great vehemence, and with no little disturbance. Over his fanatical extravagances he lived to weep bitterly with grief and shame. He came to New Jersey, after his confession and restoration, about 1745; and late in 1747, or early in the following year, became the Minister of this Church. He remained about two years. His death occurred at Hopewell, New Jersey, on the tenth of November, 1757.

Their third Pastor was the Rev. DANIEL THANE, a Scotchman, who was one of the first graduates of the College of New Jersey, in 1748. He was ordained Pastor of this Church, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1750, by the Presbytery of New York, and continued here about seven years. He removed to Newcastle, Delaware, in 1757, and his name disappears from the records after 1763. Some uncertainty exists as to the time of his decease. Dr. Hosack says, that De Witt Clinton, born 1769, was under the tuition of Mr. Thane, who at the time was the Minister of New Windsor, Orange county, New York.

Their fourth Pastor was the Rev. JOHN DARBY, supposed to be a grandson of William Darbie, of Elizabethtown. He was born about 1725; graduated at Yale College in 1748; was licensed by the Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island, in April, 1749; and after preaching at various places on the Island, was ordained on the tenth of Novem-

ber, 1757, at Oyster Ponds [*Orient*], as an Evangelist. He removed to Connecticut Farms, in 1758, where he continued about two years. He then removed to Parsippany, New Jersey, and practised medicine, until his death in December, 1805, aged ninety. He received the degree of M.D. from Dartmouth College, in 1782.

His successor was the Rev. Benjamin Hait, [*Holt*], a native of Norwalk, Connecticut, and a graduate of the College of New Jersey, in 1754. He was licensed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1754, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick; and having preached a while at Easton, Pennsylvania, accepted a call from Amwell, New Jersey, of which Church he was Pastor more than nine years. He came to Connecticut Farms in the winter of 1765, and remained here until his decease, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1779.

A Presbyterian Church was formed at

NEW PROVIDENCE,

on the Passaic river, about the year 1737, at which time a large number of one hundred-acre lots were assigned in this section to one another by the Elizabethtown Associates. For a time they were supplied by Mr. JOHN CLEVERLY, a licentiate, and the Rev. JOSEPH LAMB, who died at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, in 1749. Mr. SYMMES, also, of Springfield, New Jersey, preached to them half of the time from 1746 to 1750. The first Pastor who gave them his whole time was the Rev. TIMOTHY ALLEN.

He was born in 1716, and graduated at Yale College, in 1736. In 1738 he was ordained Pastor of the Church of West Haven, Connecticut, where he continued, a zealous revivalist, until 1742. In 1748, he removed to Hopewell, New Jersey, where he preached until 1752. In August of the latter year, he came to New Providence, [*Turkey*]; was installed, on the twenty-sixth of March, 1753; and remained until 1756, when he returned to New England. He died at Chesterfield, Massachusetts, on the twelfth of January, 1806, aged ninety-one.

Their next Pastor was the Rev. JONATHAN ELMER, born at Norwalk, Connecticut, on the fourth of June, 1727, and graduated at Yale College in 1747. He was licensed, on the fourth of May, 1748, by the Fairfield East Association. After a ministry of about nine years at Florida, Orange county, New York, he came to this place, on the first of October, 1757; preached as Stated Supply for eight years; and was then, on the thirteenth of November, 1765, installed their Pastor, continuing in that relation until the third of July, 1793. He died on the fifth of June, 1807, aged eighty.

The Presbyterian Church of

RAHWAY,

was organized about 1740, but for several years

was unable to support a Pastor. Mr. Cleverly preached a part of the time for them, as well as a Mr. John Grant, a Mr. Strong, and a Mr. Watkins. Their first Pastor was the Rev. AARON RICHARDS, a descendant of Thomas Richards, of Hartford, Connecticut. He was born at Newark, New Jersey, in 1718, and graduated at Yale College, in 1743. He was ordained by the Presbytery of New York, on the fifteenth of November, 1748, and continued the Pastor of the Church of Rahway more than forty-two years. He died on the sixteenth of May, 1793.

The Presbyterian Church of

SPRINGFIELD,

was organized in 1745. Their first Pastor was the Rev. TIMOTHY SYMMES, who ministered, also, to the Church of New Providence. He was a descendant of Rev. Zech. Symmes of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and was born at Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1715. He graduated in 1733, at Harvard. He was ordained, on the second of December, 1736, at Millington, in East Haddam, Connecticut, where he continued until 1743. After preaching a while on Long Island and in West Jersey, he came to Springfield, and was installed, on the sixteenth of October, 1746, remaining until the twenty-sixth of December, 1750. He died at Ipswich, Massachusetts, on the sixth of April, 1746, aged forty-one. He was the father of Judge John Cleve Symmes, so well known in the annals of Ohio.

A vacancy of thirteen years followed, when the Rev. NATHAN KER, born at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, in 1735, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, in 1761, and ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, on the seventeenth of July, 1763, took charge of the Church for two years. He removed to Goshen, New York, where he died on the fourteenth of December, 1804.

He was followed by the Rev. JACOB VAN ARTSDALEN, born at Somerset, New Jersey, on the eighth of February, 1745, and a graduate at Princeton, New Jersey, in 1765. He was ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, on the nineteenth of June, 1771, and took charge of this Church in 1774, of which he remained the Pastor until the sixth of May, 1801. He died at Springfield, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1803. He was the father of Elias Vanarsdale, LL.D., of Newark, New Jersey.*

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* For further particulars of these churches, and for authorities, the writer refers to his *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey*, just published by Carlton & Linsahan, 200 Mulberry-street, New York, in which he has endeavored to preserve the humble annals of these several Churches and their worthy Pastors. E. F. H.

VIII.—THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY'S PATENT.

[From *The Boston Daily Advertiser*.]

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE VIRGINIA COMPANY AND COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND, IN CONNECTION WITH THE LANDING OF THE PURITANS NEAR PLYMOUTH ROCK.

By REV. E. D. NEIL.

Palfrey, in his accurate history of New England, alluding to the arrangements of the Leyden Puritans for settling in America, says that a Patent was at length obtained under the seal of the Virginia Company, and also remarks that its date has not been preserved. The Virginia Company's records, in manuscript, in the library of Congress, furnish some information relative to this Patent, a portion of which was embodied in articles lately published in *Hours at Home*, not hitherto known to writers on American Colonial History.

It appears that on May 26, 1619, Mr. John Wyncopp, who had been introduced to the Company by the recently deceased Thomas Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, expressed his intention of going in person to Virginia, and the Patent he desired was referred to a Committee that was to meet at the house of Sir Edwin Sandys on the next Friday morning, who were directed "to consider 'and, if need be, correct the same.'" On the seventeenth of June, the Virginia Company ordered that the seal should be annexed to the Patent of Wyncopp and associates. After this we find no mention of Wyncopp, but on the second of February, 1619-20, (O. S.) John Pierce and associates received a Patent, and two weeks thereafter proposed through Sir John Wolstenholme to carry out the wishes of an anonymous donor, who had placed five hundred pounds in the treasury of the Company for the maintenance of a certain number of Indians seven years of age or younger, and instructing them "in the reading and understanding the principles of Christianity unto 'the age of twelve years.'"

The Committee to whom the subject was referred did not accede to the proposition, "first, 'because they intended not to go these two or three months; and then after their arrival will 'be long in settling themselves; as also the Indians are not acquainted with them, and they 'may stay four or five years before they have 'any account that good is done.'" A few days after this report, Sir Ferdinand Gorges began vigorous agitation for a distinct Northern Colony; and on the third of March presented a Petition on the subject to the King.

At a meeting of the Virginia Company in London, on the fifteenth of March, 1619-20 O. S., Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer, said:

"That the North Colony intending to re-plant

"themselves in Virginia, had petitioned to the King and to the Lords for the obtaining a new Patent, which the Lords referred unto the Lord Duke and the Lord of Arundel. And the Lord Arundel delivered it to him for to call the Council, understanding of some differences about fishing betwixt them; and that if they could not determine on it, that then to return their opinions to their Lordships, whereupon accordingly having met and as formerly disputed the business, they could not conclude thereof, but dissented the one from the other; that therefore according to his Lordship's command the Court would please to nominate some to give intelligence, how the business betwixt them doth depend; which the Court perceiving not to understand the cause so well as himself most earnestly besought him to take the pains, which he being very loth and unwilling, by reason of the exceeding multitude of the Company's business depending upon him, desired to be excused, but not prevailing, he was so earnestly solicited thereunto, he could not gainsay it, whereupon they associated unto him Sir John Davers,* Mr. Harbert and Mr. Keightley to report thereon tomorrow morning at eight of the clock."

On the eighteenth of March, the Company met at the capacious mansion of Sir Thomas Smith in Philpot-lane, when Sir Edwin Sandys reported that the Committee had appeared before their Lordships, and had there met Sir Ferdinand Gorges and others of the Northern Colony, and that their Lordships, after listening to both sides, "pleased neither to allow, nor to disallow entirely, the one party or the other."

On the eleventh of May, 1620, the Virginia Company resolved that "forasmuch as the North Colony hath petitioned to the King for obtaining a new Patent, and therein to declare the one Colony to have privileges within the other, this Company finding themselves grieved thereby, being a means to debar them from the immunities his Majesty hath freely and graciously granted them for matter of fishing, it is agreed that a Petition likewise be exhibited to his Majesty for this Company."

The Virginia Company was looked upon by James as the nursery of a seditious Parliament, while Gorges and others of the North Colony were Court favorites, and his Majesty granted the request of the latter, and on the third of November, 1620, issued to forty of his subjects, some of them members of his household and his Government, the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility, a Patent, which in American

annals, and even in the history of the world, had but one parallel. The adventurers and their successors were incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England, in America."*

The very next day, there was a large meeting of the Virginia Company, and Sir Edwin Sandys stated:

"That he was informed that Sir Ferdinand Gorges had procured unto himself and others a new Patent (now passed his Majesty's great seal) wherein certain words were conveyed that did not only contradict a former Order of the Lords of the Counsel which the Lords, after a full hearing of the allegations on both sides, and set down in June last, by which this Company had yielded some of their right, to do them good, had thereby promised to fish only for their necessities, and transportation of people . . . but by this new grant the adventurers of the Northern Colony had also utterly excluded those of the Southern from fishing upon that coast, without their leave and license first sought and obtained, which was contrary and manifestly repugnant to that community and freedom which his Majesty, by the first Patent, it is conceived hath been pleased to grant unto the other Colony."

"The Court, therefore, knowing no reason why they should lose their former right, granted unto them by the first Patent, the sea also being to all as free and common as the air, and finding less reason why Sir Ferdinand Gorges should now appropriate and make a monopoly of the fishing, which hath already cost this Company £6000, the only means left (now the lotteries are almost spent and other supply begins to fail) to enable them to transport the people and sustain their Plantation withal; did with a general consent resolve forthwith to petition to his Majesty for a redress herein, and to pray a further declaration of his gracious pleasure and intention concerning that clause of prohibition and restraint inserted in the new Patent, whereby they were defeated of their liberty of fishing. Whereupon they appointed the Committee to draw the said Petition, and to make it in substance agreeable to those three points Sir Edwin Sandys had delivered in open Court. And for that Sir Thomas Roe was the next day to go to the Court, they desired him to present the same to his Majesty."

Roe faithfully attended to the business intrusted to him, as we learn from the Minutes of the Company, under date of the thirteenth of November, 1620.

"Sir Thomas Roe made now a report of his

* Sir John Davers, or Danvers, was the stepfather of Mr. Harbert, or Herbert, afterwards Lord Cherbury, who was the brother of the holy poet, George Herbert.

* Bancroft's, *History United States*, i, 272.

"Highness' gracious answer thereunto, who said "that if anything were passed in New England "Patent that might be prejudicial to the Southern "Colony it was surreptitiously done, and that he "had been abused thereby by those that pretend- "ed otherwise unto him. It pleased his Majesty "to express as much in effect to my Lord of "Southampton, with many other gracious words, "in commendation of this Plantation, and signi- "fied further that his Majesty forthwith gave "commandment to my Lord Chancellor then "present, that if this new Patent were not sealed "for to forbear the seal, and if it were sealed and "not delivered, that they should keep it in hand "till they were better informed. His Lordship "further signified that upon Saturday last they "had been with my Lord Chancellor about it, "when were present the Duke of Lenox, the "Earl of Arundel, Mr. Secretary [*Calvert*] and "some others, who after a full hearing of the "allegation of both sides did order that the "Patent should be delivered to be perused by some "of the Southern Colony who are to make report "of what provisions they find thereunto at the "next meeting."

Two days later the Earl of Southampton had another interview with the Privy Council, and signified that by a late conference with Sir Ferdinand Gorges they were now more in accord, "for that "it was agreed upon both sides for some impor- "tant reasons to renounce either of the Patents "which was promised should be done by mutual "advice of the Counsel. Whereupon their Lord- "ships answered that in the meanwhile the Patent "of Sir Ferdinand Gorges should be sequestered, "and deposited in my Lord Chancellor's hands, "according to his Majesty's express commands."

Morton in his *Memorial* has stated that Captain Jones of the *Mayflower* was hired by Dutchmen interested in the Manhattan plantation, not to land his passengers there, but to carry them north- ward, but it is more probable that the crafty John Pierce, cloth-worker, of London, Sir Ferdi- nand Gorges, and others, were the men who direct- ed Captain Jones to sail toward Plymouth Rock.

The *Mayflower* returned to England in May, 1621, and a formal Patent was obtained by Pierce from the Council of New England, on the first day of June; but before this, he had received some sort of authority from Gorges and company, as the following extract from the Minutes of the Virginia Company, under date of July sixteenth, 1621, seems to indicate:

"It was moved, that seeing Mr. John Pierce "had taken a Patent from Sir Ferdinand Gorges, "and thereupon seated his Company within the "limits of the Northern Plantation, as by some "was supposed, whereby he seemed to relinquish "the benefit of the Patent he took of this Company, "that therefore this said Patent might be called

"in, unless it might appear he would begin to "plant within the limits of the Southern Colony; "whereupon the Court appointed Mr. Roberts, "Mr. George Smith and Mr. Webb to treat with "Mr. Pierce about it, and certify at the next "Court what answer they should receive from "him."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

E. D. N.

IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

126.—WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT TO MISS HARRIET PREBLE.*

BOSTON, Feb. 28th 1845.

MY DEAR MISS PREBLE,

It was very kind of you to think of me, and still more to write to me after so long an interval. Your letter seemed to brush away the mist of many years, and to call up again the remembrance of happy days;—the beautiful Draveil with its delicious shades and sunny lawns,—the group of pleasant faces gathered round that most kind and amiable of men, whose polished manners and elegant conversation made an impression on me never to be effaced. How many were the hours we passed together in the gay capital, with other friends too, who are not all with the living now. Joy & sorrow chase each other very close in this life, and one cannot recall the one without being reminded of the other. Those were sunny days, and indeed at twenty-one there are not many clouds. What a contrast subsequent life has afforded you,—Paris, *la belle France*, and the Alleghanies? Yet perhaps you have found that happiness is not dependant on place or climate. But I fear you have had other troubles to contend with. Your character did not need them. At least, you bore prosperity well,—and that is more trying to the character than adversity. I am very glad that you now find yourself more comfortably situated, with less of the cares and anxieties of life; and I trust the evening of your good mother's days will be tranquil and happy.

My fortune since I parted with you has not been chequered by extraordinary events. I certainly have had a full share of Heaven's blessings. The only great sufferings I have known have been caused by death, and that only in two instances,—not many for so many years. The loss of a child,—my best beloved,—was the first wound, & my father's death—not three month's since—is yet fresh. We had always lived under the same roof, sympathized in the same pursuits & pleasures, so that he was a part of my existence. You would have loved & honored him,—as every one else did,—had you known him. But I can-

* Communicated by Captain G. H. Preble, U. S. N.

not complain. He was spared to me till he was eighty two & then died like one going to rest.

"Alas! for love, if thou wert all,
And nought beyond, oh Earth."

Your sister Anica* gave you some account of my wife. She is a niece of Mr. Nat. Amory, and I do not think your sister did her injustice. At all events we have passed one quarter of a century together & realized our *silver* wedding as they say in Germany, without as yet finding the truth of La Bruyere's maxim that the "happiest couple" find reason to repent at least once in twenty four "hours of their condition." Yet I have not found matrimony a panacea for every ill; and *ennui* among others crept over me, when I found myself a perfectly idle man with nothing to do—and what made it worse, with eyes so debilitated that I had no power of doing anything with them. However, necessity is the mother of invention, and I resolved to turn author in spite of my eyes.

By means of a Reader, & a good pair of ears, I succeeded in getting the better of my difficulties, till my eyes have gradually strengthened for all reasonable purposes by daylight.

It is a great satisfaction to me to think that the volumes I have put together for my own amusement, should have afforded some to my countrymen; and above all to my friends. And when I find I have been talking to a friend of early days, like yourself, far away, and that that friend has found a pleasure in my gossip, it gives me double satisfaction. You did not see much of the fun & frolic of the young scapegrace, I imagine, in the sober talk of the historic muse,—at least in the text, but it is possible you may have detected some glimpse of it now & then in a silly note.—Both my works have been reprinted in Paris, & the last, I see by the prints, is in process of translation there. I should like to speak the beautiful Parisian like a native. Do you remember how fluently I used to *parler vous*, and how gracefully I waltzed on the polished floors of the Draveil,—beautiful Draveil? Your friendship for your fair friend Louise has survived much beyond the natural term of lady-love. But I shall believe hereafter French sentiment to be a very substantial thing. I am glad for your sake that it proves so. It is a tie the more to the land of your childhood.

Mrs. Nat Amory† wrote you, I believe, last week, as I sent her your letter, knowing it would give her pleasure. She has the same excellent, kind heart that she had when you knew her, though severely tried by affliction,—loss of property, & dearest friend. She has however a

comfortable provision—enough to support her with ease, tho' not affluence. Her health has been much better of late years,—though not quite so well this winter. But I find I am running on beyond reasonable limits, & shall make you repent of having begun the conversation, I fear. Pray when you see your lovely sister Anica,* give my cordial love to her. She is a most pleasant recollection to me, which has been refreshed by some very agreeable days in her society at Watertown, many years ago. I am glad to learn your good mother enjoys her health. Pray remember me kindly to her—

My wife unites with me in remembrances to Mrs. Barlow with which—

Believe me, my dear Miss Preble,
Most Truly & Affectionately your friend,
WM. H. PRESCOTT.

127.—IRA ALLEN TO SAMUEL WILLIAMS, LL.D.†

June 6th, 1795.

SIR,

Genl Ethan Allen was Born in Litchfield in the State of Connecticut his Father Joseph Allen was Born in Coventry his Mother Mary Baker Born in Woodbury when my Brother was about three years of age My Father Moved to Cornwell in Connecticut my Brother had just began to Prepare for College when my Father Died in the Eighteenth year of Ethan's age the circumstances of the Family were such that he proceed no farther in his studies my Father was of the church of England Ethan began early in life to dispute and argue on religious matters after an acquaintance with Doct Thos Young a Deist my brother embraced the same sentiments

he was fond of hunting game in his youth run after Deer tired them down or turned them by often firing on them so as to kill them by night I remember to have heard him tell that one day in Poultney he came a cross a company of Deer & killed one which he dressed hung up the Skin & Meat then to preserve that from the Ravens hung his hat on it & went on he soon killed another Deer with that he left a short hunting Jaccot & went on killed an other Deer with that left his Frock & went on & killed an other with that left his Breeches then pursued the Deer & killed an other took the skin about him & went to his camp

An other time late in the fall after being much fatigued & raining in the after part of the day so

* Mrs. Thos. Barlow.

† Mrs. Nat. Amory, cousin of Miss Harriet Preble, and daughter of Eben Preble, of Boston, died at Newport, Rhode Island, 1866.

* Mrs. Barlow, now [1868] living at Washington, Penn.

† Communicated by Rev. Pliny H. White, of Coventry, Vermont.

that he had not a dry thread about him got bewildered & lay out all night the weather cleared off Extremely cold it was out of his power to make any fire his clothes began to Freeze on him he knew not what course to take an extensive wilderness on one side in this situation he thought it most prudent to mark out a path in a circle in which he could keep himself awake by going round not daring to sit down lest he should fall a sleep & perish this I have often heard him say was among the greatest hazards of his life and required the greatest exertion both of body and mind to preserve life till day being much fatigued by travelling all day without victuals benumbed with the cold became sleepy (*Hiatus*)

. of Every exertion he repeatedly fell in the snow this would so far bring him to his senses that he would spring on his feet in a few minutes fall again when day light came he came more to himself & after Travailing a short time came fully to his senses his clothes were froze except shirt to his Skin before noon he Reached a house where he got some refreshment

.....
Your Humb servant

I ALLEN

By his first Wife he had five Children a son & four Daughters his son died while he was in Captivity he was Enocculated for the Small Pox

128.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL MUSGRAVE, R. A., TO
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HULL OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.*

MORRIS'S HOUSE August 9 1783

SIR On my return this Morning from a Party of Pleasure up the North River, I rec^d the favor of your Letter of the 6th enclosing the representation made to you by Capt Hopkins of an Incivility offered to so respectable a Character as a Member of Congress.— I will immediately make the necessary Enquiry, & if the Reg^t who furnished the Duty at the Redoubt on the 31st of July, had not been relieved from this Post, would have directly informed you of the Particulars.— It gives me concern that there should have been the least appearance of Rudeness shewn to Mr Gerry & would mortify me extremely if the good harmony which has subsisted between us, was in

* From the original belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Mass.

General Musgrave was a highly esteemed officer in the Royal forces and was wounded in the early part of the War. He was the hero of a work, written by Miss Post of New York, and published some years since under the auspices of Washington Irving, in which valuable historical material was discredited and sacrificed, by surrounding it with fiction for the purpose of making it more saleable. Ed. Hist. Mag.

the least Interrupted or that any stricter Orders should be given on your part in Consequence of it.— Rude Language is unpardonable at all times, & though I cannot apologize for the Officer of the Guard if he has deviated from the Rules of good Breeding in this particular—yet you must be sensible, that the attempt of Mr Gerry to pass the Centinels, without complying with the Form which he was told would be necessary, is not pleasing or customary at an Out Post: and I think I may venture to assure you, that the reason the Officer of the Guard had for declining at first to pass Mr Gerry, did not proceed from a wish of putting him to unnecessary trouble—but hearing that he was a Person of such Rank, was doubtful whether he had a Right to admit him without a Passport.

I think myself much Indebted to you for your obliging assistance upon our late Party— We were very kindly received by General Knox, and I have the Pleasure to acquaint you all your friends at West Point are well.

I am Sir with Respect

Your most Obed Serv^t

THO^s MUSGRAVE

L^t Col HULL

Brig^r General

129.—ROBERT MORRIS TO BARON STEUBEN.*

PHILADA JAN^y 29th 1785.

SIR.

Before Colo^l Humphreys departed for Europe I took with him the arrangements for procuring The Swords & medals which had been ordered by Congress for various deserving officers who by their conduct had drawn the particular attention of their Sovereign, and as I gave a Credit on the Public Banker to defray the cost, it may be expected that the Colo^l will not delay the execution of a business which must prove agreeable to many of his Friends and acquaintance. I wish you may soon have the pleasure of receiving a Sword to your liking, & remain very sincerely D Sir

Your obedient hble serv^t

ROB^t MORRIS.

The Honble

Major Gen^l Baron STEUBEN

at or near

New York.

130.—GENERAL JOHN MORIN SCOTT TO GOVERNOR

GEORGE CLINTON.†

(OFFICIAL)

PHILADELPHIA June 19th 1782

SIR

When I accepted of my last appointment as a

* From the original belonging to C. I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the original belonging to Charles S. McKnight, Esq., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

-delegate, the Legislature was sufficiently apprised of its being on condition, that I should not spend the summer here, having by experience found that my constitution will not bear the intemperate heat of this climate. I think it therefore my duty to inform your Excellency that notwithstanding Mr Duane's arrival, which I expect every hour, the State will after a fortnight from this day be unrepresented, I having fixed that period for my departure from this city, on my return to our State. Tho I still enjoy my health by paying the greatest attention to it; yet I am convinced it will not continue here during the season. I have a wife who is now infirm, and children and grandchildren who depend much upon me. It is my first duty, however I may absent myself from her, when she is in health, to be present with her in the hour of her indisposition. A duty which as far as the will of Heaven will permit I am determined to perform most religiously. Besides, my private concerns, which suffer much by my absence, require my immediate attention. And tho on this score I by no means regret the sacrifices I have made of them for about 7 years past on the public altar; yet a continuance of those sacrifices when unnecessary, would be criminal. Out of 28 months, I have served 14; and of this year more than my proportion. We have two other delegates who should I continue will not serve one moment of the year—one has a small family, the other none to provide for. They can therefore be spared from home with less of private injury than I can; and I am resolutely determined against doing their duty; especially as I have already done more than my own. They will be obliged to submit only to three months absence. At the time I have fixed for my return I shall have been absent five months. Judge then, Sir, if I can deservedly incur censure should I return home without being relieved, or rather whether, if the State should by that means be unrepresented, they would not justly incur it.

With respect to Mr Benson in particular, I cannot but express my astonishment. Mr Duane informs me by letter, that this gentleman has absolutely declined attending; and that by this means he is compelled to it himself. Surely Mr Benson has not forgot his positive engagement to both Houses to accept of the honor of their appointment, if they would dispense with his non attendance till some time in May. Lest he should, Sir, be pleased to put him in mind of it; and also above a month more has elapsed. I believe the Legislature will remember his engagement.

I am informed that you have issued your proclamation for convening them on the third (3d) of next month. On this occasion reasons of a public conspire with those of a private nature, to call me home. I have many things of public con-

cernment to communicate & some to propose, which I can neither do fully nor safely by letter. I am therefore clearly of opinion, that I have a call of public duty to the Legislature; and I am determined if not providentially prevented to obey it.— I have nothing further to communicate to your Excellency to delay subscribing myself

Your Excellency's
most obedient humble servant
JNO MORIN SCOTT

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON.

131.—GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINDWIDDLE OF VIRGINIA.*

HONORABLE SIR—

The Half King, with about 25 Familys contg. near 80 Persons including women and children arriv'd here last night. He has given me some acct. of the Twigtnees, Wyandotts and several other Nations of Indians which I have transmitted to your Honour by an Express as you enquir'd circumstantially in your last and I was then unable to give any acct. at all of them.

The French early in the spring sent a speech to the Wyandotts, Twigtnees, and their Allies and desired them to take up the Hatchet and start to Ohio and their cut of the Inhabitants with all the English thereon. this the big Kettle acquainted the Half King with and at the same time assured him with their good intentions of assisting the 6 Nations and their Brother's the English agt. the French and that they only waited to see us begin I have enclosed the speech of the Cheefs to which was added another from the Warriors informing that they were busy in counselling with the Chippeways, Ottoways &c. and striving to bring all into the same mind with themselves, they desire the 6 Nations, Virginian's and Pennsylvanians not to doubt but that they shall accomplish their designs in this and when they do will send word thereof.

Monacatoocha was sent by the Half King abt. 5 nights ago to the dogs Town with 4 French scalps two of which was to be sent to the Wyandotts &c. and the other two to the 6 Nations telling them that the French had tricked them out of their lands for which with their Brother's the English who joyn'd hand in hand they had let them feel the wait of their Hatchet which was but trifling yet as it only lay'd on 30 for that they intd. with their brothers to drive the French beyond the Lakes. Monacatoocha has order's to draw all the Indians from Ohio and then repair to our Camp.

* From the original, formerly belonging to Henry E. Riell, Esq., of New York, communicated by C. L. Bushnell, Esq.

I proposed to the Half King sending their women and children into the Inhabitants, for as they must be supported by us it may be done at less expense there than here beside this, there may another good attend it, their children may imbibe the principles of love and friendship in a stronger degree which if taken when young is generally more firm and lasting—He told me he would consider of it and give answer when Monacatoocha arrived. I hope this will be agreeable to your Honour who I wrote to before on this head, without receiv'g an answer—we find it very difficult procuring provisions for them as they equally with our own men which is unavoidable without turning them a drift entirely.

—Montour, would be of singular use to me here at this present, in conversing with the Indians for I have no Person's that I can put any dependence in: I make use of all the influence I can to engage them warmly on our side, and flatter myself that I am not unsuccessful, but for want of a better acquaintance with their customs I am often at a loss how to behave and should be relieved from many anxious fears of offendg. them if Montour was here to assist me and as he is in the governm'ts employt. I hope your Honr. will think with me his services cannot be apply'd to so gt. advantage as here upon this occasion.

There was 3 French Deserters met a few days (one an Englishman) at Loyal henning going to Virga. by one Crawford a Man of veracity who was assured by them that there was two Mayir Traders confined in Iron's at the Fort when Sieur, De Jumonville was Detach'd and at the same time that he departed for this another Party of 50 was sent down Ohio to kill or take Prisoner's all the English they'd meet with, They also assure us that Jumonvilles pas all chosen Men fixed upon for this Enterprise they likewise confirm the report the Prisoner's gave that 1100 men were now in the Fort and Reinforce'ts expected.

If the whole Detach't. of the French behave with no more Resolution than this chosen Party did I flatter myself we shall have no gt. trouble in driving them to the d—Montreal tho I took 40 men under my Com'd. when I marched out yet the darkness of the night was so great that by wandering a Little from the main body 7 were lost—and but 33 ingag'd there was als but 7 indians with arms two of which were Boys one Dinwiddie Yr. Honrs. God Son, who behav'd well in action there were 5, or 6 other Indians, who served to knock the poor unhappy wounded in the head and bereiv'd them of their scalps—So that we had but 40 Men with which we tried and took 32 or 3 men besides others who may have escaped—one we have certain acct. did.

We have just finish'd a small palisaded Fort in which with my small number's I shall not fear he attack of 500 men.

There is three separate strings of Wampum which the Half King has desird me to send one is from the Wyandott Chiefs, to confirm what they said another from the Warriors, to confirm theirs and the other (white) is from Monachatoocha and since writing the above there has arrived two Indians from Moskingam who inform that the Wyandotts &c. are ready to strike so soon as they hear the 6 Nation's and English have.

I am Yr. Honrs. most Obt. & most
Hubl. Ser.

G. WASHINGTON.*

From our Camp, &c.

June ye 3d, 1754.

132.—GENERAL SCHUYLER to HON. JOHN MORIN
SCOTT.†

POUGHKEEPSIE, July 25th, 1782.

DEAR SIR :

I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your favors of the 3d & 9 Instant In hopes that I should have had the pleasure of advising you the legislature had granted the request contained in your memorial—when I presented it great opposition was made, and many insisted to let it lay upon the table. It was however committed and I got myself named as one—the assembly also committed It and both committees were ordered to confer—Convinced from the sentiments which were delivered that If a report was made for a hearing of the parties that the senate would reject It, I proposed the one which is Inclosed, but could not carry It, tho' I made use of every argument which the Justice of your cause suggested—finding this would not do I have attempted to procure a report for a hearing and altho' a majority of the Committee are for It, I cannot yet know who are for It to meet and will not risk the question in their absence. The Legislature will rise to day, and If any thing is decided on in the business in question shall drop you a line. I believe If the whole business was fully developed, much Iniquity would be justly chargeable to your opponent. I am told the very money which he paid for the certificates belonged to the State.

My son in law Hamilton is appointed a delegate in the stead of Mr. Benson, the other part of the delegation remains as it was—Mr. Duane is made Senator in the room of Sir James Jay whose seat has been pronounced vacant.

* The original letter (of which above is a copy) remained in a house in Westchester county for fifty years undiscovered; then it came into the possession of the late Mr. Henry E. Riell, of the Star Hotel, Lispenard street, New York City. Since the death of Mr. Riell, we do not know what has become of it. It may yet be in possession of Mr. Riell's family. C. J. B.

† From the original, belonging to Lewis A. Scott, Esq., of Philadelphia.

We have given £18,000 by tax to be disposed of by Mr. Morris—the Governor is to borrow the further sum of £10,000 and we have directed Forrage to the amount of £6000 to be purchased in consequence of a request pressingly made by the commander in chief—this the Quarter Master General is to pay for in specie or Mr. Morris's notes, unless that gentleman will consent to carry it to the credit of this State.

Both houses have unanimously entered into a set of resolutions pointing at the necessity of establishing permanent funds for Congress and giving that body additional powers by amending the Confederation—you will soon see them in Congress.

Adieu my Dear Sir I am with great regard & affection

Your obed. Servant

(Signed) P. SCHUYLER

Hon. Jno. M. Scott, Esqr

(No external address.)

133.—REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS TO REV. MR. PRINCE.*

STOCKBRIDGE, April 14, 1755.

REV. & HONOURD SIR,

I have no Heart to propose to the Commissioner any such Thing as their maintaining Mr. Hallo's School, while we wait to hear from Him. I have observed an aversion in 'em to meddle in his affairs; and then I cannot say so much concerning the advantage that the School is like to be of, in this time of war & confusion, as I think will be likely to induce 'em to run the venture of being at such a charge: But unless I hear very speedily from Mr. Hallo, shall throw up his School.

I would impress you very speedily to deliver this letter to Mr. Speaker Hubbard.

We have some Thoughts of sending my daughter Lucy to Boston to live at your House this summer, according to a former Invitation from you, & repeated pressing Invitation from Miss Sally. (Lucy is now) at Northampton.

My wife joins with me in respectful Salutation to you Mrs. Prince & Miss Sally.

Hoping a remembrance in your prayers,

I am Sir,

your obliged humble servant

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

THE REV. MR. PRINCE.

134.—CITIZEN GENET TO JOHN RANDAL, JR.†
PROSPECT HILL January 1st 1820.

DEAR SIR

I return you my thanks for the information which

you have taken the trouble to communicate to me on the conduct of the Irish Borers, employed by me to ascertain the nature of the soil through which the contemplated Lateral canal of the River Hudson was to be laid.

I have investigated, Dear Sir, every charge preferred against them, and I am satisfied, that the supposed delinquents, are Justifiable on several counts, and that the Arythmetical proportion, that you have comparatively established, between your borers and them, is not applicable to the present case.

1st Because I have engaged them on monday 27 and not on wednesday 29 to explore with me the soil and the course of the canal, previous to the survey and levellment, which the lateness of the season, and the immensity of the work that you had undertaken on the river, might have rendered impracticable this year.

2^d Because the borings made in that first preparatory exploration, were at distant sections and subject to various deviations and alterations and transportation of tools, which have retarded considerably the operation of boring.

3^d Because they have applied the Auger alone and not the drill in the stratas of sand, and did not reject that tedious process, until they were authorized to drill through, without return, by yourself, and by the example of your other hands.

4th Because at the second exploration, under your own Eyes, they have had to bore in the water, through several swamps, where they assure me that your hands refused to work.

5th Because in those bad places they could not bore more than 2 or 3 holes in a day whilst on the best ground they have admitted to you and continue to admit, that they could, and have, bore 4.

Alexander Mc curdy, Dear Sir, further admits that he told you that he had worked 70 days and his brother John 69, but that it was previous to the 4 last days boring at Castleton and the days that they waited for you or attended to the collection of tools and regulation of the tests, making in the whole for Alex^r Mc curdy

54 days from September 27 to November 27 at \$1 50

15 days boring and one attending you at do

3 days waiting for land to be laid out

at 2 S^{pr} day—

4 days boring at Castleton up to the 25

December at

1 50

2 days since collecting tools and regulating tests,

Making 77 days work (or uncontrollable suspense), in a period of 78 days between September 27 and December 25 inclusively, and two days extra to attend you for which I have allowed them 12 shillings. I have not been with them con-

* From Collection of American Antiquarian Society.

† From the original, in the possession of the Editor.

stantly, but I am well acquainted with their punctuality and faithfulness, and as they are in general sober religious and industrious men, unless, Dear Sir, you have been yourself an Eye witness of their unsteadiness, I should rather suspect, that the complaints against them, have been preferred to you by disappointed persons, who could not share their profits, or by fellow labourers, Jealous of the 2 shillings additional pay, which on the day they were engaged you, yourself, thought was a just compensation for their heavy and trusty task.

I have rendered, Dear Sir, my account to Mr Dewitt, and as far as it concerns the time during which Securdy and his company have been under my direction, I have reason to believe it correct; But if, since you have joined them and begun the survey and levelling of the ground at close sections, you have found them deficient, as there is yet some money due to them, it may be deducted on your certificate from their final settlement; They have however certified the truth of the account rendered by me on their report and on my notes, and are ready, as your other borers, whenever you require it to be qualified to prove by affidavit, that the account and tests returned by them, of the soil, are true and homogeneous.

I remain, Dear Sir, respectfully

Yours

E. C. GENET.

Mrs Genet and all her family Join cordially in friendship and compliments to you, and would be very happy, if the lateral canal could soon be an easy and agreeable canal of communication and neighbourly intercourse between our two families.

You will oblige me to shew this letter to Mr Dewitt if he has shewn you my account and received your remarks thereon.

X.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

By GEORGE H. MOORE, Esq.

17.—EXTRACTS FROM LUTTRELL'S BRIEF HISTORICAL RELATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM SEPTEMBER 1678 TO APRIL, 1714.

[The following extracts, relating chiefly to matters of American history, although they do not exhaust the references to American affairs which occur in the original work, may be found useful to some readers, to whom the volumes from which they are copied are not readily accessible. The Diary of NARCISSUS LUTTRELL is preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford, a MS. in seventeen volumes, octavo, from which it was printed at the University Press, in 1867, in six volumes, octavo.]

VOLUME I.

1679. DECEMBER. p. 29. Letters from New England inform us of the great fire that has lately happened at Boston in New England,

several ships and barks that lay near the dock, the tide being then out: tis thought to have been done on purpose.

1679. DEC. 31st p. 31. We have information from Scotland that several of the rebels taken at Bothwell bridge were shipt aboard in order to their transportation to the plantations.

1679–80. FEBRUARY. p. 36. His majestie hath appointed Sir Palmes Fairborne, lieutenant governour of Tangier in the room of colonell Duncan.

1680. JULY. p. 52. The earl of Inchiquin, late governour of Tangier, is arrived here: he is accused of some misdemeanours in his management of affairs there.

1680. Nov. 26. p. 59. Collonell Talmash arrived here from Tangier, brings news of the death of Sir Palmes Fairborne, late governour, who was wounded on the 24th of last month with a muskett shott, and died within three daies after; and that collonell Sackville, who hath since the cheif command, marched out the 27th of last month 2000 men, and engaged the Moors (though near 20,000 strong) and beat them out of their trenches and from their severall lines, and gave them a totall defeat, filling up their trenches, levelling their lines, taking two peices of cannon, 5 colours, and severall prisoners; with the losse of severall officers and souldiers on our side.

He also brings news of the earl of Plymouth's death, who died there on the 17th of the last month of a bloody flux; and that his body is bringing for England.

1681. JUNE 9. p. 95. Wm. Penn, the great quaker, is making preparation for his voyage to a part of America, called Pensylvania, which his majestie hath been pleased to give him a grant off.

1681. AUGUST. p. 116. Collonell Sackville is made governour of Tangier in the room of sir Palmes Fairborne, who was killed there.

1681. SEPT. 6. p. 123. Collonell Sackville hath a commission now passing for his being governour of Tangier.

1681. SEP. p. 125. There was a hearing before a committee of the councill, the 7th, on behalf of the Bermuda's company, where their articles were read against sir John Heydon, the late governour; but he not appearing then, it was putt off, and he hath orders to attend.

1681. Nov. 3. p. 141. His majestie hath been pleased to conferr the government of Tangier on collonell Sackville, who is making preparations for his departure thither.

1681–2. JAN. 24. p. 160. His majestie hath been pleased to conferr the government of Tangier on collonell Kirk.

1681–2. FEB. 1. p. 163. The lord Culpepper is preparing to goe to his government in Virginia.

1682. JUNE. p. 191. Severall ships have

lately sett sail for the plantation of Pennsylvania, laden with quakers, who are going to settle there, his majestie haveing given the government thereof to William Penn, the great quaker.

1682. JULY. *p.* 204. The lord Culpepper is preparing for his speedy departure to Virginia, of which he is to be governour.

1682. AUG. 30. *p.* 215. Severall agents are lately come from New-England, and have been before the committee of council touching matters relating to that country.

1682. AUG. 24. *p.* 215. The lord Culpepper is gone to his government of Virginia.

1682. SEPT. 6. *p.* 218. Mr. William Penn, quaker, is sailed for Pennsylvania, whither he is gone governour.

1682. DEC. *p.* 244. Letters from Tangier inform that the emperor of Morocco hath lately seized about 30 of our small merchant men of Tunis, contrary to the peace concluded between the two nations; as 'tis thought not purposing to keep the peace; and therefore he hath committed the Morocco ambassador (that was lately here) to prison, and some say he is put to a cruel death, pretending he concluded a peace contrary to orders; but the true reason (as is said) because the ambassador spoke too much in favor of the English nation: since which, some say the emperor is coming against our garrison of Tangier with a great army.

1683. AUG. 14th. *p.* 274. The 14th was published, in print, an order of the privy Council, commanding one Mr. Edward Randolph to repair to New England, to signifye there to the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay the quo warranto brought by his majestie against the charter of that colony; as also a declaration by his majestie was published relating to the proceeding in the quo warranto against that corporation.

1683. SEP. 3. *p.* 277. His majestie hath published a proclamation for enforcing the due execution of the act of Parliament entituled, An Act for settling the profits of the post office on his royall highnesse the duke of York and his heirs males, and for the prevention of treasonable correspondencies, and other inconveniencies arising by the infringement of the said Act.

1683. SEPT. 9th. *p.* 279. The 9th, being the day appointed by his majesties declaration as a thanksgiving for his deliverance from the late conspiracy, was observed accordingly: in some places the chief of their sermons were violent against the dissenters, commenting on several proceedings of those called the Whig party, and running down the late houses of commons, as being the authors or abettors of this plott; but some, on the other hand, inveighed both against this plott and the late popish plott, taking notice that there was no thanksgiving-day for our de-

haveing consumed above two hundred houses and liverance from that, tho' there was for this; and at one or two churches here in town was given up a note to the reader to this effect, following:

You hypocrites, forbear your pranks,
To murder men, and then give thanks;
Forbear your ticks, pursue no further
For God accepts no thanks for murder.

1683-4. MARCH. [5th] *p.* 303. Addresses have been presented to his majestie in abhorrence of the late conspiracy, from the governour and councill of New Plymouth, and from the governor and general assembly of the collony of Connecticut in New England.

1684. NOV. *p.* 318. Addresses have been presented to his majestie from the lieutenant and governour of Virginia, and council of the same, and from the burgesses of the general assembly of the dominion of Virginia, in abhorrence of the late fanatick conspiracy.

1685. JUNE. *p.* 345. Letters from Boston in New England write that his majestie had been proclaimed there with great solemnity.

1685. JULY. *p.* 354. Letters from Jamaica and New England inform, that his majestie had been proclaimed in severall places of those plantations, and they have addressed to his majestie, congratulating his succession to the crown.

1686. JUNE. *p.* 382. The Lord Howard of Effingham's lady died in her passage to Virginia.

1686. JULY. *p.* 383. His majestie having obtained judgment sometime since in a scire facias against their charter in New England, hath settled things therein according to his majesties commission.

1687. DEC. *p.* 422. Other addresses have been presented to his majestie, to thank him for his declaration: from the company of Bakers, London; from the loyal inhabitants of Hertford town; from sundry ministers in New England.

1687-8. JAN. *p.* 428. A proclamation by his majestie hath been published for the more effectual reducing and suppressing of pyrates and privateers in America.

1688. JUNE. *p.* 443. Addresses have been presented to his majestie, to thank him for his declaration: from the quakers at their yearly meeting; from several congregations in New England; from the colony of New Plymouth in New England; from the corporation of Maldon in Essex; from the burrough of Lempster; from the governour and council of Virginia; and from the corporation of Exeter.

1688. AUG. *p.* 453. Mr Penn, the quaker ('tis said) is to be superintendent of the revenues of excise and hearthmoney.

1688-9. JANUARY. *p.* 493. The lords Salisbury and Peterborough, sir Edward Hales and his brother, sir Thomas Jenner, Burton, Graham, and Obadiah Walker, are committed prisoners to

the Tower, and several are committed to Newgate for preists and Jesuites.

1689. APRIL. *p.* 524. Letters from the Downs say that our Virginea fleet, of about 43 sayl, are arrived there.

1689. MAY. *p.* 537. The French privateers are very numerous, and grown very bold, coming even to the rivers mouth, and have lately taken 2 or 3 colliers and a Virginia ship.

1689. JUNE. *p.* 553. Mr Penn, the famous quaker, and one Scarlet, another buisy fellow, prettendly a quaker, have been lately taken into custody for some practices against the government.

1689. JULY. *p.* 557. The deputies from New England are arrived here, to acquaint his majestie with the state of that place, of their seizing the governour, sir Edmund Androsse, requesting his majesties protection.

1689. AUG. *p.* 568. Two addresses have been presented to his majestie by sir Henry Ashurst, from the governour, council, and convention of the Massachusetts colony at Boston in New England.

1689. SEP. *p.* 584. Our merchants have advice of the arrival of several of their ships from New England and Virginia.

1689. OCT. *p.* 593. At the sessions house in the Old Bailey, held the 9th and 10th past, ten were burnt in the hand, ten received sentence of death, and four to be whipt. The bill against Mr alderman Cornish for high treason was cancelled in open court, and the indictment taken of the file, pursuant to the late act of parliament to take of his attainder. The names of those papists the grand jury found bills against for being in armes with king James were, the duke of Barwick, lord Melfort, lord Hunsdon, sir Alexander Fitton, sir William Jennings, Fran. Plowden, esq., sir Patrick Trant, John Trinder, esq., Thomas Collins gent., W. Mansell Barker, earl of Tyrconnel, Lewis Doe, marques of Powys, Thomas lord Howard, sir Henry Bond, lord Dover, Bruno Talbot, sir Robert Parker, Francis Dorington, esq., Richard Hamilton, esq., Pierce Butler, viscount Galmoy, lord viscount Gorsmanstown, lord viscount Kingland, sir Edward Herbert, sir Valentine Brown, Thomas Nugent, esq., earl of Antrim, lord Dungan, earl of Limerick, judge Rice, sir Maurice Rice, sir William Tulbot, lord Duleeke, John Arthur, esq., sir Neal O'Neal, sir Henry Lynch, sir Richard Nagle, sir Jervas Bearne, Thomas Trant, esq., D— Bagnal, Bas Polwhill, esq., Nich. Browne, esq., sir John Sparrow, Robert Feilding, esq., Thomas Crosby, Walter Dungan, MacGully Cully, Thomas FitzGerald, esqs., earl of Clancarty, sir Thomas Hacket, lord mayor of Dublin, James Malloon, sir M. Creagh, and Christopher James.

1689. OCT. *p.* 594. Our merchants have ad-

vice of the arrival of several of their ships homeward bound; of the Rochester from the East Indies, some from Virginia, and others from Jamaica and Barbadoes.

1689. OCT. 23rd *p.* 594-5. The same day, (23rd) being the first day of the term, several persons appeared at the court of kings bench, according to their recognizances for that purpose; and habeas corpus's were mov'd for several of the persons that are now in custody in the Tower and other prisons, and messengers custody; as, for sir Edward Hales, and his brother, Obadiah Walker, earl of Peterborough, Mr Graham, Mr Burton, sir John Fenwick, lord Preston, lord Forbes, serjeant Jenner, and others; and the next day for diverse others, as William Penn the quaker, lord Castlemain, lord Montgomery, and parson Hook, Monmouth's chaplain.

1689. OCT. *p.* 597. A vessel from New England that the French assisted with the Indians had fallen upon the English there, and done much mischief; and that the French at St Christophers have seized on the whole island, and driven the English thence.

1689. DEC. *p.* 620. Letters from Plymouth say that the Turkey Merchant, a ship lately arrived there from Virginia, was driven from her anchor ashore, where she staved in her buldge; but 'tis hop'd her lading may be saved. Those letters also say that the Lord Berkley, with about 16 English and Dutch men of war, was arrived in that port, having left the rest of the fleet off Scilly.

VOLUME II.

1689-90. JAN. *p.* 2. Wrote from Plymouth that a man and a boy had brought in there a Virginia ship with 700 hogsheds of tobacco, which was taken by a French privateer, who putt 4 French men on board to carry her into one of their own harbours; but the French being greedy of plunder, they went down into the hold to search; of which the man and boy took the advantage, and nail'd down the hatches and brought the ship in.

1690. APRIL 17th *p.* 32. The 17th was a hearing before a committee of the council on articles exhibited by several of the inhabitants of New England against sir Edmund Androsse, their late governour; to which making a full and a satisfactory defence, he was discharged.

1690. AUG. *p.* 96. The lord Howard of Effingham has a new commission from their majesties to be governour of Virginia.

1690. AUG. *p.* 97. By a ship arrived lately from the West Indies, we have an account of a new wreck discovered there, where 15,000£. had already been taken up. We have also an account of the good posture of our affairs in those parts; that a party of our forces under the

command of sir Wm. Phipps, had taken Fort Royal in Nova Scotia, commanded by the French, and had brought away 70 of them prisoners: they say also, that the Great Magazine the French had at Mountroyal there was by some accident blown up; that the planters in those parts came in afterwards and took the oath of allegiance to their majesties. They bring also, that the English are preparing for another expedition to Canada, with 4 or 5000 men.

1690. DEC. *p.* 140. Several articles have been exhibited to the council against the lord Baltimore, governour of Maryland, and upon examination they have been found to be vain and frivolous.

1690. DEC. *p.* 150. We hear from the West Indies, that the English forces to the number of 3000 men, under the command of sir William Phipps, had attacked the town of Quebeck belonging to the French in Canada, and had made themselves masters of it.

1690-1. FEB. *p.* 187. By letters from Bristoll we hear that sir Wm. Phipps, general of the New England forces, was arrived there in a vessel from the West Indies; who gives a quite different account then what we formerly had in relation to our attack upon Canada; and sayes that we have not taken the town, but that our forces were beat off from it with some considerable losse, and were forc'd to return on board our ships again.

1691. MAY. *p.* 237. A vessel from New England brings, that the government there offer, in case their majesties will confirm their charter as it was before king James time, that they will reduce Canada to their majesties at their own charges, and build a man of war or two for their majesties service.

1691. JUNE. 18. *p.* 249. There have been several hearings before the council, between the lord Baltimore and colonel Copley, about the government of Maryland: it is at last decided in favour of the colonel, who is preparing to goe thither.

1691. OCT. *p.* 299. Colonel Slaughter, governour of New York, is lately dead.

1691. OCT. *p.* 301. His majestie hath been pleased to grant unto the plantation of New England a new charter, reserving to himself therein the power of nominating the governour, deputy governour, and secretary; and hath appointed sir William Phipps at present for governour.

1691. NOV. *p.* 309. His majestie hath constituted Henry Baker, esq., governour of New York, and a commission is preparing accordingly.

1691. DEC. *p.* 313. Our merchants have letters that the French privateers had taken some merchant ships from Jamaica and New England, and carried them into St. Maloes.

1691. DEC. *p.* 318. His Majestie has ordered
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200£ to be distributed amongst 18 of the Scotch clergy, who would not take the oaths: who are to be transported to Virginia to have livings there.

1691. DEC. *p.* 324. Sir Wm. Phipps hath received letters from New England that the French from Canada, about 800 strong, went with a designe to surprise that colony, but the inhabitants having timely notice by an Indian, marched out in a body to meet them, and killed 400 on the place, with the losse only of 70 English. The letters also say, our western plantations are in a thriving condition, but fear new supplies from France will much prejudice them.

1691-2. JAN. *p.* 342. Sir Wm. Phipps has now his commission and instructions to return for New England, as captain generall and governour of all that people: and is to have a man of war and other vessels to attend him, and to return with masts and other naval stores.

1691-2. FEB. 2. *p.* 348. The king has constituted collonell Fletcher, a native of New Yorke, governour and captain general of that colony.

1691-2. FEB. 9. *p.* 354. Sir Edmund Androsse, late governour of New England is nominated governour of Virginia.

1691-2. FEB. *p.* 356. Collonell Copley, governour of Maryland is (*sic*) with a writt of ne exeat regnum.

1692. APL. 2. *p.* 407. By a ship lately come from New England the [we] hear the natives, by instigation of the French, were become very troublesome, and had in the night made severall incursions, burnt some houses and plantations, and carried away divers of the inhabitants, demanding a great ransom for their release.

1692. MAY. *p.* 465. Captain Meese is to goe admiral of a squadron of 10 men of war to the West Indies, to destroy New France, Canada, and Quebeck, French factories there, [and] dispossesse them of Newfoundland fishery.

1692. JUNE. *p.* 495. Wrote from Plymouth of 21, that the Woolfe frigate, bound for New York, with some ships under her convoy, having on board Collonell Fletcher, the governour thereof, and sir Edmund Androsse, governour of Virginia, was arrived there on his way forward.

1692. JULY. *p.* 501. The 4 merchant ships turnd into men of war and designed for Hudson's Bay, took with them a fire ship, and are to attack the French at Quebeck or any other place in New France.

1692. OCT. *p.* 582. Lieutenant colonell Floyd being ordered to goe collonell of Hales regiment to the West Indies, the officers were displeased thereat: whereon his majestie sent fresh orders he should be collonell of the duke of Boltons regiment in America, and lieutenant Collonell Colt of Hale regiment is made collonell thereof.

1692. OCT. *p.* 584. A commission is passing to constitute collonel Fletcher governour of New York and Pensylvania, with their dependencies, in America.

1692. NOV. *p.* 609. A new packet is settled to goe from Plymouth to Virginia to carry letters and small parcells; very usefull for the merchants during the warr, and may goe and return in 9 or 10 weeks: the 1st voyage began on the 30th of last month.

1692. NOV. *p.* 617. *Thursday, 17th November*—From Edinburgh wrote, a French privateer run a ground there, and could not be got off; soe the country made a prey of it: that the councill mett on the 10th, and examined divers prisoners brought from Dalkeith about drinking king James health, and speaking words against the government. That a ship lay in Leith going for Virginia, on board which the magistrates had ordered 50 lewd women out of the houses of correction, and 30 other who walked the streets after 10 at night.

1692. NOV. *p.* 622. Merchants have advice these 4 ships are lately taken by the French: the Boxwell from Virginia, the Virgins Encrease, the St Jago, and Zant frigate for London.

1692. NOV. *p.* 627. From Jamaica we hear 3 ships are arrived with provisions from New England, and 5 from England and Ireland, and that the French doe not give them any great disturbance.

1692. DEC. *p.* 644. The Barbadoes Merchant, from New England, was forced a shore near Pembroke. laden with oyles, furs, and sugars: but most of the goods saved.

VOLUME III.

1692. FEB. *p.* 29. The West India, bound for Maryland and Virginia, will sail in 6 or 7 days.

1692-3. TUESDAY, 21st MARCH. *p.* 57.—A patent is past the seales to grant to the duke of Leinster the sole benefit of all the wrecks at sea for 20 years to come, from 12 degrees of southern latitude to 40 degrees north, beginning at Lomry in Peru, and thence to cape Cod in New England; and includes many wrecks the patentees know where to find; and they will fish this summer upon them.

1693. APRIL. *p.* 82. Yesterday a cabinet councill was held at the lord Nottinghams office, where the merchants attended, praying the embargo on the Virginia and the West India fleets might be taken off which was ordered accordingly.

1693. TUESDAY, 6th JUNE. *p.* 111. Plymouth letters advise, that on the 1st instant they discovered our fleet with the Turkey and Streights fleet passe by there at a great distance with a good gale of wind; and the same day the 5 men of war in that port, with the fleet of merch-

ant ships for the East Indies, Bilboa, and Virginia, sailed to join the grand fleet.

1693. SATURDAY, 10th JUNE. *p.* 113. Plymouth letters say, a New England ship, with train oyl and logwood, put in there, sayes, he saw south of Scilly, on Saturday morning, a great fleet, which is supposed to be ours, standing towards Bell Isle.

1693. JUNE. *p.* 121. On the notice of 2 warrants preparing at lord Nottinghams office for passing pardons for lord Coningsby and sir Henry Porter, the earle of Bellamont and colonell Hamilton, who married lord Mommouths sister, have this day entred a caveat against passing the same.

1693. SEPTEMBER. *p.* 182. 2 ships are arrived from New York, laden with oyles and furs: and they say a brigantine from Martinico has informed them that our men have destroyed the said island, and blockt up the fort, and hope next summer to be master of that and Canada.

1693. OCT. *p.* 207. The customes of the Jamaica and Virginia fleets, 'tis said, will come to £100,000.

1693. DEC. *p.* 234. This week William Penn the quaker held forth at the Bull and Mouth in this city.

1693. DEC. *p.* 236. A ship from Virginia brings, that coll. Copley, governor of Maryland, is dead.

1693-4. MARCH. *p.* 284. 'Tis said the customes of the West India and Virginia fleet will be worth to his majestie £200,000. and the seamen will compleatly man our fleet.

1694. AUG. *p.* 351. From Madrid wrote, that the marquesse of Florida is sent from Barcellonaa to complement admiral Russel on the part of the king of Spain, and that 20 galleys at Carthagena are ordered to join him.

1694. AUG. *p.* 357. The queen has signed a revocation of part of coll. Fletchers commission relating to Pensylvania, and signed a warrant to restore William Penn to that colony.

1694. NOV. *p.* 395. Plymouth, the 2^d; the Kingsfisher and Coronation are arrived here in 5 weeks from Virginia, and say, they left 40 sail of merchant men behind them for want of lading, by reason of an ill crop.

1694. DEC. *p.* 413. Wrote from Paris, that a coffeeman of that city was sent to the galleys for reporting that the English and Dutch had taken the French Newfoundland fleet; and that the poll tax there by computation amounts to one hundred millions of livres, which is about 7 millions and half of English money, tho the military men are exempted from it.

1694-5. JAN. *p.* 423. The ship Diego of Boston is arrived at Falmouth in 5 weeks from New England, and brought over sir William Phipps, who is cited to appear at court to answer several

articles exhibited against him for irregularities in his government: they say the Indians are very troublesome to the inhabitants.

1694-5. MARCH. *p.* 447. All the laws relating to New England are laid before the king, which when perused a governor and captain general will be nominated; captain Dudley stands fairest to succeed sir William Phipps.

1695. AUG. *p.* 507. The customes of the Virginia fleet now come in, tis said, will amount to above £400,000.

1695. SEP. *p.* 520. Complaint being made to the committee of foreign plantations against collonel Fletcher, governor of New York, tis said the council will annex that government to that of New England, and that the lord Bellamont goes governor of both.

VOLUME IV.

1695-6. FEB. *p.* 21. A vessel from New England brings that our forces have taken Petit Guavas from the French, and that the Spaniards had destroyed 500 French in cold blood.

1695-6. MAR. *p.* 24. Col. Graham, sir John Friend, sir Roger Lestrange, Mr Bernard Howard, sir Henry Sheres, coll. Dungan, capt. Buckley, Coll. Latten, Mr Kelly, lieut. King, &c., are taken up, and warrants are out against many more.

1696. MAY. *p.* 57. The lord Bellamont has obtained a grant of £1000. per ann. out of the estate of the lord Kilmeare (formerly sir Valentine Brown) which lord Kilmeare and coll. Pursell are by order of council brought hither from Stafford.

1696. JULY. *p.* 86. The council of trade had this week under consideration the trade of Norway for deals, &c. and how farr it overbalances the Danes trade with us, and the several sums of mill'd money they carry yearly from hence on that account, whereas we may have the same commodities brought from New England in exchange for our English goods.

1696. SEPT. *p.* 104. Letters from Falmouth advise, that a ship putt in there gives account that 16 sail of our merchant ships, under 2 convoys, homeward bound from New England, fell in with a squadron of French men of war, which took them all; but the lords of the admiralty this day declared they had no advice of their being taken, and did not beleive it to be true.

1696. SEP. *p.* 106. Two persons, I'm told, are sent by the navy board to the province of New England, to inform themselves how farr that colony is able to furnish his majestie with naval stores, and to make their report with speed.

1696. SEP. *p.* 108. The commissioners of trade have desired the Virginia merchants to lay before them the state of that trade, assuring them of their assistance; who having since mett to con-

sider of the same, drew up a memorial, setting forth what ships with convoys are in that plantation, what ships are like to come home, and under what convoys; what ships are going thither, and what convoy they desire, and will attend the said commissioners therewith to-morrow.

1696. SEP. *p.* 111. Captain Barret, commander of a small vessel carrying only 4 guns and 18 men, in his way from New England to Barbadoes, was sett upon by a French privateer of 50 men, who boarded him; and Barret retiring to his close quarters killed several of the French, which oblig'd them to retire to their ship; which ship Barret plying with his great guns, sunk her, and brought with him 26 of the French men prisoners to Barbadoes, most of them wounded, and the rest killed in fight, and Barret lost not one man.

1696-7. FEB. *p.* 180. The pyrates that went from New England, and possessed themselves of some part of the island of Madagascar, are 1500 in number, commanded by one capt. Hoar, an Englishman.

1696-7. MARCH. *p.* 190. The committee of lords satt about trade, and heard MrRandall accuse William Penn, governor of Pensylvania for breaking the act of navigation in trading to Scotland, &c.; and Mr Penn was heard what he had to say, and ordered to attend again.

1696-7. MARCH. *p.* 195. The squadron designed for Newfoundland will be going the beginning of Aprill, and 'tis said the forces for that expedition will be taken on board in Ireland.

1696-7. MARCH. *p.* 198. On Tuesday the lord Bellamont was declared governor of New England, and ordered to hasten thither.

1696-7. MARCH. *p.* 199. The lord Bellamont is made governor of New York and New Hamstead as well as New England, and collonel of a regiment of foot.

1697. APRIL. *p.* 207. Two ship carpenters are ordered for New England and New York, to view what masts, timber, &c is there fitt for shipping.

1697. JUNE. *p.* 235. The lord Bellamonts commission to be governor and captain general of New England and New York is passing the seals, and his lordship will suddenly goe to his government in the Deptford frigate.

1697. JUNE. *p.* 237. By an expresse from Plymouth, arrived this afternoon, we have advice that a ship is come in there which left the Virginia fleet, consisting of 170 sail, not far from the Lands End, so that we hourly expect to hear of their arrival.

1697. JUNE. *p.* 240. We have this day advice, that the St. Albans prize, one of the convoys to the Virginia fleet, is arrived at Plymouth, being leaky, and sayes, she left the said fleet about 300 leagues off the Lands End.

1697. JULY. *p.* 249. Yesterday our homeward

bound Virginia and Barbadoes fleets arrived in the Downs, and are coming up the river.

1697. AUG. *p.* 263. Our Virginia merchants here have sent over some persons on their behalf to lay before the king the great advantages that may accrue to this nation in case his majesty can prevail with the czar to permit the importation of tobacco to Muscovy, which hitherto has been prohibited.

1697. OCT. *p.* 285. This day the earl of Bellamont, governor of New England, went on shipboard; and to-morrow the earl of Manchester goes ambassador for Venice, with several young lords and gentlemen: his lordship expects to be back in 6 months, being only to return the compliment their ambassadors made here.

1697. NOV. *p.* 302. Col. Gibson has rendered the lords justices an account of his expedition to Newfoundland, with an exact state of that place.

1698. AUG. *p.* 420. Coll. Blaxton, governor of Maryland, is married to madam Thompson, a lady of considerable fortune.

1698. SEP. *p.* 423. The remainder of colonel Gibson's regiment, which were left at Newfoundland, are ordered home, except 30 men, who are to guard fort St. Johns.

1698. SEP. *p.* 430. Mr. Hawles, the famous mathematician, is gone in one of the king's ships, by his majesties permission to make discoveries in the Straights of Magellan; and Mr. Dampier, famous for his travels in America, is likewise going in another of his majesties ships, to make discoveries in the Spice Islands.

1698. NOV. *p.* 454. The old East India company have acquainted the lords justices with the action of captain Kidd, commander of a man of war, sent to suppress the pyrates in the Persian seas, but instead thereof joyned them: several great lords were concern'd in sending him out, and to be sharers of what he should take from those pyrates.

1698. TUESDAY, 29TH NOVEMBER, *p.* 456. A proclamation is ordered to be publish'd to pardon all the pyrates settled at Madagascar, except capt. Kidd and 3 others, provided they submit by a certain time; which proclamation captain Warren takes with him.

1698. SATURDAY, 3D DECEMBER, *p.* 457. The earl of Bellamont, governor of New England and New York, has sent advice that he has caused several persons to be arrested there, accused for corresponding and trading with the pyrates of Madagascar, by which means they have got great riches.

And sir Paul Ricaut, our resident at Ham-burgh, has likewise sent word that he has also caused to be arrested there a large ship, English built, laden with East India commodities, supposed to belong to the Madagascar pyrates, it appearing she does not belong to any company

that trades to India, but the commander pretends that he came from New England.

1698-9. JAN. *p.* 474. Yesterday the commissioners for trade and plantations heard articles exhibited against colonel Fletcher, late governor of New York, for encouraging pyrates, &c, which were in a great measure proved against him; council was heard on both sides, sir Thomas Powis for the colonel, and Mr. attorney general for the king; and after a long argument, 'twas put off till Tuesday next.

1698-9. TUESDAY, 31ST JANUARY, *p.* 477.—Colonel Fletcher has been fully heard by his council before the commissioners of trade in answer to the articles exhibited against him, in relation to his mismanagement of the government of New York, by encouraging pyrates, &c; and the said commissioners will speedily make a report thereof to his majesty in council.

1698-9. FEB. *p.* 484. Next week our commissioners are to begin their conferences with the French commissioners, in order to adjust the limits in America; but I do not find they have any power to treat of commerce between England and France.

1699. MAY. *p.* 521. The king has given Mr. attorney general orders to prosecute in the exchequer col. Fletcher, late governor of New York, being accused of several ill practices during his government there.

1699. JUNE. *p.* 522. Thomas Weaver, esq. late attorney general of the Leeward Islands, is made receiver of his majesties customs at New York.

1699. JUNE. *p.* 525. Divers persons are going to settle a plantation in Florida, by which they propose much advantage; and the Scots America company are inviting all volunteer tradesmen and others of both sexes to settle upon their colony in Darien, promising them great immunities for their advantage and encouragement; and will furnish all such as are willing to goe with necessaries for their voyage, being resolved to carry on their undertaking, notwithstanding the threats of the Spaniards.

1699. JUNE. *p.* 526. 'Tis wrote from Carolina, that several silver mines are lately discovered there; which, in all probability, may be of great advantage to this nation.

1699. JUNE. *p.* 529. A Virginia ship is come into the Downs, and says she could not get a third part of her lading, tobacco being scarce.

1699. JULY. *p.* 533. The inhabitants of Carolina have so ordered their grapes which grow wild there, that they make as good wine there as any in Europe, with which they furnish our plantations in America.

1699. JULY. *p.* 538. William Penn has declared his resolution of speedily going with his family to settle in Pensilvania.

1699. JULY. *p.* 540. The assembly of the representatives at New York have given the earl of Bellamont (their governour) as a free gift £1500, to be rais'd by way of tax on the country; they have likewise continued the revenue for 6 years longer, and address his excellency to cause to pull down the arms of colonel Fletcher, set upon the castle and church during the time of his government.

1699. TUESDAY, AUGUST 1. *p.* 543. The lords of the admiralty have ordered a man of war for New York, and another for New England, to serve as guard ships to those colonies, and cruise upon the pyrates, if any happen to come to those coasts.

We have a report that captain Kidd, who some time since turn'd pyrate in the Adventure gally, and took from the subjects of the great mogul and others to the value of £400,000, is taken prisoner by a French ship, the commander of which sent him in irons to the great mogul.

1699. THURSDAY, AUGUST 3. *p.* 544. We have now letters from the West Indies, which contradict the taking of captain Kidd the pyrate; and say, that after the Adventure gally was sunk, he went on board a Portugeese, and sail'd directly for Darien, where the Scots received him with all his riches.

1699. AUG. *p.* 545. Captain Kidd the pyrate, some time since said to betaken by a French man of war, afterwards contradicted, and that he was gone to Darien, we now hear was lately at Nassau Island, near New York, and sent for Mr. Lillingston, one of the council there, to come on board; accordingly he went to him, and he proffered 30,000£ to give the owners who first fitted out the Adventure galley, and 20,000£ for his pardon; but tis presumed the same will not be accepted.

1699. SATURDAY, 12 AUGUST. *p.* 548. Thursday, Wm Penn the quaker had a conference with the lords commissioners for regulating trade in the plantations, in order to settle some affairs before he goes to Pennsylvania; and on Fryday preach't at Brewers Hall his farewell sermon to a numerous auditory.

1699. AUG. *p.* 549. Letters from Curassau say, that the famous pyrate, captain Kidd, in a ship of 30 guns and 250 men, offer'd the Danish governour of St Thomas 45,000 peices of eight in gold and a great present in goods, if he would protect him a month, which he refused; but the said pyrate bought afterwards of an English ship provisions to the value of 25,000 crowns, and since supplied with necessaries by other ships.

1699. AUG. *p.* 550. The governour of Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, in his way to England, touch't at New York; and being ashore, the crew of his brigantine (carrying 6 guns) run away with it, on board of which was

the value of 10,000£, in gold, silver, &c and since, they met the Philadelphian Merchant, plunder'd her of tobacco and other necessaries they wanted.

1699. AUGUST. *p.* 551. Yesterday Wm. Penn the quaker, with his wife and family, embarked at Cowes for Pennsylvania.

There are letters which say, the famous pyrate captain Kidd has surrendered himself to the lord Bellamont, governor of New England.

1699. THURSDAY 31 AUGUST. *p.* 554.—Several persons lately come hither from New York and New England have complain'd to the commissioners of trade against the lord Ballamont, their governor; but it appearing that his lordship only discourages their usual trade of piracy, (by which many of them have got great estates,) their complaints are lookt upon to be frivolous.

1699. SEP. 7. *p.* 557. Captain Kidd the pyrate, having surrendred himself to the earl of Bellamont, governor of New England, after examination was committed to prison, and commissioners appointed by his lordship to inspect the effects he had on board, to the end there might be a true inventory taken thereof; and his lordship sent to the said commissioners the present of jewells which Kidd had caused to be given to his lady, esteemed at 10,000£, an account of which his lordship has dispatcht hither to the commissioners of trade, and to know how he shal be disposed of.

1699. SEP. *p.* 561. Three ships are fitting out in the river, in order to goe and settle a colony on the coast of Florida, on board of which are several reformed officers and French refugees.

1699. SEP. *p.* 563. His majesties ship the Rochester, captain Ellis commander, is sail'd to New York, to bring over captain Kidd the pyrate and his crew, in order to be tried here.

1699. TUESDAY, 26 SEPTEMBER. *p.* 564. Last week the old East India company attended the lords justices with a petition, humbly praying that captain Kidd the pyrate, may be brought to a speedy trial before the high court of admiralty, and that all his effects unjustly taken from the subjects of the great mogul may be sent back to them as satisfaction for their losses: their excellencies promis'd to consider of it.

1699. SEPT. *p.* 565. The commissioners of the navy are contracting with the New England merchants for a great quantity of masts for the kings yards, they haveing better there than any brought from Norway.

1699. OCT. *p.* 574. Letters from the Hague say, that the states general have enter'd into a treaty of peace with the rovers of Tunis, and its beleived the same will suddenly be concluded, that regency being more inclin'd to trade than piracy.

And that the Carolina rice and raw silk are in very great esteem in Holland.

1699. Nov. 2, p. 578. The tryal of the pyrates is put off till the arrival of captain Kidd, who is to be brought hither from New England in order to be tryed with them: his effects are valued at 200,000£.

1699. Nov. p. 585. Our merchants yesterday received advice, that an English pyrate had attacked one of our small frigats on the coast of Virginia; and after firing about 200 guns, the frigate was forc'd to sail off.

1699. Nov. p. 586. The earl of Bellamont, governour of New England, has sent hither proposals for supplying our fleet with naval stores upon much easier terms than from Sweden and Denmark.

1699. Dec. 2, p. 589. The lords of the admiralty have an account, that the man of war sent to New England to bring hither captain Kidd the pyrate is return'd, not being able to make her voyage, the winter being too far advanced in those parts.

1699. Dec. p. 590. The commons were in a committee upon the state of trade of England last night till 9, and the following question being put, viz, that his majesties letters patents granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others of pyrates goods are dishonourable to the king, against the civil law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, invasive of property, and destructive to trade and commerce; the house divided the said question should be then put, and carried by 56 in the negative, 189 against 133.

1699. Dec. p. 594. Dr. Bray, inspector of the churches in America, is this day gone down the river, in order to embark for the West Indies.

1699-1700. MARCH. p. 624. The house being inform'd that captain Kidd the pyrate, taken by the lord Bellamont in New England, was sent for hither, ordered that he be neither discharg'd or pardon'd till next meeting of the parliament.

1699-1700. MARCH. p. 625. This day they were upon it [*the land tax bill and Irish forfeitures*] again, and admitted saving clauses for Mr Roach (who preserved Londonderry) colonel Dungan, earl of Limerick only for £6000. and lady Slaney's &c; but rejected the lord Montjoy's, Mrs Wansfords, and abundance more; and put off the further consideration off the bill till tomorrow, as also that for divorcing the duke of Norfolk from his dutchesse.

1700. APRIL. p. 632. Last night the lords of the admiralty had an expresse from Bristoll, that captain Kidd, with 33 pyrates more, were arrived in that channel, from New England, in order to be tryed for robbing the subjects of the great mogul, &c.

1700. TUESDAY, 16 APRIL. p. 634. Sunday last captain Kidd, the notorious pyrate, was ex-

amined before the lords of the admiralty, and committed to Newgate; and yesterday 13 more pyrates were likewise examined, and committed thither.

1700. APRIL. p. 635. There are letters from New England, which confirm the resettling of the Scots at Darien.

1700. TUESDAY, 23 APRIL. p. 637. Captain Kidd, upon his petition, has got his irons taken off.

1700. APRIL. p. 638. This day 10 of the pyrates lately brought from New England were examined, and ordered to be forthwith tryed by a high court of admiralty; captain Kidd will be kept close prisoner till the sitting of the parliament, to the end they may have the examination of him.

1700. 11 MAY. p. 643. Yesterday was a tryal at the king's bench court between Mr Basse, plaintiff, and the earl of Bellamont, defendant, about his seizing a ship at Perth Amboia in East Jersey, for not payeing a duty to New York; his lordship by council justified the same by vertue of his instructions from England, the practice of former governors, and an act of assembly at New York for laying duties on ships coming into that port and it's dependencies, and that the Jersey men had no legal government of their own, but belong'd to New York: the court seem'd inclineable to beleive the former, but did not look upon them to be dependent on New York; so the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, and £1800 damages: the charge of the trial was upon the kings account, and not the defendants.

1700. MAY. p. 650. Several pyrates brought from New England, are to be tried the 21st June at the Old Baily.

1700. JUNE. p. 653. Yesterday we had a currant report, said to be sent from the Earl of Bellamont, that the Scots, through sickness and want of provisions had abandoned Darien; that three of their ships, with 700 of their men, were come to New England, and 2 gone to Jamaica: which if true shall soon have a confirmation.

1700. JUNE. p. 654. Three companies of Sir Charles Haro's regiment are to be sent from Guernsey to New York.

1700. JUNE. p. 657. Five hundred stands of arms, with some books, are ordered for New York, to be presented the Iroquois, and other Indian nations bordering on that colony, who are much civilized, and become subjects to the King of England.

1700. JUNE. p. 661. The Kings presents to the Indians bordering upon New York and New England are shipped off, consisting of arms, hatchets, knives, &c which are to be disposed off by the Earl of Bellamont.

1700. JULY. p. 663. The earl of Bellamont having called together at Boston the States of

New England, recommended to them the passing a law to prevent the escape of pyrates out of prison by punishing the keepers; also a law to prevent clipping and debasing the current coyne, and endeavor to bring again the Eastern Indians, under the obedience of his majestie and provide supplys for support of the government.

1700. JULY. *p.* 668. A fleet of sixty sayl of Virginia ships laden with tobacco is arrived, the customs whereof will amount to a considerable summ; and on board of said ships are about 160 pyrates (who committed great robberies in the West Indies) with part of their treasure.

1700. JULY. *p.* 669. A detachment of the guards is sent down the river to bring to the Marshalsea the pyrates taken by collonel Nicholson on the coast of Virginia, and sent over in the fleet newly arrived from thence.

1700. JULY. *p.* 669. The jewells taken on board the ship of captain Kidd the pyrate have been valued, and said to be worth £30.000.

1700. JULY. *p.* 671. Dr. Bray is arrived here in the Virginia fleet from the West Indies and has brought several bills from the government of Maryland for his majesties approbation; and when he returns he takes several divines with him, having left the churches in a flourishing condition in the plantations.

1700. THURSDAY. 17 OCTOBER. *p.* 697. French letters say, their king has sent to assure the king of Sweden of powerful assistance against the Muscovites; and that one of their frigats had taken and carried into Cadiz an Algerine royer of 20 guns; and that the French governor of Canada has made an alliance with the neighboring Indians, by virtue of which all the prisoners the Indians have are to be released; and for the true performance of the treaty, they are to send to Quebeck 12 of their cheif, with their families, as hostages, who are alwaies to reside there with the governor of New France: and that St Peters church in Champagne, said to be one of the finest in the world, was burnt down by lightning.

1700. DEC. *p.* 713. By a vessel from New York, we have an account that the earl of Bellamont in August last call'd an assembly of the states, and demanded a supply for building a fort to cover the country of Albany from incursions of the French; which was granted, and a tax laid on several goods imported and exported, as 20s. per tunn upon Campechy wood, 7d. a gallon more upon rum, 6d. per barrel on meal, and proportionable upon sugar, molossus, &c.

The close of last week 200 French Protestants, lately escap'd out of France, were ship't off for Virginia, his majestie having been pleased to give £1000 to fitt them out.

VOLUME V.

1700-1. SATURDAY. 8 MARCH. *p.* 25. This

day the lords read over the papers of Kidd the pyrate.

1701. MARCH. *p.* 32. This day the Commons examined captain Kidd the pyrate; and Cogi Baba, a Persian merchant, attended in order to accuse him of robbing him in those seas to £60.000 value, Kidd discovered little or nothing.

Letters were read from him to the earls of Romney and Orford (who were part owners of the ship he went in;) as also letters from lord Bellamont to duke Shrewsbury, lord Sommers, Orford, Albemarle, and Mr. secretary Vernon, which were laid before the house by the admiralty.

Afterward Kidd was remanded to Newgate, and sir Edmund Harrison, another of the owners of the said ship, was ordered to attend to-morrow, when the legality of the patent commissioning Kidd to take pyrates ships is to be debated.

1701. MARCH 29. *p.* 33. Sir Edmund Harrison, a Turkey merchant, was examined as being mentioned in Kidds letter, and dismiss.

After which they debated till 8 at night, and then divided whither the grant past under the great seal to the earl of Bellamont and others, of all goods which should be taken by captain Kidd from pyrates before conviction, was illegal, and carried by 13 in the negative, 198 against 185.

The commons this day ordered an addresse to the king to issue out a commission of oyer and terminer for speedy tryal of capt. Kidd before the high court of admiralty.

1701. APRIL 1. *p.* 34. Capt. Kid was also examined again yesterday: he confest nothing material, so was remanded to Newgate.

1701. 10 APRILL. *p.* 37. This day the house, being acquainted that capt. Kidd, since his being in Newgate, had been with the lord Hallifax, examin'd the person who affirm'd it, and sent for the keeper of Newgate, who averr'd it to be false, whereupon they dismiss him.

1701. APRIL. *p.* 42. The lords read a bill for uniting to the crown of England the government of several colonies and plantations in America, as Pensylvania, Carolina, the Bahama islands, &c.; upon which William Penns son petitioned that his father's council might be heard against the said bill.

1701. MAY. *p.* 44. Letters yesterday from New York advise, that the earl of Bellamont, governour of that place and of New England, dyed the 5th of March of the gout in his stomach.

1701. THURSDAY, 8 MAY. *p.* 47. This afternoon capt. Kidd was found guilty of murther for killing a seaman on board a ship, also of one piracy; and to-morrow will be tryed upon 4 others.

1701. SATURDAY. 10 MAY. *p.* 48. Capt. Kidd is found guilty upon 6 indictments for piracy, and 8 other pyrates are condemned.

1701. MAY. *p.* 51. The lords heard council for William Penn against the plantation bill, and ordered it to be read a 2d time on Wensday, when all the peers and judges are to attend.

1701. SATURDAY, 24 MAY. Yesterday captain Kidd and 3 others, condemned for piracy, were executed at execution dock in Wapping, the halter of the 1st broke, but he was tied up again.

1701. JUNE. *p.* 61. The lord Cornbury is like to succeed the earl of Bellamont, deceased, in the government of New York.

1701. AUGUST *p.* 82-3. Some days since, sir William Ashurst, sir Thomas Cook, sir Thomas Lane, and other proprietors of East and West Jersey in America, delivered up their rights as to the naming of governors, &c there to the lords justices; but at the same time pray'd that his majestie would be pleas'd to continue coll. Hamilton their governour.

1701. TUESDAY, 26 AUGUST. *p.* 83. It's said the French are about settling commerce with the natives of Chili; and for that end have sent them large presents in two ships; they likewise propose to open a trade with those people a little north of New Mexico, and so bring their effects over several great lakes to New France; in which if they succeed, 'twill be prejudicial to the English colonies in America.

1702. JULY. *p.* 198. Six men of war are ordered for Newfoundland.

1702. AUG. *p.* 209. Mr. Atwood, cheif justice of New York, is recalled, being accused of condemning some persons, which is not approved of here.

1702. SEP. *p.* 215. The Virginia fleet of 150 sail are arrived in the Channel.

1702. SEP. *p.* 218. Paris letters say, they have no certain account of the Spanish galleons, but beleive they are put into Newfoundland.

1702-3. JAN. *p.* 260. Colonel Seymour of the guards is made governor of Maryland, in room of Nath. Blackstone, esq.

1702-3. THURSDAY, 13TH MARCH. *p.* 278. Rear admiral Graydon, with 5 men of war, is to convoy 80 merchant ships to Virginia, then to carry Sir Bevil Granvill to his government of Barbadoes; after which to sail for Jamaica, to take upon him the command of the squadron there, which, upon his arrival, will consist of about 30 frigats; and commodore Whiston is to return home with those as are become unserviceable.

1703. APR. *p.* 289. Rear admiral Leake is sailed with his squadron to secure our fishery at Newfoundland.

1703. APRIL *p.* 292. Collonel Nicholson, governor of Virginia, has founded two universities and 28 churches in that country.

1703. MAY. *p.* 299. The customes of the Virginia fleet, dayly expected home, are computed at 80,000£.

1703. TUESDAY, 17 AUGUST. *p.* 329. The outward bound Virginia fleet, with their convoy, are to carry several of our forces to Portugal, and then proceed to America, which will lessen the charge of the transport ships.

1703. SEP. *p.* 334. Coll. Seymour is gone to his government of Maryland.

1703. OCT. *p.* 345. Our Russia fleet of 80 sail, laden with naval stores, is daily expected home; and 'tis said that 5 of the Virginia fleet arrived on our coasts are taken by the French.

1703. NOV. *p.* 356. Letters from New England say, the French lately made an attempt upon New Providence, cheif of the Bahama Islands, and lost 3 privateers.

1703. DEC. *p.* 369. Our merchants have advice from Holland . . . that the French have taken New Providence, one of the Bahama islands near the Gulf of Florida, belonging to us, which will in some measure obstruct our commerce, in those seas.

1704. AUG. *p.* 459. A petition is preparing to be presented to the queen, in which 'tis desired she will be pleased to exchange the French bishop and the 18 priests taken goeing to Canada, for the like number of Hugonot ministers, now slaves in the gallies.

1704. NOV. *p.* 492. A vessel arrived at Bristol brings advice, that some of our frigats at Newfoundland have taken above 20 sail of French ships laden with fish &c.

1704. DEC. *p.* 499. Ordered a bill to be brought in . . . for encouraging the importation of naval stores from her majesties plantations in America.

1705. MARCH. *p.* 535. The earl of Orkney is made governor of Virginia, in room of collonel Nicholson.

1705. JUNE *p.* 566. The Queen has named captain Loyd to be governor of St Johns Fort in Newfoundland.

1705. JULY. *p.* 568. This morning captain Loyd went for Portsmouth to see 800 new raised men embark there on board the men of war design'd to goe with him to his government of St. John's in Newfoundland.

Ibid. William Penn, the quaker, has obtained a grant from her majestie for the government of his colony of Pensylvania; by which he is empowered to convene the cheif of the inhabitants to make such laws as shal be thought necessary for them; and in few days the same will passe the seals.

VOLUME. VI.

1705-6. FEB. *p.* 18. Mr. secretary Hedges acquainted the house that her majestie gave the following answer to the addresse about Newfoundland, viz, that she is fully sensible of the great importance of the trade and fishery in those parts,

and will be very careful to encourage and protect the same.

1705-6. MAR. *p.* 22. The bill for better regulating of charter and proprietary government in America was read and rejected.

1705-6. TUESDAY, 5 MARCH. *p.* 23. Tomorrow the lords in a committee are to hear council for lord Granvill one of the cheif proprietors of Carolina, against a petition from those people, wherein they pray that the new laws, contrary to the charter of their plantation, in which dissenters are excluded from being in the government, may be repealed.

1705-6. THURSDAY, 7 MARCH. *p.* 23. Yesterday the lords putt off hearing council for the lord Granvill about the Carolina petition till Saturday, when all the lords are to attend.

1705-6. SATURDAY, 9 MARCH. *p.* 24. The lords satt till 6 this evening upon the Carolina petition, about two new laws imposed upon them by some of the proprietors of that plantation, contrary to their charter; one for excluding dissenters from being in the government there.

Afterwards heard council on behalf of the lord Granvill against the petition.

Ordered that the whole proceedings by way of addresse be laid before her majestie, that she may give directions for prosecuting the promoters thereof.

1706. Nov. *p.* 108. Yesterdays letters from Plymouth advise, that 50 sail of the homeward bound Virginia fleet were past by there.

1706. Nov. *p.* 109. We hear 16 of our Virginia fleet founder'd at sea, 6 taken; and coll. Nott, governer of that collony, dead.

1706. Nov. *p.* 111. Port letters advise that a ship is putt into Plymouth, which left a fleet of New England ships, laden with masts and other naval stores, not far from the Lands End.

Ibid. The lady of the lord Cornbury, governer of New York, dyed there the 11th of August; the states of that colony have raised £3000 for fortifyeing that town, mounted 100 great guns upon the walls, and put 1500 men in garrison.

1706-7. FEB. *p.* 139. We have advice that several Virginia ships, part of the fleet that came lately from Cork, are arrived at Bristol, being seperated from the rest last Sunday night in a storm; so that we are in pain for them.

1707. MAY, *p.* 175-6. Letters from Boston in New England, of the 16th March, say, that they are preparing to make a descent upon Port Royal in Canada with 1000 men; several ships of force lyeing ready for that purpose; capt. Stewkley, in one of her majesties ships being to be commodore in that expedition.

1707. JULY, *p.* 193. Monday last was to have come on the farther complaint against coll. Dudley, governer of New England, before the coun-

cil at Windsor, but the hearing thereof deferred till after Michaelmas.

1707. OCT. *p.* 225. A vessel from Newfoundland says our ships there have lately had considerable advantages over the French, taken from them fort St. Peter, &c.

1707. DEC. *p.* 243. The house ordered a bill to be brought in to give full encouragement to the American trade; and an account to be laid before them of the war in Spain and Portugal; what supplies of men and money were sent thither, and how the latter distributed; and also how we lost the battle of Almanza.

1707-8. JAN. *p.* 260. Thursday last was a generall council upon the plantation affairs; considered the complaints of collonel Dudley, governer of New England, and dismiss them as frivolous.

1707-8. *p.* 274. This day the commons read the mutineers bill, and, that to reduce attornies a 2d. time; and then, in a committee, went thro the bill to encourage privateers in America.

1707-8. MAR. *p.* 282. The lord Lovelace has kist the queen's hand for the government of New York and New Jersey, in the room of the lord Cornbury, recalled.

1708. MAY. *p.* 299. Subscriptions are begun here for raising 400,000 £. to sett out privateers for America, to regain the rich trade of the South Seas.

1708. JUNE. *p.* 317. The earl of Bellamont dyed on Monday at the Bath, after 5 months illness of the palsy, and is succeeded in honour and estate by his brother, Mr. Coote, late a captain in duke Schonberg's Regt.

Ibid. The last letters from Jamaica advised, that admiral Wager, with 9 men of war, was at the Havana, waiting to intercept the Spanish galleons.

1708. JULY. *p.* 324. A proclamation is publish'd by her majestie for regulating the fishery of Newfoundland, according to the late act of parliament.

1708. AUG. *p.* 336. Collonel Hunter, governer of Virginia, who was taken going thither by the French, is to be exchanged for the bishop of Quebeck, our prisoner.

Lord Lovelace goes next month to his government of New York, in the room of lord Cornbury, recalled; and several German families, ruin'd by the French in the Palatinate, and came hither, are preparing to goe with him, and settle there.

1708. AUG. *p.* 337. Captain Gookin recommended by general Erle to the queen; as also William Penn is to goe governer of Pensylvania.

1708. SEP. *p.* 355. They write from Scotland, that our Virginia fleet and Dutch fishery, under convoy of 13 English and Dutch men of war, are sailed thence homeward; and that the east country fleet of 36 sail, laden with naval stores, are arrived there.

1708. DEC. *p.* 386. Our merchants had advice this day, that the John and Thomas, richly laden from Jamaica, is arrived at Pembroke, and report that she parted from the rest of the fleet and the galleon the 14th instant; and some letters mention, that the lord Lovelace, who was going governor of New York, was cast away in his voyage thither.

1708-9. JAN. *p.* 392. Some of our men of war are ordered to observe the Dunkirk squadron, still off Beachy, supposed to intercept the homeward bound Virginia and Jamaica ships from Portsmouth hither.

1708-9. JAN. 13TH. *p.* 395. This evening, 'tis said, there are letters from New York, which say the lord Lovelace, their governor, with his lady and retinue, (reported to be lost) were safe arrived there.

1709. MAY. *p.* 446. The expedition for Newfoundland is laid aside, and those 4 regiments with 5 others added thereto, are to be sent to Portugal.

1709. SATURDAY, 20TH AUGUST. *p.* 479. Our government has received advice, that the lord Lovelace, governor of New York, died the 12th of May, of an apoplexy.

1709. AUG. *p.* 481. Letters are arrived from the lady Lovelace at New York, that she has not only lost the lord her husband, but also two of her sons.

1709. OCT. *p.* 496. The commissioners for settling the poor Palatines have resolved to send forthwith 600 of them to Carolina, and 1500 to New York; and 'tis said the merchants of Bedford and Barnstable, concerned in the Newfoundland fishery, intend to employ 500 more in their service.

1710. APRIL 20. *p.* 571. Four Indian sachems, or kings of the 5 Indian nations, lately arrived here, offering their services to assist her majesty against all her enemies in those parts, and secure her from the French in and about Canada in America, had yesterday audience of the queen, and accepted very graciously; her majesty ordered them presents, the lord chamberlain to entertain them at her charge, and that they be shewn what is remarkable here; 'tis said they'll goe over and have a view of our army in Flanders.

1710. APR. *p.* 572. Yesterday the four Indian kings went in one of the queen's barges and took a view of Greenwich hospital, as also the dock and yard at Woolwich; afterwards were splendidly treated on board one of their majesties yachts; this day saw the banquetting houses and chapell at Whitehall, and mightily pleased with their kind reception.

'Tis said the queen has ordered some land forces to be sent to the West Indies with those kings, to seize upon the French settlement about Canada.

1710. APR. *p.* 576. Yesterday the New Eng-

land and New York merchants treated very splendidly the 4 Indian kings, to each of whom the archbishop of Canterbury has presented an English Bible, and they will speedily return home.

1710. DEC. *p.* 664. A ship arrived at Barnstable from New England advises, that collone Nicholson had taken Port Royal in Acadia belonging to the French, with the losse of 10 men and a transport vessel, wherein the captain and 25 men were drowned, that he had left colonel Vich, with sir Charles Hobby and 500 men in the fort, in which were 60 guns, the French governor with 200 men made prisoners of war; and that he had sent to the governor of Quebeck, that if he still encouraged the Indians, as usually he had done, to barbarously scalp the English prisoners, he would retaliate the same on the French inhabitants at Port Royal, who are about 500.

XI.—NOTES ON THE AMERICAN FLAG.

By WILLIAM KELBY, Esq.

NEW YORK, *March 9, 1775.* Early on Monday Morning, Preparations were made for the Meeting at the Exchange: A Union Flag, with a red Field was hoisted on the Liberty Pole, where, at 9 o'Clock the Friends of Freedom assembled, and having got in proper readiness, about 11 o'clock, the body began their march to the Exchange. They were attended by Music; and the Standard Bearers carried a large Union Flag, with a blue field, on which were the following Inscriptions: on one side, "GEORGE III. REX" "AND THE LIBERTIES OF AMERICA. NO POPERY;" on the other, "THE UNION OF THE COLONIES" "AND THE MEASURES OF THE CONGRESS."—*The New York Journal*, March 9, 1775.

January 6, 1776 The Tartar man of war arrived at Portsmouth, with 75 rebels taken by the Fowey man of war on board a privateer which the rebels had fitted out at Boston. She was commissioned by the Massachusetts Council and her orders were, not to fire at the King's ships. The motto on her colours was, "WE APPEAL TO HEAVEN." Other accounts say, that these men were landsmen ordered on board by General Washington.—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776. (*Vol. xlv, Page 44.*)

LONDON, *January 11.* The colours of the two privateers of the Americans which were lately taken, are hung up with much ostentation at the Admiralty. The motto is "AN APPEAL TO GOD."—Lord Sandwich had a good bon mot upon this when he was told it—"I doubt they have mistaken their man."—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, January 11, 1776.

LONDON, *January 27.* By a letter received

from Philadelphia, we hear, that the American Congress have actually put seven ships into commission, under the command of Mr. Brice, (formerly in the navy) who wears an Admirals flag at his main top mast head, the same as the Union of Great Britain, with this inscription: "THE UNITED COLONIES."—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, January 27, 1776.

Extract of a letter from BOSTON, dated January 17, 1776.

I can see the American camp very plain, whose colours a little while ago were entirely red: but on receipt of a certain speech (which they burnt) they have hoisted the Union flag, which is here supposed to intimate the union of the provinces.—*Middlesex Journal*, London, February 24, 1776.

NEW YORK, February 3, 1776. Last Thursday a number of citizens paraded through the principal streets, preceded by a flag, upon which was an emblematical representation of the thirteen United Colonies, with this motto, "IN UNION THERE'S STRENGTH."—*The Constitutional Gazette*, New York, February 3, 1776.

MARCH 3, 1776. The colours of the American fleet (under Commodore Hopkins, which plundered the island of New Providence) were striped under the Union with 13 strokes, called the Thirteen United Colonies, and their standard a Rattle Snake.—Motto, "DON'T TREAD UPON ME."—*Upcott Collection*—New York Historical Society's Library—iv. 359.

Extract of a Letter from a Master at Arms on board one of his Majesty's ships of war in Boston harbor, dated March 23, 1776. The garrison at Boston have hoisted a flag, which is kept continually flying, and has on it the following motto: "AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN."—*Middlesex Journal*, London, May 21, 1776.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated March 30, 1776. Two of his Majesty's frigates, one of 32 guns, and the other of 24, fell in, in the night of the 19th instant, with three American Privateers off the port, when a hot engagement ensued; the latter determined not to give or take quarter, hoisted the bloody flag at their maintop-mast heads, and nailed their ensigns to their flag staffs (which were St. George's); however, after a conflict of seven glasses, wherein there was great slaughter on both sides, the King's frigates sheered off.—*Upcott Collection*—New York Historical Society's Library—iv. 365.

APRIL 2, 1776. An Anglo-American ship arrived in the Tagus with her new colours flying, on which a branch of palm, with the words "GRACES AU CIEL," were depicted. But the Captain of an English man of war obliged the American to strike his colours, and he was for-

bidden by the Portuguese officers to unlade his cargo, or carry on trade,—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776, (Vol. xlv, Page 335.)

HALIFAX, June 25, 1776. On Sunday evening arrived from off Boston Harbour a privateer brig, in the Rebel service, called the *Yankee Hero*, Capt. Tracey; she was taken by the *Milford* frigate of 28 guns, Capt. Burr, after an obstinate engagement, in which the Captain of the privateer received a ball through his thigh, soon after which they struck. She is a very fine vessel, and mounts 12 carriage guns and six swivels, her colours were a pine tree on a white field.—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, August 15, 1776.

Extract of a letter from Caracao, received by the way of Holland, dated July 30, 1776. This morning arrived in this port the Provincial ship of war the *Resolution*, of 56 guns, on board of which Rear-Admiral Avery has his flag hoisted at the fore-top-mast-head, which is a red field, and on which is a branch of palm.—*Middlesex Journal*, London, September 28, 1776.

Extract of a Letter dated St. Vincent's, Aug. 1, 1776. The colours which the American Privateer shewed was a field white and yellow, with 13 stripes.—*Middlesex Journal*, London, September 24, 1776.

Extract of a letter from Liverpool, October 26, 1776. Capt. Walker was chased off Jamaica, by a sloop which came so near that he could discern her colours to be the American 13 stripes.—*Middlesex Journal*, London, October 29, 1776.
W. K.

XII.—THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

BY ISAAC J. GREENWOOD, ESQ.

On the authority of SURTEE'S *History of Durham*, it has been usual to ascribe the ville of Herteburne in that Bishopric, as the original seat of the Washington family. The Manor of Wessyngton or Waisyngton, as we learn by *Bolden Buke*, written 1180, 27, HEN. II, was held in *capite* of the Lord Bishop of Durham by Willielmus de Hertburn, in exchange for the ville of Hertburn, he rendering four pounds and doing service therefore in the great chase of the Lord Bishop with two greyhounds, and also paying one Mark to the Palatine aid, when such a tax should be raised.

The Manor was situated a few miles from the mouth of the river Wear, near Hilton Castle; and about the middle of the thirteenth century, it is presumed, the De Hertburns, as was usual, assumed the local name. Accordingly, as early as 1274, 3 ED. II, we read of one William de Wessyngton in this vicinity; and cotemporary with this person was Richard de Wassington, appointed on the second of March, 1273, to the Chantry or

Chapel, in the parish of Walton-at-Stone, in the County of Hertford. What may have been the armorial bearings of these persons does not appear, nor is it at all clear that their family name was synonymous with that of Washington.

It is well known that one of the progenitors of the family in America, who came to Virginia about 1657, was named Lawrence Washington, in connection with which fact we find that James Lawrence, (son of Sir Robert Lawrence of Trafalgar, in the County of Lancaster,) living 37 HEN. III, married, in 1252, Matilda, only daughter and heiress of John Washington of Washington, in the County of Lancaster; acquiring by this marriage the Manors of Washington, Sedgwick (or Seggeswick,) and others. His son, John Lawrence, levied a fine of Washington and Sedgwick in 1283, and was father of John Lawrence who presented to the church of Washington, in 1326; and died about 1360, leaving as his heir, Sir Robert Lawrence. The Lawrence family were descended from Sir Richard of Ashton Hall, in the County of Lancaster, created a Knight Banneret by Richard I, for his bravery at the siege of Acre, in 1191; and having a grant of arms, Argent a cross raguly gules. This coat of arms, quartered with that of Washington, viz: Argent, two bars, gules, in chief three mullets of the second, and with crest, a demi-turbot argent, tail upward, will be found in *Harl. MS.* (Brit. Mus.) No. 891, fol. 99, also in *Miscellaneous Grants*, 4-129, *Collection of Arms*, and was published in the *Miscel. Geneal. et Herald.*, London, July, 1867.

Seggeswicke, which had belonged to the Washington family, as above mentioned, was situated on the Can, in Westmoreland,* and six or seven miles to the South of this place was Warton, in the County of Lancaster, near the influx of the Decker, into the Kent Sands, where, on the North side of the door of the parish church, will be found the arms of the Washington family. At this latter place was located, in the fifteenth century, Robert Washington, Gentleman, son of John Washington, of Whitfield, and grandfather of Lawrence Washington, Gentleman, Mayor of Northampton, who obtained from Henry VIII, on the tenth of March, 1539, a grant of the "Manor of Sulgrave, (Wardon Hundred, County of Northampton,) parcel of the dissolved Priory of St. Andrew, with all lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury, (with the advowson of the Rectory there,) and Colton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said Priory, and all lands in Sulgrave, late belonging to the dissolved Priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby."

Whitfield, above referred to, is said to have

been in Lancashire, but I cannot locate it; there was a place of this name in Sutton Hundred, in the County of Northampton, and Eastward of Sulgrave; also one on the river Alne, in the South part of Northumberland, and near Whitfield-Hall.

The immediate locality in England from which the progenitor of General Washington came, has not yet been determined, though, as was published in the *Historisch-Genealogischer Kalender*, Leipsic, 1784, it is generally given as Cave, or South Cave, in Yorkshire, where in 1705, one Henry Washington, who had some sixteen years before married Eleanor Harrison, obtained a lease of Crown-lands for thirty one years. These lands, called the Middle Sands, lying in the River Humber, near the Manors of South Cave and Bromfleet, were of little or no value at the time, being overflowed by the sea. The American progenitor, Mr. John Washington of Westmoreland-county, Virginia, came out from England in 1658, on a vessel, of which John Green was Master, and Edward Prescott, Merchant, Owner, (*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, II., i., 29,) having with him his wife and two children, one of whom, a son, appears to have been baptized on the fourth of October, 1659. This wife and two children were buried on the plantation at Bridge's Creek; his second wife, Ann, sister of Thomas Pope, survived him. His will, dated on the twenty-seventh of September, 1675, was proved at Westmoreland Court-house, on the sixth of January, 1677, and leaves estates in England and Virginia, to his wife, Ann, and three children, John, Lawrence and Ann, appointing his wife and brother, Lawrence Washington, of Rappahannock-county, as Executors. I. J. G.

NEW YORK CITY.

XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. *HIST. MAG.*]

FULTON'S STEAMBOAT.

CATSKILL, September, 1857.

I am, as far as I know, the only person now living who was on board the first steamboat on her first trip from New York to Albany. I do not refer to the trial trip which was made in 1807, in what may be termed a scow, but to the first trip made by the old *North River*, the first passenger boat propelled by steam.

The craft employed by Mr. Fulton, on the "trial trip," (called the *Clermont*, but probably never registered,) was taken to what was then called Lower Red Hook, and in the Winter of 1807 and 1808 was hauled out on ways to be en-

* John de Washington held Milborn Manor, 1397, in the County of Westmoreland, West of Appleby.

larged and converted into a commodious steam-boat. The alterations and enlargement were made by ship-carpenters of the city of Hudson during the Winter and Spring. She was launched about the first of May, and called the *North River*. She was taken down to New York, by Captain Samuel Jenkins, who had her in temporary charge, until Captain, afterward styled "Commodore," Wiswall should be able to assume the command. On arriving at New York she was taken to the dock at the foot of Dey street (then far up town,) where the machinery was put on board, and the cabin and shipcarpenter's work were completed. This was done with a rapidity which in those days was considered extraordinary, Mr. Fulton himself overseeing and attending to every part. He was usually on board as early as five o'clock in the morning, and would be there almost the entire day. I never knew a more industrious, indefatigable, laborious man.

"Fulton's new steamboat" was the wonder of the day. She was visited daily by hundreds of the curious, who asked many queer questions in relation to the operation of the steam and machinery; one of these almost invariably was, "Where and how was the steam to be conveyed to the water wheel?" The crowd of visitors became a great annoyance and hindrance to those employed on board, and I recollect a very amusing incident, connected with the attempt to prevent intrusion. Mr. Fulton directed a painter to letter a board with the words, "One dollar for any person to come on board without liberty," which was put up in a conspicuous place. One day a sailor came along and read the notice. Jack was not long in putting his construction upon it, and giving his quid a roll in his mouth, and with a laughing, knowing wink of the eye, jumped on board without ceremony, pointed to the board and accosted the man nearest to him with "Mister, who pays me that dollar?" Mr. Fulton was standing near and laughed heartily, a thing unusual with him, for he was generally, while among the men, very taciturn and grave, giving his orders and directions in a laconic manner. He would listen, however, to suggestions made by the more practical, and would often modify his orders to accord with such suggestions. During the time these preparations were going forward, trials were made of the working of the machinery, by hauling out into the stream, putting on steam, and starting the engine. This was no small affair, for when the engineer gave the notice "All ready," all hands were called, (carpenters, joiners, painters, caulkers, laborers, and crew,) to give momentum to the ponderous balance or fly wheel, to prevent what is termed "catching on the centre." During one of those trials, when going up the river at the rate of six or eight miles an hour, Mr. Fulton

stood looking over the bow of the boat for fifteen or twenty minutes, intently watching the motion and speed of the boat, apparently wholly absorbed. Suddenly he wheeled and addressed a friend, who stood near him, with great enthusiasm, with, "My good friend, she is a fine boat, and our success is certain."

Commodore Wiswall was now in command. At the hour appointed (9 o'clock A. M.) for her departure for Albany, Chancellor Livingston, with a number of invited friends, came on board, and after a good deal of bustle and no little "noise and confusion," the boat was got out into the stream, and headed up the river. Steam was put on and sails were set, for she was provided with large square sails attached to masts, that were so constructed that they could be raised and lowered as the direction and strength of the wind might require. There was at this time a light breeze from the South, and with steam and sails a very satisfactory rate of speed was obtained. Fast sailing sloops were passed with ease, the machinery worked finely, and everything seemed to promise well. After a time, however, it was discovered that steam was escaping from the boiler. This boiler was constructed of wood, a cylinder perhaps twenty feet long and ten in diameter, bound with heavy iron bands, with iron tubes extending from the lower part into the furnace. The heat imparted to the iron bands by the steam produced a shrinking of the wood directly under them; whilst the spaces between them would swell from moisture imparted by the steam, so that the edges of the planks would be uneven, leaving open spaces through which the steam escaped. How could the difficulty be obviated? Resort was had to covering the boiler with blankets and carpets, which prevented the evil to some extent, and as the favorable wind continued, we kept on the even tenor of our way, and just before sunrise next morning we were at Clermont, the residence of the Chancellor, who with his friends landed and the boat proceeded to Albany, where she arrived at two or three o'clock, P. M.

"Fulton's new steam boat," was here, too, the wonder of the day, and was visited by great numbers. There seemed to be but one opinion, viz., that the enterprise would prove an entire failure. A member of one of the largest freighting establishments in the city of Albany, which relied upon the carrying of passengers to and from New York for a material part of its income, in conversation with the writer remarked, sneeringly, "Fulton will never succeed, but it is all well enough for him to make the experiment. He is only sporting with the Chancellor's money, who has enough to experiment upon without 'injuring him.'" Within two years this same gentleman was a large stockholder in the opposition boats started by an association in Albany. These

boats, however, were in a short time laid up under an injunction issued by the Chancellor, and were never afterward run on the river, so that my friend lost almost the whole of the money he ventured in experimenting on the rights of others.

After two or three days' stay in Albany, spent in making some repairs and alterations in the machinery, caulking the boiler to prevent the escape of steam, and supplying deficiencies discovered on the passage up the river, the return passage was commenced and prosecuted with about the same speed and success. When within about thirty miles of New York, the tubes that run from the boiler into the furnace, one after another gave way, until the fires were entirely extinguished, and the remainder of the passage was made by the use of the sails. On arriving at New York she was laid up until a new boiler could be constructed, which was done of heavy sheet copper in about two months time, when she was again started. From that time she accomplished her trips pretty regularly, but how differently from the boats of the present day. Instead of making a passage in nine or ten hours, she consumed from twenty-four to thirty. The landing of passengers at the different landing places was effected with much trouble and great loss of time, and no little terror to those of weak nerves.

And now starting from the days of the "first steamboat," and tracing events up to the present time, I feel as if I had lived in a very important era in the world's history; I think it hardly possible that one starting, at this day, on a pilgrimage of seventy-five years, will witness anything like the improvements in the arts and sciences, in intercommunication throughout the wide world, and in facilities for carrying on commercial enterprises, as have been seen by one who now writes himself for the last thirty years or over,

YOUR CONSTANT SUBSCRIBER.

—*Commercial Advertiser*, (N. Y.) September 24, 1857.

THE FIRST GOLD MINE.—The first piece of gold found in the United States is said to have been found in Cabarras County, North Carolina, in 1799. It seems from the account furnished Mr. Wheeler by Colonel Barnhardt that a boy named Conrad Reed went with his sister and younger brother to a small stream called Meadow Creek on a Sunday, and while engaged along the banks of the stream shooting fish he saw a yellow substance shining in the water, which he picked up and found to be metal. His father carried it to Concord, and showed it to William Atkinson, the silversmith of the village, who was unable to tell what it was. It was then taken home by Mr. Reed, and being the size of a small smoothing iron it was used as a weight against the door to keep it from shutting. In 1802 he carried it to

market at Fayetteville, where a jeweller pronounced it to be gold, and melted it, producing a bar six or eight inches long. It was sold to the jeweller for three hundred and fifty dollars; a "big price" as Mr. Reed thought. Upon subsequent examination gold was found upon the surface along Meadow Creek, and in 1803 pieces of gold were found varying from sixteen pounds to the smallest particles. The vein of this mine was discovered in 1831. The annual products of the gold mines of North Carolina are stated at five hundred thousand dollars. The product of the Cabarras mine in 1840 is estimated at thirty-six hundred dollars.

PIONEER PRESSES OF AMERICA.—There was a printing press

At Cambridge, Massachusetts.....	1629
At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	1686
At New York, New York.....	1692
At New London, Connecticut.....	1709
At Annapolis, Maryland.....	1726
At Williamsburg, Virginia.....	1729
At Charleston, South Carolina.....	1730
At Newport, Rhode Island.....	1732
At Woodbridge, New Jersey.....	1752
At Newburn, North Carolina.....	1755
At Savanna, Georgia.....	1762

THE OLD BILLOP HOUSE.—On the extreme west end of Staten Island, near the shore, is a high, venerable-looking stone edifice, known as the "Old Billop House." There are some historical associations connected with this place which should not be forgotten.

More than a century ago, Captain Billop of the British Navy, obtained a patent for nine hundred and twenty-one acres of land in this vicinity, which was afterward increased to one thousand six hundred. The place was called "BENTLEY," and at the period of the Revolution, was owned by Christopher Billop, a gentleman of property, and a member of the Colonial Assembly. Mr. Billop had always strongly opposed the measures which led to the rupture with Great Britain, and when the war broke out, he became a partisan leader, accepting the commission of Colonel in the "Royal" Militia of Staten Island.

Lord Howe, with some twenty thousand troops, took possession of the Island on the fourth of July, 1776, and it was held by the British during the whole war. Hence it became the theater of frequent predatory incursions from the Americans, many of whom had fled for safety to the opposite shores of New Jersey. In some instances, blood was shed, and lives lost. Billop, a warm party man, and leader, was closely watched, and twice it is said, was taken from his own house by armed bands of the "Jersey Blues." On one

occasion the Americans, who had stationed a party with a spyglass in the church steeple of Amboy on the opposite shore, saw him enter his house. They ran to their boats, and rapidly crossing the narrow river, made the gallant Colonel a prisoner. He was taken to Burlington Jail, by authority of the following *Mittimus*. Elias Boudinot, whose honored name is subscribed to it, was "Commissary of Prisoners" for New Jersey.

"To the keepers of the Common Jail for the County of Burlington—Greeting:

"You are hereby commanded to receive into your custody the body of Col. Christopher Billop, prisoner-of-war, herewith delivered to you, and having put irons on his hands and feet, you are to chain him down to the floor in a close room, in the said jail, and there to detain him, giving him bread and water only for his food, until you receive further orders from me, or the Commissary of Prisoners for the State of New Jersey for the time being. Given under my hand, at Elizabethtown, this 6th day of Nov., 1779.

"ELIAS BOUDINOT, Com. Pris., New Jersey."

The Commissioner expressed his regret to Billop that necessity made this treatment proper. "But," he said, "retaliation is directed, and it will, I most sincerely hope, be in your power to relieve yourself from the situation, by writing to New-York to procure the relaxation of the sufferings of John Leshier and Captain Nathaniel Randal." *Fitz Randolph* was the correct name of the last mentioned person. He was a well-known patriot, and a daring and brave soldier, from Woodbridge, who afterward fell gallantly in one of the Jersey Battles. At this time he was confined and ironed in the Old Sugar House, New York.

Colonel Simcoe, who then commanded the famous "Queen's Rangers," and was stationed on Staten Island, making a sudden and rapid incursion into New Jersey with his dragoons, and during a fight near New Brunswick, his horse was killed, and he himself stunned by the fall, was captured. He also was taken to Burlington, and made the fellow-prisoner of his royalist friend, Colonel Billop. Several plans were laid for his liberation, and the day before his exchange by General Washington, forty friends of the British cause reached the neighborhood, with horses, for his rescue. Billop also was soon exchanged.

At his house, which has since the Revolution been known as the "Billop House," Lord Howe, General Kniphausen, Colonel Simcoe, and others who had commands on the Island, often met. Immediately after the unfortunate battle on Long Island, Lord Howe sent a communication to Congress in Philadelphia, soliciting a Committee of

Conference. Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge were appointed for this purpose. The important interview was held in the old Billop House, when the American envoys declined every proposition for peace that did not first acknowledge the independence of their country. Howe expressed his regret and distress at this announcement, as in that case, he said, he would be compelled to take "severe measures" against the Americans, for whom he had so warm a regard. Dr. Franklin, in reply, assured the British commander that the Americans would endeavor to lessen as much as possible the pain he might feel on their account, by taking the *best care they could of themselves*. When the interview was over, Howe politely conveyed the Commissioners in his own barge to Amboy, and when they reached the wharf, Franklin, jingling some gold and silver in his pockets, offered it to the oarsmen. The commanding officer, however, would not permit them to receive "rebel's money." This incident caused much amusement to his companions, but Franklin explained that "as the British are under the impression that we have not a farthing of *hard* money in the country, I thought I would convince them of their mistake. I knew at the same time I risked nothing by an offer, which their regulations *would not permit them to accept*."

Such are among the reminiscences of the "Old Billop House," a place of the Olden Time well worth visiting. G. P. D.

THE CLOVE, STATEN ISLAND.

SCRAPS.—The first fort captured from the British in Revolutionary times, was that at Newport, where forty cannon were seized and carried away, on the sixth of December, 1773. One week later the patriots of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, seized and carried away a quantity of powder at Fort William and Mary, on the Piscataqua river. This was four months before the battle of Lexington.

—The oldest building in Albany is the one corner of Pearl and State streets, belonging to the Staats estate—erected 1667—which was one hundred and forty years old when the present capitol was erected. The year this building was erected, New York city had a population of less than five thousand souls. The walls of this old building are just as good as new, and, with care, would last several centuries longer.

—*The Hampshire Gazette* of Northampton, now in the eighty-second year of its publication, records the death of Eliphalet Packard, Esq., formerly of Cummington, who "has been a regular subscriber to that paper from its first issue," and observes that "it is doubtful if to the day of his death a single copy has escaped his notice."

THE PAST AND PRESENT.—If you would spend a delightful hour, seek Robert E. Gray, Esq., and listen to his pleasant conversation about men and things in Philadelphia in the olden times. He is a delightful gentleman, full of anecdote, and overflowing with local information. He has a vivid recollection of Washington, and gives a lifelike description of his appearance and habits. Perhaps a good many of our young readers do not know, that during Washington's administration, Robert Morris lived in the house at the south east corner of Sixth and Market. This house was long afterwards occupied by the Schuylkill Bank. Washington lived in the house adjoining to the east, on Market street, but there was a thirty-foot lot on both sides of the house. His stables stood on the rear of the lot, facing on Minor street. Washington's house was afterwards occupied by John Adams, during whose administration the seat of government was transferred to Washington city.

The office used by the department of Foreign Affairs, during Washington's administration, stood on the east side of Sixth street, (on the rear of what was afterwards known as Peter Duponccau's lot,) nearly opposite Carpenter street. It was a small building, about thirteen feet by twenty, and here all the business was transacted. The War office was at the corner of Fifth and Chesnut. The three story brick house now standing at the corner of Sixth and Minor, was built by Robert Morris for a Mr. Clark, a famous maker of coaches, who died in 1793. Thomas Ogle succeeded him, who, in turn, was succeeded by Ogle and Watson. Nearly the whole front, from Minor street to the office of Foreign Affairs, was occupied by the coach maker's shop. Mr. Christy, (the carriage ornament-er) lived in a two-story frame house adjoining.

The Brewery corner of Sixth and Carpenter, was built about one hundred years since by William Gray, a native of Philadelphia. It was erected on the site of the old Brewery, known as "the Papist's Brewery;" so called, probably, from the fact of its being the property of a Papist. In a few years Joseph Gray was added to the firm, and the business went under the name and style of William and Joseph Gray, until about 1798. After this it had several tenants within a few years, when, in 1807, Robert E. Gray took possession. He conducted the business with remarkable success until 1840, when it went into the hands of George W. Gray and Samuel Gray White. It is now conducted with signal ability by George W. Gray and Andrew Staley, under the name and style of Gray & Staley. These gentlemen well maintain the high character of the establishment for intelligence, probity and enterprise. Among the brewers of Philadelphia (and all are gentlemen of superior standing) none are more highly esteemed than Gray & Staley.

The Brewery lot occupies seventy-four feet on Sixth street, and one hundred and seventy-three feet along Carpenter street, to Decatur, which it fronts. Originally, the property cost about three hundred and fifty pounds. To-day it would, no doubt, be cheap at one hundred thousand dollars.

Fifty years ago, the Falstaff House, in Carpenter street, (then and for some time afterwards known as the Washington House,) was considered quite out of the city, and hundreds used to walk out there on fine days, to get a good glass of ale or punch, and breathe the pure country air!

Many have asked how Chesnut street came to be our fashionable thoroughfare. Three or four causes led to this result, the first being the State House, the second the construction of the New Theater, (the old Chesnut,) at Sixth and Chesnut, and the third, the erection of Mrs. Powell's palatial residence, (afterwards the Columbia House,) where Dr. Jayne's Hall now stands. A dozen or more good reasons could be given, but these are the best and strongest.—*The Philadelphia Item and Visitor*, March 27, 1858.

XIV.—NOTES.

EARLY NEW CHURCH WORSHIP IN NEW YORK.—In looking over some old papers the other day, I came across a memorandum book in the handwriting of Mr. Edward Riley, who arrived in New York, from England, in June, 1805. It contains a few minutes of the first meetings for New Church worship ever held in New York, probably dotted down upon the occasions themselves. The first is dated the twenty-second of December, 1805, and is as follows:

"At a meeting of the following friends of the 'New Church to worship the Lord after the manner and form of our friends at Friars Street Chapel, Black Friars, London,—was read the 'sermon on the Fulness and Perfection of the 'Lord's Prayer,' preached by Mr. Sibley, March 25, 1803. Present—Mr. William Mott, Mrs. Mary Mott, Edward Riley, Elizabeth Riley, Eleanor Riley, and my children, Elizabeth Riley, Edward Riley, Henry Riley, and Frederick Riley, at No. 16 Chambers street, New York."

"E. RILEY."

The meetings were continued weekly upon the Sabbath at Mr. Riley's house, afterwards in Harrison street, then in Dey street, for three years. At the second meeting they were joined by Dr. Jackson; and on the fourth meeting by Mr. William Cross and Mrs. Dinah Gallon. The attendance is only noted down for six meetings.*

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. June 1, 1868. J. D.

* What a pity it is that "J. D." did not carefully copy the whole of these "few minutes," in which are noted the origin of the New Church in America; and how strangely unaccountable it is that *The New Jerusalem Messenger*, from which we clip this Note, was silent on that important subject when it published "J. D.'s" abridgment of the important narrative.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WEBSTER—In the Fall of 1810, while in attendance at Bladen Superior Court, a messenger arrived from Alfred Waddell, announcing that Judge Alfred Moore was about to expire at Belfont, two miles below Elizabethtown, the seat of — Waddell. Judge Toomer and Mr. London went down, but on their arrival were informed that Judge Moore had just expired. The family being tired from many nights' watching by the bedside of the departed Judge, Mr. Toomer and Mr. London proposed being left alone in charge of the remains. During the night Judge Toomer, in reading in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1781-2, met with a letter from General Cornwallis to Rev. Dr. Webster of Edinburgh, father of Lieutenant-colonel Webster, announcing the death of his heroic son.

The remains of Judge Moore were interred at Belfont; but in 1811 the family removed them to a large vault he had prepared at his former seat. While at Belfont one of the gentlemen asked an old negro named Peter, if he could show them where Lieutenant-colonel Webster was buried. He replied he could,—that he had aided in digging his grave. He thereupon drew from his old English musket the iron ramrod, and after a few trials it struck something hard, and Peter remarked, "This is the spot." Other servants were called in to aid, and very soon they succeeded in exposing to view the coffin in which the gallant soldier had slept since 1781.

The gentlemen present surrounded the grave as the servants raised the lid, and to their amazement there lay the youthful warrior in full British uniform, with his scarlet coat, red sash, and sword at his side. The face, body and clothes were in a full state of preservation. His hair, which was long and abundant, had the appearance of having been pomatumed and powdered, and as Judge Toomer raised his eye to that of his friend Waddell, who stood on the opposite side of the grave, to express his astonishment at the perfect state of preservation in which the body was, their eyes met and expressed mutual surprise. But as they cast them down into the narrow cell, to their utter amazement the whole body had collapsed, and there remained nothing but a small portion of hair, two or three teeth, and some few other portions of the body, to verify and convince them that the whole scene was not a delusion, but that to them and them only had the opportunity been granted for a brief space to gaze upon the lineaments and the manly form of one in whose breast had throbbed as brave and as gentle a heart as ever animated mortal man. In the brief period between the exhumation and the action of the air, they had been able to discern that his beard was long; and a bandage was around the knee upon which he had been wounded at the battle of Guil-

ford. He had served with Cornwallis during his stay in Fayetteville, and was supposed to be getting better, until at Baker's Creek, in Bladen County, it was announced to Cornwallis that he had died of lockjaw in a hamper; but the moment of his departure no one knew. Cornwallis immediately called a Council and proposed encamping on the spot as a testimonial of their regard and affection for their brave companion in arms. In this, however, he was overruled, and his remains were carried six miles further down to Belfont, and in terred upon the West side of the Wilmington and Elizabethtown road, between two pines, where his ashes still rest.

The gentlemen present at his exhumation constructed a smaller box, and placed his ashes within that, and enclosed it within the original coffin in which he was buried. And there still repose the ashes of Lieutenant-colonel Webster, who early entered the army and served with distinction in India under the eye of Cornwallis; but upon the failure of his father's health he received an extended furlough, and was at home in Edinburgh the stay, the solace and the pride of his aged father, when the American war broke out. When Cornwallis was appointed to the chief command in America, he desired that Lieutenant-colonel Webster should be attached to his Division. Young Webster finally overcame his father's objections, who seemed impressed with the conviction that his son never would return; but the son, ambitious of military distinction and renown, sought and found it in the Revolutionary war. But at the same time he found an early and honored grave in the arid sand-hills amongst the whispering pines of the old North State, where he sleeps the sleep that knows no waking, on the estate of Belfont.

The solemnity which Judge Toomer evinced in his countenance, whilst reciting the scene, deeply impressed me, and I wrote the above many years ago. B.

LAKE CITY, FLA., April, 1868.

NEW SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, BOSTON.—The following extract from the records of "the Proprietors of the New South Meeting House in Boston," may be of interest to your readers at the present moment.

"On Tuesday, the fourteenth day of April, 1814, at a few minutes past six o'clock in the morning, the first stone of the foundation of the new edifice was laid at the North-east corner of the Tower. On Thursday, the ninth of June, 1814, a silver plate with the following inscriptions, together with a quarter eagle in gold and the American silver and copper coins from a dollar down to half a cent, was deposited by the Rev. Mr. Thacher, attended by the Building-

"Committee and others of the society, under the corner stone of the first course of fine stone.
"After which an appropriate prayer was made by the Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher, which closed the services."

The following are the inscriptions on the plate:

"*Templum*
"Deo optimo Maximo hoc loco primatus dicatum erat
"Jan: 7, 1717.
"Ampliatum A. D. 1729. Amotum April 14, 1814.
"Fundamenta hujus novæ ædis nunc [quod felix faustum
"que sit] Poëta
"April 14, 1814
"Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher ecclesiæ nostræ pastore.

"*Hæc aguntur*
"Illustrissimo Caleb Strong Reipublicæ Massachusetensis
"Gubernatore.
"Honoratissimo Guillelmo Phillips Vice Gubernatore.
"Reverendo Johanne T. Kirkland D. D., Universitatís
"Harvardianæ Præsidi et ecclesiæ nostræ nuper Pastore."

The following is a translation of the above inscription:

"A Church
"On this spot was originally dedicated by our forefathers
"to God Almighty and all good, Jan'y 7th, A. D. 1717.
"It was enlarged A. D. 1729. It was taken down, A. D.
"1814. The foundation of a new edifice [may God prosper
"and bless our design] was laid
"April 14th, 1814.
"The Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher being Pastor of our
"Church."

On the Reverse.

"This transaction took place while his Excellency CALB Strong was Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, His Honor WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Lieut. Governor, and the Rev. JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND, D. D., lately Pastor of this Church, was President of HARVARD UNIVERSITY."

MARBLEHEAD SOLDIERS.—The following is a list of the Marblehead soldiers who were killed in battle or have since died.

BURIED IN MARBLEHEAD.

Horace Aborn,	Samuel J. Goodwin,
William T. Adams,	Samuel M. Goodwin,
Thomas P. Atkins,	Thomas M. Goodwin, Jr.,
Nicholas Bartlett, Jr.,	John Grant,
William J. Bartlett,	Michael B. Graves,
Benjamin F. Bartoll,	John R. Green,
William H. Bartoll,	Michael Hennessey,
William B. Bessom,	Joseph A. Hooper,
William Blaney,	Knott L. Hooper,
Lt. Nathaniel R. Blaney,	William H. Hooper,
John M. Brown,	John Ingalls,
Thomas Brown, 2d,	Francis E. Ireson,
William H. Brown,	Edward D. Ireson,
William P. Brown,	James Keath,
John H. Butman,	Elias D. Knight, Jr.,
James K. Carroll,	Phillip B. Millett,
Joseph S. Caswell,	Gamaliel H. Morse,
George L. Clark,	James Peach,
John B. Cloon,	William R. Phillips,
Joseph Cloutman,	Francis H. Rathbun,
Andrew Colford,	George W. Ramsdell,
Joseph H. Collyer,	John Ramsdell,
Peter Crowley,	Benjamin F. Roundey,

Joseph Doliber, Jr.
William F. Doliber,
Charles H. Flint,
Henry Forsyth,
Bartlett B. Freeman,
Francis Freeto, 2d,
Austin Fader,
John B. Gallison,
Edward Giles, Jr.,
Henry Gilley,
Samuel M. Gilley,
Gardner Goodwin,
Lt. John Goodwin, Jr.,

Capt. Thomas Russell,
John H. Savory,
Edward Smethurst,
Alex. S. Standley, Jr.,
Thomas Stevens,
Thomas Stevens, 2d,
Phillip A. Sweet, Jr.,
Jacob B. Sweetland,
Benjamin B. Swasey,
Nathaniel Thayer,
William A. Trefry,
William Wooldredge,
Joseph T. Wright.

BURIED AWAY FROM HOME.

Corp. Robert Cahill, C, 2d Reg., killed in battle at Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 9, 1862, aged 19.

Wm. Donovan, C, 2d Reg., died in Washington, Aug. 28, 1862, aged 26.

John Hines, C, 2d Reg., killed in battle, Aug. 15, 1863, aged 20.

John W. Stonehull, G, 2d Reg., killed at Cedar Mountain, Aug. 9, 1862, aged 23.

Dan'l S. Millett, E, 11th, died July 11, 1863, of wound at Gettysburg, aged 18.

Hugh Smith, G, 11th, killed in battle or died in prison, aged 26.

Sergt. Sam'l H. Doliber, G, 14th, died at Florence, Nov. 12, 1864, aged 27.

Sergt. Burrell Witham, G, 14th, died at Florence, S. C., aged 27.

Corp. Chas. E. Roache, G, 14th, died at Annapolis, Md., Dec. 9, 1864, aged 22.

Corp. Wm. Sweet, G, 14th, died at Charleston, S. C., Oct. 3d, 1864, aged 26.

Thos. Cox, G, 14th, died at Andersonville, Oct., 1864.

Eben. Collyer, G, 14th, died at Andersonville, Sept. 16, 1864, aged 31.

Wm. S. King, G, 14th, died at Savannah, Oct. 4, 1864, aged 20.

Rich'd Pryor, G, 14th, died at Andersonville, Sept. 18, 1864, aged 49.

David Steel, G, 14th, died at Florence, Nov. 24, 1864, aged 22.

Arch. Sinclair, G, 14th, died at Sumter, Aug. 18, 1864, aged 23.

Wm. Tindley, G, 14th, killed at Pine Bluff, Va., May 19, 1864, aged 36.

N. Twisden, G, 14th, died at Andersonville, Sept. 20, 1864, aged 48.

John Ragan, Jr., M, 14th, wounded at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864, died July 5, 1864, aged 22.

John H. Woodfin, E, 16th, killed at Wilderness, May 6, 1864, aged 31.

R. W. Chapman, E, 16th, killed at Chancellorsville, May 5, 1863, aged 27.

Michael Casey, H, 17th, died at Andersonville, July 5, 1864, aged 21.

Peter Collins, G, 19th, killed at Antietam, 1862, aged 17.
 Thomas Kelly, A, 20th, killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, aged 23.
 R. S. Gardner, H, 20th, died at Alexandria, Va., Oct. 9, 1863, aged 38.
 Jacob H. Alley, H, 20th, died at Washington, D. C., April 1, 1862, aged 29.
 Thos. Oliver, H, 20th, died at Salisbury, N. C. Feb. 15, 1865, aged 37.
 John Donovan, D, 21st, killed at Cedar Mt. Va., July, 1862, aged 19.
 Rich'd Caswell, B, 23d, died at Newbern, N. C., Sept. 4, 1863, aged 45.
 Thos. J. Peach, Jr., B, 23d, drowned off Fortress Monroe, Sept. 7, 1864, aged 22.
 Wm. O'Neal, C, 28th, killed in battle, Aug. 30, 1862, aged 25.
 Hy. T. Kennard, A, 30th, killed at Winchester, Sept. 19, 1864, aged 23.
 Sam'l S. Martin, E, 32d, died at Falmouth, Dec. 14, 1862, aged 34.
 Wm. H. Garney, B, 40th, died at Morris Island, S. C., Sept. 20, 1863, aged 41.
 Jas. Mullen, 41st, drowned on his way home after discharge, 1865, aged 27.
 Peter Savory, Jr., 2d H. A., died at Florence, Sept. 15, 1864, aged 20.
 Peter Welch, E, 63, N. Y., killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, aged 35.
 Ambrose Goss, K, 22d, died at Harrison's Landing, July 27, 1862, aged 20.
 G. B. Bartlett, G, 1st H. A., killed at Petersburg, June 22, 1864, aged 42.
 Zachariah Small, Jr., G, 1st H. A., died at Andersonville, Sept. 20, 1864, aged 23.
 Rob't Grieve, H, 20th, killed at Savage Station, July 6, 1862, aged 21.
 John F. Green, A, 12th, died at Salisbury, Dec. 15, 1864, aged 32.
 Wm. Peachey, H, 9th, killed at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864, aged 25.
 Wm. Bessom, H, 2d H. A., died at Andersonville, Sept. 1864, aged 26.
 John R. Goss, G, 9th, killed at Spottsylvania, May, 1864, aged 24.
 Jona. S. Blancy, G, 14th, navy, died at Doboy Sound, Ga., Jan. 31, 1865, aged 25.
 W. P. Lecraw, G, 1st, H. A., died at Andersonville, Aug. 28, 1864, aged 35.
 Francis Joseph, A, 1st H. A., died at N. Y., Aug. 31, 1864, aged 24.
 Wm. H. Johnson, G, 1st H. A., killed at Spottsylvania, May 20, 1864, aged 24.
 Richard S. T. Laskey, C, 32d, killed at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864, aged 24.
 Wm. Hunt, A, 1st H. A., killed at Wilderness, June 16, 1864, aged 26.
 Andrew Madison, G, 1st H. A., killed at Petersburg, June 23, 1864, aged 41.

Nicholas Bessom, H, 2d H. A., died at Andersonville, Sept. 1864, aged 45.
 Rob't McCully, G, 1st H. A., killed at Spottsylvania, May 20, 1864, aged 21.
 Chas. E. Lyon, G, 1st H. A., killed at Petersburg, June 22, 1864, aged 33.
 Jas. McCarty, G, 19th, drowned from steamer *Gen. Lyon*, 1865, aged 21.
 John Flynn, killed at Wilderness, May, 1864, aged 20.
 Sam'l A. Doliber, H, 17th, died at Andersonville, July 15, 1864, aged 20.
 John C. Cromett, B, 23d, wounded at Petersburg, May 16, died at Hampton, May 28, 1864, aged 24.
 Darby Tucker, H, 20th, killed in Wilderness, May 6, 1864, aged 20.
 Richard H. Martin, B, 24th, wounded at Bermuda Hundred, June 17, died at Hampton, July 1, 1864, aged 22.
 Ed. S. Rundlett, G, 1st H. A., wounded June 1, died at Chickahominy, June 2, 1864, aged 27.
 Wilson H. Russell, 3d, G, 1st H. A., died at Florence, 1864, aged 26.
 Moses P. Graves, G, 1st H. A., died at Andersonville, July 22, 1864, aged 31.
 John Sandwich, G, 1st H. A., died at Andersonville, Oct. 8, 1864, aged 29.
 Nath. S. Gilley, B, 16th, died at Beverly Ford, Sept. 15, 1863, aged 26.
 John Curtis, drowned from *Western World*, July 1862, aged 29.
 Wm. B. Hubbard, drowned in Cumberland, March 8, 1762, aged 38.
 B. I. Cloutman, ship *Ino*, killed by a fall, Dec. 18, 1862, aged 22.

The following are buried in Salem:

Bart. Cahill, A, 4th H. A., died at Fort Barnard, Va., Jan. 22, 1865, aged 43.
 John Bradley, H, 48th, d. at Marblehead, 1864, aged 21.
 Cornelius Martin, Brooklyn, died at Marblehead, April 14, 1863, aged 20.
 Daniel Symonds, Jr., Huron, died at Marblehead, 1864, aged 37.
 Patrick S. Durham, B, 47th, died at Marblehead, May 4, 1868, aged 26.

CAUCUS.—Among the other suggestions as to the origin of this word, it seems to me strange that no one (so far as I know) has suggested the corruption of *concours*, an assembly. It is at least as rational as the others.

But is not the true derivation from some Indian word? We have in New Jersey "*Seacaucus*" and "*Rancaucus*" as local names, the terminal syllables undoubtedly having a signification, if one only knew it. The languages of Massachu-

setts and New Jersey were both dialects of the Algonquin, and the adoption of such a term, if appropriate, would be no more singular than the naturalization of papoose, squaw, wigwam and a dozen others engrafted upon the English.

G. G.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

. ORIGIN OF A POPULAR PHRASE.—It has generally been supposed that the popular phrase, "Do not see it," was of modern origin. But in looking over Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, ii, 337, I observe that a distinguished Mohawk Indian, Abraham, at the Treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1770, said to Sir William Johnson, "You told us that we should pass our time in peace, and travel in security; that trade should flourish, and goods abound, and that they should be sold to us cheap. This would have endeared all the English to us—but we do not see it."

R.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE TOMBS OF THE COMMANDERS OF THE ENTERPRISE AND BOXER, AT PORTLAND, MAINE.—

In the November *Notes* of your Magazine is given the inscription upon the Tomb erected over the remains of William Burrows, Commander of the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*, who was mortally wounded on the fifth of September, 1813, in the action off Portland, with H. B. M. Brig *Boxer*.

Side by side, in the Eastern Cemetery at Portland, with the tomb of that gallant Commander, are the tombs of the Captain of the *Boxer* and of one of the officers of the *Enterprise*. These are the graves referred to in Longfellow's beautiful poem, *Lost Youth*:

"I remember the sea fight far away
"How it thundered o'er the tide,
"And the dead Captains as they lay
"In their graves o'erlooking the tranquil bay,
"Where they in battle died."

A few years since it was proposed to replace these modest tombs with a stately monument to the memory of all three, friend and foe man alike, and a subscription was actually started for that purpose, but on sober second thought, as the stones already erected were in a measure public monuments, it was thought in better taste to restore them, than erect new monuments.

The remains of the Commander of the *Enterprise* occupy the centre of the group. Those of the Captain of the *Boxer* lie on his right; and the young officer of the *Enterprise*, who lingered in severe pain for two years after the action, is interred on his left.

The following are the inscriptions on their tombs, copied by me several years since:

In Memory

of

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BLYTH

late Commander

of

His Britannic Majesty's Brig *Boxer*.

He nobly fell

in action

with the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*.

In life honorable

In death glorious

His Country will long deplore one of her bravest sons;

His friends long lament one of the best of men.

Æ 29.

The surviving officers of his crew offer this feeble tribute of admiration and regard.

Beneath this marble,

by the side of his gallant Commander,

rest the remains of

LIEUT. KERVIN WATERS,

a native of Georgetown, District of

Columbia, who received a mortal

wound Sept. 5. 1813,

while a Midshipman on board the

U. S. BRIG ENTERPRISE

in an action with H. B. M. Brig *Boxer*,

which terminated in the capture of the latter.

He languished in severe pain,

Which he endured with fortitude,

Until September 25. 1815,

When he died with Christian

Calmness and resignation,

Aged 18.

The Young men of Portland

Erect this stone

As a testimony of their respect for his valor and virtues.

A writer, (Laura Ream,) has recently contributed to *The Indianapolis Journal* an interesting paper on the inscriptions in the old Eastern Cemetery, at Portland, among which are the inscriptions on these monuments, somewhat abbreviated. Evidently mistaking the date of young Waters' death, she gives as part of the inscription on his tomb. "He languished in severe pain, which he bore with fortitude, 25 days, when he died with Christian calmness and resignation," &c.; while you will perceive he lingered for two years and twenty days, before death released him from his sufferings.

My brother, who visited the two vessels soon after they came to anchor in Portland, informed me that the decks of the *Enterprise* had been cleaned up after the action, and she was in perfect order; but that the decks of the *Boxer* re-

remained as she came from the fight, and were still dripping gore. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.—In Grege's *History of the Middle Ages*, (P. 152,) in describing the extent of the Empire of Charlemagne; he says, "From the banks of the Elbe to the "Oder, from the shores of the Black Sea to the "Adriatic, all submitted to his power."

In the first place this would not describe any boundary; in the second, the space between the Elbe and the Oder would be very small, and we do not know that he carried his arms beyond the Elbe; in the third place, this boundary would carry his Empire completely out of its proper bounds, into territory altogether *East* of it; in the fourth place, it disagrees with every other author.

Taylor's *Manual*, (P. 375), says, "The Western "Empire, established by Charlemagne, extended "from the Ebro in the West, to the Elbe and Raab "in the East; and from the Dutchy of Beneventura and the Adriatic Sea to the river Eyder, "which separated the Germanic tribes from the "Scandinavian hordes."

Guizot's History of Civilization. (P. 75 :) "He "was always in the field; from the South to the "North-east; from the Ebro to the Elbe and "Weser." (P. 72 :) Subdues all South of the Elbe." (*3d Am. Ed.* 1842.)

These are the boundaries given on the *Atlas of the Middle Ages*, by A. L. Kœppen, Map III. in reference to which, (P. 7,) he says, "Karl, the German, being crowned Emperor of the West, in A. D. 800, unites under his sceptre all the diverse "nations residing between the Elbe and the "Liris," [*in Italy*], "the Ebro in Spain, and the "Raab and Theiss in Central Avaria, (Hungary."

Student's Gibbon, (P. 440,) says, "the Empire of the Franks extended between East and "West, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; "between the North and South, from the Dutchy "of Beneventura to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark."

E. F. R.

XV.—QUERIES.

THE UNITED STATES, PRIOR TO 1788.—I read very little concerning the United States, between the close of the War of the Revolution and the inauguration of the first President; why is so little said about the History of that period?

I am led to make this inquiry because of an article, recently published, from the prolific pen of Mr. Parton, in which, while describing the advent of John Adams as our Ambassador to England, in 1785, he says:

"He soon found, however, that all this civility "of the Court meant very little. He was not "able to induce the British Government to give "up the Western forts nor enter into just commercial arrangements. Several years elapsed "before England showed any disposition to treat "with the new Republic on terms of equality and "justice."

I am inclined to believe there is more romance than history in this sentence; but nearly every one who has written on the subject, *during the present century*, seems to lean toward the same point. Do ask some of your readers to tell us what the Truth is, concerning it?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE LAND CLAIM OF COLONEL JOHN HENRY LYDIUS.—Is there any evidence that the claim of Colonel John Henry Lydius to a large tract of land on the Hudson river and Wood creek, was pretended by him to be in any way connected with the previous Grant to the Rev. Godfrey Dellius? Such connection seems to be snpposed by Dr. Fitch, in his *History of Washington-county*, (see page 894); and also by W. Hay, in an article in the last April number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, (II, iii, 252.)

In a pamphlet exposition of the title of Lydius, printed at New Haven, in 1764, doubtless by his authority, he says nothing about the Dellius Grant, but claims title under an Indian Deed, in language as follows:

"The father of the present Colonel Lydius being a Minister of the Gospel at Albany, was "well known to have taken much pains with the "Mohawk Indians for a series of years, in which " (on his decease) he was succeeded by his son "aforesaid, who (though not a clergyman) still "continued their instruction, till he so far ingratiated himself into their favor, that on the first "day of February, 1732, he obtained a deed of "the heads of that Nation, for two certain tracts "of land lying on Otter Creek and Wood Creek, "and bounded as follows,—beginning at the "mouth of Otter Creek where it empties into "Lake Champlain and runs Easterly, six Dutch "miles (equal to twenty four English); then runs "Southerly to the uppermost falls on Otter Creek, "being about fifteen Dutch miles, be the same "more or less; then Westerly six Dutch miles, "and thence Northerly to the place of beginning. The other on Wood Creek: beginning "two Dutch miles and a half due North of the "place called *Kingquaghtenock*, or the falls on "Wood Creek; and thence runs Westerly to the "falls on Hudson's river, going to Lake St. Sacrament; thence down said river five Dutch "miles; and thence running Easterly five Dutch "miles; thence Southerly three Dutch miles and

"a half; thence Easterly five Dutch miles; and
"thence Northerly to the place of beginning."

The pamphlet then states that his title by the Indian Deed was confirmed and declared valid by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, in obedience to the special command of his Majesty. The Indian Deed to Lydius, as well as the confirmation of it, if they ever existed, were doubtless both founded in fraud. But the description of the land claimed by Lydius, as well as the title under which he professes to derive it, seems to exclude any idea that it had any connexion whatever with the previous Grant to Dellius.

NORTH BENNINGTON, Vt.

H. H.

WHEN DID ROGER WILLIAMS LEAVE NEW YORK FOR ENGLAND?—In the April number of *The North American Review*, there is an interesting and valuable critical notice of the *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, understood to be from the pen of that accomplished historical scholar, Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge. He very justly recognizes the value of Mr. Trumbull's Preface and foot-notes to Roger Williams's *Key into the Language of America*, which is the first tract in the first volume of the Club Publications, and encourages the highest expectations from the future labors of that eminent scholar. Yet it is a curious circumstance, that he begins his critical notice by a naked assertion in direct contradiction of an error (?) in the book he is reviewing. He says: "In the month of June, 1643, Roger Williams embarked at New York for his native 'land.' We take it for granted that Mr. Deane is right, but regret that he has not given the authority explicitly, upon which he rejects the result of Mr. Trumbull's careful examination of that point, as stated in the last foot-note to the *Key*.—*Publications of the Narragansett Club*, First Series, I., 217, 218.

Will Mr. Deane favor the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE with an explanation?

NEW YORK CITY.

PLUS.

QUAKERS IN MASSACHUSETTS.—Were the intolerant laws against the Quakers in Massachusetts ever repealed?

E. Y. E.

XVI.—REPLIES.

"Its."—(*H. M.*, II, iv. 249.) Whitney's statement is scarcely correct, though in an immaterial point.

Our Bible translation was begun 1604 and finished by the end of 1607. But the word "Its" occurs in the third quarto edition of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, 1605; also in the fourth quarto, 1607, in another place; and Ben Johnson uses it in *Volpone*, written in 1606. It is also in *Measure*

for *Measure* and *Henry VIII.*, written in 1604 and 1603, respectively, but not printed till 1623.

The text cited, *Leviticus*, xxv, 5, reads, in the first edition of our Bible, 1611, "That which groweth of it own accord," etc. The Dean of Canterbury, writing in *Good Words*, June, 1863, can find no copy before 1715 reading "Its;" but having made a somewhat extensive collation of the English Bible, in many copies, for a forthcoming work, I found the change made here in two separate editions of 1682; while a copy of 1680, and all before it, retain the "It."

The early translations in this place read thus: COVERDALE, "what groweth of it selfe;" MATHEW and TAVERNER, "the corne that groweth by it selfe;" CRANMER and the BISHOPS, oddly, "that which groweth of the owne accorde;" GENEVA, "of it owne accorde;" DOWAY, "the 'things that' [modern copies, 'what']" "the 'groundshal bring forth of it selfe.'"

The first folio Shakspeare uses "Its," (generally with the genitive apostrophe, "it's,") ten times.

Modern editions have the word about twenty-six times.

The question put, How did this "Its" get into subsequent editions? is answered with far less difficulty than the same question would be if applied to other variations, of greater importance, not generally noticed. It is a mere printer's correction of a form once regular and common but becoming antiquated. In an 18mo. Reference (miscalled Polyglott) Stereotype Bible, (Concord, New Hampshire, 1836,) the word is in Mark, ix, 36, "if the salt have lost its saltness."

The translators felt the embarrassment following from the lack of this word. Sometimes, as in Daniel, vii, 7, they have expressed the case by a circumlocution. But a few texts, as Isaiah, vii, 1, and Matthew, vi, 33, are seriously obscured by the use of "His" for "Its."

WILLIAMSBURGH, N. Y.

PAX.

FORT GEORGE AND DANIEL PARKS.

MR. DAWSON: Being one of the persons to whom Mr. De Costa—in your last February number—so kindly and considerately, (not to add delicately,) alluded, in his *Daniel Purks and the capture of Fort George*, permit me briefly to answer that I never supposed he—surely no Daniel in a lions' den—whether acting independently or in conjunction with Bernard Romans, encountered much (if any) resistance; and am not—from my communication to the Reverend Gentleman, responsible for an exaggerated account, which confounds that seizure and occupation in the spring of 1776, with the summer of 1777, when Burgoyne left two Artillery Companies at Diamond Island, whence Colonel Brown's attack (on his return-expedition from Ticonderoga) was beaten

off, and his Flotilla consequently sunken in the vicinity, Van Wormer's Bay. Daniel Parks certainly co-operated in Ethan Allen's project, and commanded a garrison—"be the same more or less"—at Fort George, when by Tories, under guidance of Ferguson, a publican and sinner at the Great Bend, two of the Parks' family were murdered near Glen's Falls, and another taken thence, as a captive, to Canada. Daniel Parks' patriotic services (even if unrequited) should not be depreciated, nor his memory and sufferings ridiculed, although he mustered but sixteen men, and, contrary to approved custom in these degenerate days, charged for expences thirty shillings only.

I derived from James Higson my authentic information, confirmed by Solomon Parks, with whom I frequently and familiarly conversed during many years, on this subject and other revolutionary occurrences. When I first resided at Caldwell, in 1813, the North half of Fort George, was in tenatable condition and used as shelter for sheep; although the stone wall entrance was considerably dilapidated, and the South part of the bomb-proof roof, (composed of horizontal timbers or beams, covered with earth, and sodded,) had caved in. It was nearly half a mile from the Lake beach, where in the autumn of 1776, Colonel Gansevoort presided over a general Hospital, or rather smallpox pest-house, until he was fortunately transferred to Fort Stanwix. That hospital was subsequently converted into a "Long-house" tavern, and so occupied until Mr. Caldwell erected, in about 1808, the "Lake House."

Probably Captain Norberg's cottage, or hermitage, was, on account of proximity to pure water, near the Long-house site; or, more eligibly for prospect, so perfectly resembling a panoramic view of Lake Leman, upon the ruins of Fort William Henry.

Daniel Parks, although contemned as "the bold hero of Queensbury," never resided there; and every family epitaph inscribed "*in memoriam*" by affectionate descendants, should, if not deemed sacred to sorrow and even ancestral pride, be the subject of sarcastic Reverend Gentlemen's forbearance.

Respectfully, WM. HAY.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, May 15, 1868.

P. S. Fort Gage was an intrenched outpost, or encampment, for Amherst's soldiers; it having been, during Montcalm's short siege of Fort William Henry, a French station to intercept supplies and re-enforcement, or other relief, from Fort Edward. At the base of Gage's Hill, massacre of Captain Carver's companions ceased.

W. H.

NOTA BENE! Our facetious friend, Mr. De Costa, asserts, with more zeal than knowledge, "that

"Fort Gage never possessed a garrison nor a gun." Late as 1813 the locality dignified as Fort Gage was environed by a deep trench and corresponding breastwork, with fragments of a rotted stockade. Extending from a summit-level down towards Lake George, from which it was distant more than a mile, the slope presented many opportunities for placing, as at Mount Defiance, on platforms, either barbette or field guns, that could command the French Mountain Pass, through which, in 1755, Baron Dieskau approached Johnson's encampment. Amherst fortified, thoroughly and expensively, at both ends of Lake George, and, especially, at Crown-point, before Montcalm's conqueror "came up, like a Wolf, on the fold," and could not be driven away from "Death's door" at Quebec.

De Costa, also, (if not *likewise*) is perhaps too positive when alleging that "Fort George was abandoned before," although not constantly nor completely occupied. Norberg misapplied the word *abandoned*; yet his statement disproves it. Certainly, in 1780, a real garrison was actually captured there by Major Carleton (the Governor-general's nephew) who from Bulwagga Bay detached three hundred of his command under Munro, to sack Schenectady; but instead he burned many houses in Ballstown (now Ballston) and forced General James Gordon, with several of his neighbors, through the wilderness to Montreal. Meanwhile, Major Carleton, with a force of seven hundred men, swept round, by way of Fort Ann, to Fort George, and thence transported its entire garrison to Canada.

My information on this subject has been obtained from papers of General Gordon and of Colonel Adiel Sherwood (captured commandant who surrendered Fort Ann) with whom, and their families, I frequently conversed, elsewhere than at any of Mr. De Costa's "Village Inns."

W. H.

A RELIC.—In your December number, 1867, is an account of a Relic, copied from *The New York Tribune*, called the "pedestal of the former statue of George III.," but describing it as the gravestone of Major John Smith of the British army, to whose memory it is inscribed.

To make this article satisfactory, the writer ought to have proven how and when it disappeared from the Bowling-green, and why it became the tablet in memory of a British officer, and in what manner it became the property of the Van Vorsts of Jersey City, two of whom appear to have used it as a stepping-stone to dwellings, from the time of the removal of the burial-place of Major Smith, in 1804, without knowing it was a soldier's gravestone, let alone any knowledge of its being a part of the old pedestal!

We suppose the *Tribune* correspondent mean

to have called it a *part* of the pedestal, which he describes as Portland marble, five feet six inches long and four inches thick, bearing the marks of "two of the feet of the horse,"—meaning the leaden horse and leaden rider, of colossal size, which a slab of marble as described, could not for a moment sustain.

Local historians have agreed that the entire pedestal remained in the Bowling-green until within the present century; and if it was removed at all it was not until after the Declaration of Peace, in November, 1783, and four months at least after the burial of Major Smith. H. C. W.

VII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y." or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*The Speech of Mr. John Checkley, upon his trial at Boston, in 1724.* With an Introduction by Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., of Harlem, N. Y. MORRISANIA, N. Y. 1868. Octavo, xx, 88.

Mr. John Checkley was a native of Boston, who was educated at Oxford; became a publisher and bookseller "at the sign of the Crown and Blue Gate, over-against the West-End of the Town-House in Boston;" and was soon out of favor with those in authority in that model *republican* locality. He was a Non-juror, an anti-Calvinist, and an Episcopalian—why should he have sought, if he did seek, any favor from those who had carried the purified Church into the Wilderness, who believed in "the Five Points," and who were Congregationalists, of the Massachusetts pattern?

But he published an edition of Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, and supplemented it with *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*; and, subsequently, he issued an edition of *Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. The Magistrates and Ministers—*republican*, as they are said to have been,—could not stand it, and would not try to stand it. Indeed, they would not permit any one to think, much less to write and print, except in accord with "The Standing Order"—such would not have been *republican*, as Massachusetts, then practised that virtue.

They accordingly arrested Checkley; and they tried him on a trumped-up charge—they dare not face the music, like men, just as those who have succeeded them, in that department, dare not face it, to-day. He defended himself in a speech of great merit; but the Magistrates and Ministers carried too many guns, and Checkley

was convicted, and mulcted in a penalty of Fifty pounds and costs.

Massachusetts curiously keeps out of sight such incidents of her history as this, notwithstanding she scrapes the moss-covered headstones of many a graveyard in England, with a hope that some of the Fathers of that Colony may have been buried there; and manufactures *new* History for herself where the *old* has become unfashionable or unprofitable, as rapidly as her factory girls throw off new styles of calicoes to take the places of the old styles, which they threw off last year.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, recognizing Boston as its native city, like other vagrants from the family hearthstone, sometimes scrapes the obscured memorials of former days, with a hope of finding something of the past of Boston and of Massachusetts which is worthy of their attention; and it recently scraped the moss from this speech of Checkley, and printed it for the benefit of those, among the students of American History, "whom it might concern."

With brotherly regard for the home and the memory of its Fathers,—saints, patriots, and republicans, and the authors and finishers of all, in America, that is lovely and of good report, whether in law or religion, politics or the arts, philanthropy or war (New England being the witness)—and with a desire to afford evidence of "the freedom to worship God," which those Fathers "found" and "left" in that locality, the MAGAZINE has now reproduced that Speech in elegant style, on tinted laid paper, for private circulation. One hundred copies were printed in this style; and we have no doubt that Boston will duly acknowledge the service which has thus been rendered to the memory of one of her persecuted and neglected sons.

2.—*Bibliotheca Canadensis: or a Manual of Canadian Literature.* By Henry J. Morgan. Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats. 1867. Octavo, pp. xiv + 3—411.

We are indebted to its industrious author for a copy of this very handsome volume, and have examined it with great satisfaction. It is evidently the result of many hours of painstaking toil, as Mr. Morgan tells us in his *Introductory Remarks*; but we have no doubt that its author will be rewarded, as he should be, with the solid support of his countrymen and the congratulations of historical students throughout the world.

It appears to form "PART I" of a yet unfinished work; but we have no knowledge of the extent or character of the author's designs, and shall look for the completion of the series with some impatience. The plan adopted, however, is very simple, embracing merely a list of the authors of works relating to Canada, with sketches of their lives; the titles, sizes, and places of issue of their published works; and critical no-

tices of both the writers and their publications, extracted from works of recognized reputation.

The author appears to embrace among the works relating to Canada, those which treat of the "War of 1812;" and we fully concur in the propriety of such notices, since Canada was the theatre of a large portion of that conflict. That portion, however, may be considerably extended by notices of works which have escaped Mr. Morgan's observation; and we hope that he will bear it in mind when he publishes the succeeding Parts of the series. We shall be glad to assist him in perfecting it, as far as possible.

We heartily commend the work to the attention of collectors and students as altogether worthy of their attention and support.

2.—*A Memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, A.M., author of The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America.* With Notices of his Family, by John Ward Dean. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. 218.

We opened this volume with mingled emotions of pleasure and regret; and those feelings control our pen, as we write this notice.

We opened it with pleasure, and we write this notice with pleasure, because we have been favored with another historical work which reflects the highest honor on the authorial integrity, the untiring industry in research, and the excellent judgment of an American author who has earned his just renown by his own hard work, unassisted by family connections, and without those questionable appliances which "Boston" knows so well how to employ in favor of less worthy citizens of Massachusetts. We were reminded, however, in the midst of this pleasure—and this made us sad—that the earnest and honest toiler whose handiwork this volume is, comes to and goes from his workshop in Shoe and Leather-street, Boston, unrewarded for this product of his labor, which would have been trumpeted far and near as a prodigy of ability had it proceeded from some other street in Boston; and that taking warning from the Past and the Present, he will not be likely to favor the Future with any further contributions to the History of his Country.

Our readers are not unacquainted with Nathaniel Ward, since Doctor Moore introduced him to their notice in the March number of this work, in an article which is marked with all the peculiar traits of that author's historical productions; nor is *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam*—one of Ward's best known works—unknown to many of them, since Mr. Ward was one of the earliest of American authors; and whether considered as a preacher, a jurist, or a wit, he must be regarded as one of the most notable.

He was born in Haverhill, England, about 1580; was educated for, and followed the profession of, a lawyer; travelled on the Continent;

became a preacher; served as such in Elbing in Prussia and in London; assumed the Rectorship of Stondon Massey, in Essex; fell under Laud's jurisdiction and was excommunicated for Non-conformity to a system to which he had previously sworn obedience, to which he was *then* subject, and from which he was *then* drawing his daily bread; came to New England; and abandoned Episcopacy because it interfered with his own "conscience," in order that he might become a Congregationalist and interfere with the consciences of others—Anne Hutchinson, for instance,—who were not in accord with himself, and inflict punishment on them, as Laud had done on him, not, however, for Non-conformity in *practice*, as had been his own case, but for Non-conformity in matters of *faith* only, for which they were not accountable to man. He abandoned the Church, while in New England, and became a politician; was a member of the General Court; and when the great body of the settlers had grown tired of the *absolutism* of the Magistrates and Elders—those model Republicans of whom we hear so much—and demanded a written Law for their protection, (as the downtrodden subjects of the Hapsburgs and other European despots have risen before their oppressors and demanded written Constitutions, within our own recollection,) he was one of the Committee to whom was entrusted the duty of drawing up such a Code. He, like the Hapsburgs of that day and the present, in America and Europe, was in no hurry, however, to meet the popular demand for a written law which should be binding upon all alike, until, like them, he was reminded of it in terms which were distinctly understood—"the people had 'become impatient,'" Mr. Ward says, as the Poles, and the Hungarians, and the Irish have been, sometimes, since then. Like other despots, also, this well-spring of New-English Puritanic republicanism asked if, "it will not be of *ill consequence* to send the Court business," [concerning the proposed Code of Laws,] "to the *common consideration* of the freemen," for their approval, and ratification; fearing, at the same time, "it will too much exauctorate the power of that Court to *prostrate* matters in that manner." He also "suspected both Commonwealth and Churches haue disscended to love already," by submitting the proposed Code to a vote of the Freemen, because he "saw the spirits runne high, and what they gett they hould;" and he "questioned whether it be of God to *interest the inferiour sort* in that which should be reserved *inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges.*" Such were the republicans and such the republicanism of Massachusetts in 1639: exactly similar are the republicans and republicanism of the controlling powers at Pesth and Warsaw, to-day.

Mr. Ward seems to have fallen into discredit in

New England; and when he could no longer keep step to the music of the ruling party there, he returned to England; published his *Simple Cobbler*; "openly resisted" both the demand for "a legal recognition of toleration" and the sentiment "in favor of a Republic," in the Mother Country; "leaned toward Presbyterians," when they were the ruling power; preached the ultra-loyal Sermon of which Doctor Moore wrote in our March number; became an Episcopalian minister again; and thus, in 1652, died.

In handling this curious specimen of humanity, Mr. Dean has spared no pains in ascertaining the facts concerning him and his family; and he has evidently told us all that he has discovered. He has done well, therefore, in this, he has furnished those who shall come after him with better opportunities than the greater number have yet enjoyed, to ascertain, in some particulars, precisely how little foundation in truth there is for much that has been written concerning the heroes of the New English mythology and how utterly regardless of the Truth have been many of those who have heretofore written, concerning the spirit which controlled the Colonies in New England, in their earlier history. We thank him, therefore; and we commend his volume to those who would read of the facts as they really occurred.

Yet this is only a *Memoir of the man*, and we have in consequence only a glimpse of the *Times* in which he lived. We learn of the intolerance of the Ministers and the Magistrates of early Massachusetts: we learn of their despotism, also, and their unwillingness to enact a written Code of Laws to which *all*—the despots as well as their victims—should be alike subject: we learn the effect of their despotic rule on the great body of the Colonists; the restlessness of the common people who were neither Ministers nor Magistrates; and their demand for a redress of grievances by the due enactment of a *written* Code: the hesitation of those in authority, is also brought before us, and their doubts of the propriety of allowing the common people to take part in the Government—they did not believe in "the equality before the law" of even the Fathers and the Mothers of Massachusetts. But we learn of these incidentally rather than as a stated portion of the volume, and then only because it becomes necessary to allude to them in order to have the Reverend Nathaniel Ward understood. They serve, in fact, as the background to Mr. Ward's portrait, and are, therefore, incomplete and unsatisfactory.

It will be seen, therefore, as we have said, that this volume is only a Biography, and must not be confounded with the Histories of the period—a peculiarity which is so great a loss to the historical world, now and hereafter, that we earnestly hope it may be remedied by the competent pen

which has already done so much, in the volume before us.

The edition of this very important volume was only a hundred and seventy-five copies, of which twenty-five were for presents; and we trust the historical world will promptly return to the veteran printer the trifle with which he seems to be contented for his outlay and risk, in the publication.

4.—*Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. Edited from his Manuscript, with Notes and an Introduction, by John Bigelow. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 409.

Few volumes have been more widely circulated than those purporting to be the autobiography of Franklin, and few have been so popular.

Five editions, all distinct and different versions, in French, have appeared in France; an edition, in English, was printed in Dublin, in the spring of 1793; an entirely different version, also in English, appeared in London, in the summer or fall of the same year; a reprint of the Dublin edition of 1793, was printed in London, in 1799, and others have frequently appeared since that date in both Europe and America; another version, also in English, was published in England in 1817; and in the volume before us, a ninth version pushes its way into circulation under the able editorial guidance of our good friend, Hon. John Bigelow, recently our Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

In the *Introduction* to this volume, which runs through more than fifty pages, Mr. Bigelow notices, successively, the origin of this Autobiography; from whom the original manuscript came when he received it; and the variations between this original and the copy from which the Author's grandson, in 1817, printed his edition of it. He relates the circumstances under which the work was undertaken, and gives the details of its preparation—a portion of it while its author was on a visit to the Bishop of St. Asaph; another portion while he resided at Passy, near Paris; another portion at Philadelphia—and he scatters to the winds, the story of Castera, that it was prepared as an antidote to the *Confessions* of Rousseau. He relates the circumstances of the publication of the work, both in France and England—not wholly without error, however;—discredits the charges made against William Temple Franklin, that he had suppressed portions of the Doctor's manuscripts; and rather inclines to the belief that the publication of the collected *Works* of the Doctor, was delayed, until 1817, for profit to his grandson. He describes the manuscript, and the pastel portrait, by Duplessis, which also is now owned by Mr. Bigelow; extracts from Laboulaye's *Mémoires de Benjamin Franklin* a pleasant paragraph or two concerning Franklin and

his writings; explains his mode of editing the work; and closes.

We have a right to expect from such a practised pen as Mr. Bigelow wields, a work of superior excellence; and, speaking generally, we have not been disappointed in this *Introduction*. It is not very clear to us, however, that the rough draft of this *Autobiography*—covered, as it seems to be, with erasures, and interlineations, and marginal corrections—is necessarily better than a copy of it, corrected under the Author's own eye and subsequently recognized by him, even if the former is an autograph and the latter merely the work of an instructed copyist; and when William Temple Franklin, when he was about to publish the first collected edition of his grandfather's papers, preferred, for the purposes of that publication, "the correct and fine copy given by [his] grandfather" to M. le Veillard, it strikes us that he showed considerable good judgment in making his selection. It is evident that the copies sent respectively to M. le Veillard and Mr. Vaughan were authentic, since they were exact counterparts of each other, taken with a letter-press, and sent by the Doctor himself, to the gentlemen referred to: for Mr. Bigelow's earlier draft, although a very interesting paper, there cannot be claimed, with any just reason, we think, the superiority of merit or greater historical authority which Mr. Bigelow seems to claim for it. It is, at best, if we understand it correctly, Doctor Franklin's first rough draft of, to him, a more satisfactory paper which was subsequently written by the Doctor's grandson, at the dictation of his grandfather, while the latter was confined to his bed, and referred to in his letter to Mr. Vaughan, written on the second of November, 1789, (SPARKS'S *Works of Franklin*, x, 397,) and duplicated in a press, for transmission to Passy.

Mr. Bigelow seems, also, to disregard the Dublin edition of the spring of 1793, and considers the version of the London edition of the summer or fall of that year, as "the only English version in print, until 1816," and this omission, on his part, is the more notable since it is that Dublin version, instead of the London, as he supposes, which has been so frequently republished, both in Europe and America.

Mr. Bigelow also refers (P. 9) to Doctor Franklin as the "grandfather," instead of the father, of William Franklin; and we cannot see the force of his remark, on the same page, when he argues for the omission of Governor William Franklin's name from the *Autobiography*, because the latter "was not living upon terms even of 'friendly correspondence' with its author; although Mr. Bigelow himself admits the words 'Dear Son,' into the very next line of the same *Autobiography*, with the knowledge, on his part, that Franklin had no other son than this William, the loyal Governor of New Jersey.

On page 38. Mr. Bigelow speaks of a memorandum on the fly-leaves of his manuscript, presuming it to have been written "by M. de Senarmont, or some member of his family;" on page 49, he refers to this memorandum again, and presumes it was written by M. le Veillard, although that gentleman had fallen on the scaffold, long before this manuscript passed into the hands of his family, by exchange for the revised copy, from those of William Temple Franklin.

On page 52, M. de Senarmont is made to certify, on the *seventeenth* of January, 1867, to the delivery of papers to Mr. Bigelow, on the *twenty-sixth* of the same month.

We refer to these errors of detail because Mr. Bigelow is not a novice in the use of the editorial pen; and we have a right to expect from him, in such a work as this, much more care than seems to have been bestowed upon it.

The *Autobiography* itself, which appears in this volume, is the paper, unrevised, which the author originally wrote, threw away, recovered many years after, and left among his old papers; and, for this reason, it is curious, when compared with the revised paper, printed by William Temple Franklin from the press-copy of the latter, which was sent by its author to M. le Veillard, the Mayor of Passy, because it shows the process through which "Poor Richard," that man of simple habits, was accustomed to run his writings before they were thrown before the public. There may be other value in it, but we confess that we do not see it. We shall certainly require other evidence than any we have yet seen, which will cause us to regard a rough draft of a paper, covered with erasures and interlineations, and not intended for the public eye, as more important, in such a case as this, than the Author's carefully revised copy—"the correct and fine copy" are the contemporary words—of the same paper, which was expressly prepared for other eyes than his own. As it is, however, with all its imperfections, and shortcomings, and superfluous words—its Author being the judge of their existence—this *Autobiography* is before us; and as it is not very materially different from other copies of that paper, which are already well known to our readers, we need say little about it.

It bears on its face the evidence that it is the production of an old man, who, on a review of his own career, was perfectly satisfied with himself; and who studiously concealed therein, many points of that career on which he could not hang garlands in honor of himself, as he, in his old age, understood that term. He addressed the paper itself to his "DEAR SON," for instance; but he fails to tell us of whom that Son was born, or when, notwithstanding he knew that the Mother of him was a victim of his own lust, and

the Son himself a bastard. He affects great simplicity of taste and habit; yet he proves that in this respect he was like other men, when he found in his own name an evidence, as he thought, of the gentility of his distant ancestors, and when he searched the humble Parish Registers of Ecton, in England, as far back as 1555, in a vain search for a streak of genteel blood in the family. He displays very prominently, the success his father met with in teaching him "that nothing was useful which was not honest"—certainly a kind word for the father's integrity—but he does not tell us how soon he forgot the lesson; nor does he even note in his *Autobiography* the cases in which he is known to have failed in the practice of it. His fling at Scotchmen (Page 94) indicates his turn of mind, on another subject often seen among rivals, whether in business or pleasure, goodness or meanness. His half-told story concerning the Asbestos purse, exposed in its ugliness by contrast with the letter on which it rested, but to which he made no allusion, (Page 148) indicates his propensity to suppress the truth, when the truth will tell against his vanity. There are other instances, in this matter, to which we might refer as evidence of his forgetfulness of his father's lesson, even while writing this paper, but we have other uses for our space.

Franklin was an able, shrewd man; always ready to benefit himself; not always ready to employ no other than honest means. He was vain, insincere, not scrupulously honest, not remarkably virtuous in his habits, not unwilling to reap where others had sown, clear-headed, not easily disturbed nor embarrassed by untoward events. He wrote well, was a pretty good political wire-puller, loved office, and managed pretty well, in retaining his official seat and its emoluments, under different Governments.

Mr. Bigelow's *Notes* are appended, mainly, to this *Autobiography*; and, as far as they go, they are generally appropriate, although he seems to have gone little farther for his material than William Temple Franklin and Doctor Sparks. They are, however, too few to be very useful; and it seems to us that a paper which stands as high in their Author's esteem as this work of Franklin, should have been favored with more of his attention than he has bestowed on this.

We have noticed, among the subjects which might have properly received the Editor's attention, in foot-notes, the Matthew Adams, the "ingenious tradesman" who opened his private library to the book-thirsty boy. (Page 93;) the John Collins, the young associate of the young man, who served so much to mould the rising man of letters, (Page 98;) the "freedom of the Press," which sent a Boston man to prison, for the same offence as that which Zenger, in New York, dared to do without punishment (Pages 104, 105;) the

Andrew Bradford and his press in Philadelphia, in which Franklin failed to find employment, (Page 114;) the Keimer, the rival of Bradford, in whose shabby office Franklin worked his way to prosperity and honor, (Page 136;) that *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, which Mr. Bigelow unwisely says is not now known to be in existence, although Mr. Parton printed it entire in the Memoir of Franklin of which honorable mention is made on page 55; that "native country" to which Franklin was "dissuaded" "from returning," when he was in Philadelphia, (Page 161;) the Hugh Meredith, through whom he entered business on his own account, (Page 157;) the Thomas Godfrey, the glazier, who hired the lower part of his premises, with whom he boarded, and from he obtained, without recognition, very much of his borrowed scientific fame; etc.

A series of interesting letters and papers, illustrative of the text, and a carefully prepared Index close the volume.

The volume is beautifully printed at the Lip-pincott Press; and it is as well illustrated by a portrait of Franklin, after the pastel drawing by Duplessis, by the skillful hand of our friend and townsman, Henry B. Hall, Esq.

5.—*The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*. By Christian F. Kling. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by Daniel W. Poor, D. D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. (4) 364.

The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By Christian F. Kling. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by Conway F. Wing, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. vii, 320.

These two works, consolidated, form the sixth volume of the series of Comments on the New Testament, by Doctor Lange, with the American additions; and it will be welcomed by Evangelical Ministers and Biblical students, the country over.

We understand that the text of Kling is so peculiarly involved and scholastic in its style that the task of the translators has been exceedingly severe; but they seem to have overcome it, and produced works which will compare favorably with all that have preceded it.

We hear the work spoken of, among those who are best capable of judging of its merits, as one which is invaluable to those for whom it has been published.

6.—*The Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry*. 1861-5. By Alonzo H. Quint, its Chaplain. Boston: James P. Walker. 1867. Octavo, pp. x, 528.

We always welcome such histories as this, because they are among the most useful to the working student and because they are always more just to the great body of those of whom they treat, than any other. The names and services of

the working-men—those who, after all, endured the hardships and did the fighting—are not often obscured in such books as this, by the glitter of some merely ornamental shoulder-strap; but every man is very likely to be rewarded therein according to his deserts.

For these reasons, we opened this volume with pleasure; and, after a careful examination of it, we place it on our shelf with unabated satisfaction.

The Second Massachusetts, of which it treats, was organized by Colonel, now General, George H. Gordon, in the Spring of 1861, with George L. Andrews as Lieutenant-colonel and Wilder Dwight as Major. It left West Roxbury, on the eighth of July; served under General Patterson—the well abused—General Banks, General Pope, General McClellan, General Slocum, General Ruger, General Rosencrans, General Thomas, and General Sherman, fighting on the retreat of Banks from Strasburg and Cedar Mountain, at Chancellorsville, Antietam and Gettysburg, before Atlanta, and thence to the Sea; and it retired from the service covered with the honors which belong only to brave men.

In this *Record*, which is the work of the Chaplain of the Regiment, the services of the latter are carefully noted, in an easy, graceful style, and with such a sturdy disregard of clap-trap that the volume will ever be a welcome one to the working-men of the school of History. There is, besides, such an undercurrent of independence of judgment, concerning the merits of different officers and different movements, in many of the chapters of this volume, that we are tempted to think that the worthy Chaplain does not regard every one with veneration who wore a shoulder-strap and every movement as a masterpiece of skill because it was ordered by a General—a feature of the work which will render it very useful to those who shall come after us, looking for the Truth and too often failing to find her.

On the other hand, while we are not disposed to find fault with anything we have seen in the work, it strikes us that in his own biography, on Page 480, the worthy Author has mistaken, not less than ten years, the date of his own marriage; but if we mistake in this matter we shall be happy to be corrected.

The volume is from the press of John Wilson and Son, of Cambridge, and is a pattern of neatness.

1.—*Eighty years of Republican Government in the United States*. By Louis J. Jennings. First American from the Second London Edition. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. clavo, pp. O. xvi, 268.

A large subject has certainly been condensed, if the whole of it has been crowded within these two covers—an explanation of the original plan

and design of the American Constitution, a review of the changes which have been made in it in subsequent times, and a description of its present condition and mode of working, all squeezed into less than three hundred pages, by a London "Bohemian," is certainly a sight worth seeing.

Before we had read four pages of this volume, however, we were satisfied that, like most other Europeans and like all Americans who are constructed on European bodies, Mr. Jennings had not yet learned the first lesson of American politics when he undertook to write this volume on that hackneyed subject.

Thus, he seems never to have imagined that more than *one* "People" had a hand in framing the Federal Government; and he talks as if only *one* People, if any, has any interest in the subject, to-day.

He tells of "the Constitution *recommitting* the power which it assumed *back to the people*, its original *depositories*, when it prescribed the means by which amendments could be made;" as if what he terms "the People" had ever parted with "the power" which they once possessed, or have ever ceased to be its "depositories."

He tells us that "the original Constitution was an instrument prepared with the object of carrying into effect the wishes and opinions of a community of thirteen States; and it remains in force only during the pleasure of the nation which has since risen up;" as if the United States had ever ceased to be "a community" of separate States and become, instead, a "nation," in the face of the stubborn fact that we have the same Constitution, with here and there a slight amendment, which we have had since 1789, and the same, *without any amendment whatever*, on the subject now under examination, which has been in force since the beginning, in 1781.

He talks of "the People" as the origin of the "political system of the United States;" and speaks of that "People" as a plurality—"their own form of government," "they endured all the hardships," "they resolved to govern for themselves," etc.—and he talks, also, very frequently, of "the local Legislature of each State," which is elected by the People—also described as a plurality—but he does not let us know if he uses the same term in the same sense in both places; and if not, why not. "The People" does, indeed, elect "the local Legislature" of New York, as Mr. Jennings says; but it is not the same power, called also "the people," by Mr. Jennings—which is said to have been the origin of "the political system of the United States." In the one case, "The People of the State of New York," one and indivisible, was the creative power: in the other, as is seen in the pending question of the fourteenth Amendment, that

creative power is composed of more than thirty separate and distinct "Peoples," or "States," or "Commonwealths," each acting for itself and entirely without consolidation.

He tells us "the Federal Legislature is only in 'plan the State Legislature on a large scale'; although unto the latter all power is delegated, unless positively excepted in the several Constitutions; while to the former *no power* is delegated, except by special Constitutional enactment. In the former, which is a CONGRESS (*Vide WEBSTER'S Dictionary*,*) in which the constituents represented are Sovereign States: in the latter, which is merely a LEGISLATURE, (*Vide WEBSTER'S Dictionary*) no State is represented, but only the separate communities which, when united, constitute in the aggregate, a "State," or "Commonwealth," or "People"—whichever you please to accept as its name.

He tells us, without dissent, that Washington said, "the basis of our political system is the 'right of the people to make and to alter their 'constitutions of government;'" and then he proceeds to say, ironically, we suppose, "upon *these principles* the American people determined 'that the country should be governed after the 'great rebellion,' when General Sickles was sent to govern South Carolina, and General Pope some other State, without the recognition, in practice, of any such 'right' in the 'people' of either of those States.

He modestly tells us that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which it was formally determined by that body, after elaborate argument and examination, that "no 'doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man 'than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great emergencies of the 'government,' is entirely contrary to 'common 'sense;'" as if any "sense" whatever may properly be styled "Common sense;" and as if even that can properly supercede a positive organic law.

He tells us that in making the last Amendment to the Constitution, "the terms of constitutional 'law, that is, by the consent of a majority of 'three-fourths of *all* the States, was ignored, and 'the decision of the conquering States was held 'to be alone sufficient to recast the agreement of '1787'; but no other person has heard of it.

He tells of "the wishes of those who made the 'Constitution and the desires of the educated 'class," concerning that Constitution and the Government which is founded on it; as if "those 'who made it" were defeated in "their wishes" and "made" something which they did not want,

something which has not ever since been binding upon them and us, and which is not now a positive and binding law—"the supreme law of the land."

One thing the author says truly without seeming to understand either the truth or the force of his own saying: "The Constitution has not been 'expressly abandoned,'" he says "for the homage 'of the lips it still paid to it. But it has been 'subjected to so many violent changes that it's 'framers, could they see it once more, would detect but few traces of their work."

This is exactly true; but the Author never seemed to suppose that all this is the necessary result of a series of aggressions—*usurpations* is the more proper term—by those of "the educated 'classes," who have occupied public stations and gradually revolutionized the *old* form of government by a series of interpretations, and bold siezures of power, and successful assaults on those who have defended "the Constitution," from the beginning until now.

John Jay, then on the Supreme Court Bench, boldly and defiantly attempted to carry out his own peculiar ideas by nullifying the positive law and disregarding the supreme authority of the Peoples who had enacted it; but his undisguised boldness alarmed those whom he had invaded, and he was defeated. Others, more discreet but not less mischievous, have subsequently sidled up to the Constitution and debauched, by their insidious smiles and their political lasciviousness, what they could never have overcome by force. Truly, the framers of the Constitution, "could 'they see it once more, would detect few traces 'of their work," in the practical, every-day operations of either of the three great Departments of Government which they then organized; but the fault is not in the system, which has been disregarded, nor in "the right," which has been overridden by official insolence, nor in "the 'supreme law of the land," which has been openly nullified, nor in "the People," which has been victimized, but in those "educated classes" of whom Mr. Jennings speaks—those social moths who toil not neither do they spin, whose social, and ancestral, and educational, pretensions enable them to become successfully the Jeremy Diddlers of the country. If there is a superlative rascal, an unparalleled demagogue, a successful violator of the fundamental law, he will be found among that "educated class" of whom Mr. Jennings speaks; and to-day, the true bulwark of freedom, the guarantee of the Republic, the foundation of the Constitution, is not that genteel class which boasts of its intelligence, but that less pretentious body whose habits are simple, whose "education" has been simple, and whose honesty is unquestioned.

In his second Chapter, the Author tells us of "the State and the Union;" but he drops, in this,

* I use the Edition which Noah Webster himself wrote; not that in which his text has been subsequently tinkered by incompetent or dishonest workmen, for their own or for their party's purposes. ED. HIST. MAG.

the *nationality* which he courted so sedulously in the first Chapter; and he talks as glibly of "the Confederacy" and "the new Commonwealth," as if the United States could be "a nation," and a "Confederacy," and a "new Commonwealth," at the same time and under the same Constitution.

He tells us of "the general theory of the Government" which, it was thought, could never need reconstruction. "It was imperishable, perfect in all its parts, secure in all its details, destined to be the wonder and envy of the world, as at once the most just and most beneficent form of government which a nation of men ever had the wisdom to choose for themselves;" although he had told us an entirely different story, already noticed.

He tells us of Massachusetts, repeated threats to withdraw from the Union; and he says that "the doctrine that the States were left free to choose whether they would remain in the Union or detach themselves from it was never refuted, though it was constantly contradicted, until the Southern States unwisely precipitated the decision, in 1861;" as if a question of Constitutional Law could be properly and legally determined at either Bull-run or in the Wilderness; or as if it was an open question, not expressly provided for and determined *against* "the doctrine" referred to, in a legally-established Article of the fundamental law, which has never been either repealed or amended.

He tells us of deception which was practised on the several Peoples to whom the Constitution was submitted for ratification, in order to secure their approval of it; but he does not say that the deceivers, if any existed, were those, of "the educated classes" who labored to make it appear, temporarily, exactly opposite in character to what those in authority and their confederates in usurpation have ever since attempted to impose upon the country—even *The Federalist* is now disregarded, both in the letter and in the spirit of its teachings.

We might fill a number of the Magazine by controverting more of the author's errors, as we find them in this volume, but we forbear. He has written much that is worthy of careful consideration, but more that needs correction; and we are constrained to caution our readers against very many of the statements which he has made, as wholly without foundation in fact.

8.—*Sermons*. By Rev. Newman Hall, D.D., of London. With a history of Surrey Chapel and its institutions, by Dr. Hall. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 809.

The Rev. Newman Hall is so widely known throughout the United States, that we need say nothing of him, individually; and during his

recent visit to America, which our readers will remember, he was made the welcome guest of many of the churches throughout the country.

This volume contains the sermons which he preached while on this visit, preceded by a description and history of the Church of which he is Pastor—Surrey Chapel, Southwark, England—and supplemented with several pages of poetry, on various subjects.

With the subject matter of these sermons, no one except the rigid Calvinist and the reckless Radical will find any fault. They are well-written, practical discourses; made up of short, pithy sentences; manifesting strong common sense in the speaker and great tact in the construction of his addresses.

As instances, while speaking of the Spirit of Freedom which pervades the Gospel, he told the Congress that "Liberty is not lawlessness; but harmony between the law and the nature and inclinations of its subjects." He said also, that "Law is essential to Freedom; but Freedom requires that the Law shall be such as comports with the best interests and highest reason of those who have to obey it; for then their best desires will concur with their obligations; and wishing to do only what the Law requires them to do, they will be conscious of no restraint." Whether Mr. Hall was aware of the severity of his remarks, when the present Congress was thus reminded of the sanctity of the Law, we are not informed; but their aptness is the same in either case. So, also, when he told the same hearers that "the love of power urges men to fasten on one another chains of their own device, under pretence of decency and order; as if disorder were more incident to the freedom God bestows than to the presumption which would fetter it," how exactly he hit a Truth which was unwelcome to the Butlers, and the Bingham, and the Stevenses of his audience.

There is, however, a very small proportion of political matter in the volume; and it is really worthy of the confidence and extended circulation which its Publishers seek for it.

9.—*Our Children in Heaven*. By William H. Holcombe, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 818.

The publishers have done well in giving this volume to the public in such perfect type and paper.

It is a book to be taken up with the ever recurring hour of sadness which follows the loss of our little ones. But the standpoint (Swedenborgian) from which it is written forbids us to speak of them as lost—gone from natural touch and vision, they are never *lost*. Nearer, rather, in that they now respond to every heart-throb. Dearer, that they are now where the Christian

heart is, and where its treasure should be also. A book like this must have been wrung from a heart which had tasted the saddest woes of which our nature is capable; but so tasted, that its sorrow was turned into joy.

The most awful enigma of our being is met—shall we say—solved. This dismal journey from silence to silence is illuminated by soft whispers in the character of death, and by voices that hymn, in tones audible to none but the mourner's ear, the sacred mysteries of the immortal life—the soothing welcome: “Suffer little children to come unto me.”

The Author testifies of this light, that it is the New Jerusalem, told of in the Apocalypse as descending from God out of Heaven. It is an awful claim! Let him who would reject, first read; and let him that readeth understand.

W.

10—*A Smaller History of England, from the earliest times to the year 1862.* Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Illustrated by Engravings on Wood. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Small octavo, pp. xxxii, 807. Price \$1.

In this very neat little volume may be found a well-written sketch of the History of England, which will be found very useful in families and to those who do not require a knowledge of details.

It is proper to remark, however, that it is to be regretted that those portions of the work which relate to the connection of England with America were not carefully revised by some one who was better acquainted with the subject than Doctor Smith seems to have been; and it was certainly a little out of place, even so brief a work as this, to disregard the War of 1812 by dismissing it with *only fifteen lines*, all told, and by leaving unnoticed all the leading events which were adverse to Great Britain, and by referring to those minor ones which ended in her favor.

XVIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

AN INDIGNANT HISTORIAN STILL MORE INDIGNANT.—In our last number we permitted some one, over the signature of the distinguished historian of Cleveland, Ohio, to present the complaint of the latter against ourself, before the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and we supposed that in doing so we were removing every cause of complaint, whether the same were real or imaginary, in Ohio or elsewhere.

We have since been favored with another communication from the same ready writer; and, like the former, the letter is verified by the historian's autograph signature. In this, over Colonel Whittlesey's signature, the unknown writer continues the subject which, after discussing the matter of the *History of Cleveland*, he introduced in the last paragraph of his former letter; and we have

no doubt that our readers will take as much pleasure in reading this as they did the former.

All will admit that the invisible author of this letter is much better qualified to write on the subject which has now arrested his attention than as a historian or even as a biographer; and we are sure he will prefer, hereafter, to shine as a legitimate successor to Peter Porcupine, rather than to twinkle in the distance as a very faint imitator of Herodotus.

It may tend to the relief of Colonel Whittlesey if we inform him that until his apologist adroitly advertised that fact in this letter, we had never heard of the existence of his “*brochure*” upon the ancient Mines of Lake Superior, much less passed judgment on it; and he will undoubtedly rejoice also in the knowledge that until we opened his *History of Cleveland*, we had never heard of him. We are ignorant, no longer, concerning either of these important matters.

The following is the second letter, to which we have referred:

HENRY B. DAWSON, Editor
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Morrisania.

SIR: I have received the April number of your magazine, containing my letter to you, and some characteristic comments of yours upon it.

You practice and seem to enjoy detraction so well, that I deal with you in personalities. My opinion of you as a journalist, was based entirely upon your exhibition of yourself in the January number.

I know nothing of you individually, had not seen the magazine since it passed out of the hands of Mr. Richardson, and had heard no one speak of you.

Since that time from communications and conversations coming from gentlemen, who know you better, I find your reputation as an honorable editor and critic is lower than my estimate of it.

The remarks you have published in connection with my letter show that a still lower estimate should be placed upon your literary character. In order to infuse into your comments the requisite bitterness, you resort to a pure invention in reference to its originality; and assert in denial thereof, without a shadow of evidence, what is in every particular an unqualified falsehood.

I am told that you have secured a brochure of mine upon the Ancient Mines of Lake Superior, which before the self-appointed tribunal of yourself does not come up to the proper standard of ability.

I know of no mode to put an end to your malevolent attacks on my works, but to follow and expose you in this department of your literary labors, until you are willing to let them alone.

Yours, &c.,

CHAS. WHITTLESEY.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. III. SECOND SERIES.]

JUNE, 1868.

[No. 6.

I.—BUNKER'S HILL.

Among the most noteworthy events in the history of America, few have attracted as much attention as the assault by the King's troops on the intrenchments of the Colonial insurgents, on Breed's-hill, opposite Boston, on Saturday morning, the seventeenth of June, 1775—commonly called "THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL;"—and, as an appropriate subject for the June number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we propose to pay our respects to it.

Our readers need not be told that the British Colonies on the sea-board of America were, generally, from the beginning, somewhat noted for their disaffection to their successive Sovereigns and to their Governments—both "Home" and local—notwithstanding those Colonies respectively recognized, or pretended to recognize, at nearly all times,—what nobody pretended to deny individually,—the fact that to each of those Sovereigns, successively, was due their undivided allegiance, and to each of those Governments, respectively, their unqualified obedience in all its ordinary demands.

There is room for grave doubts, however, concerning the extent and character of that disaffection and its intensity among the masses of the Colonists, particularly among those who were agriculturists and those who were disconnected with commercial or professional life. There are, also, very strong reasons for the belief that, from the beginning, the great body of the settlers in each of the thirteen Colonies, was chiefly intent on its own immediate affairs, and paid little personal attention to the politics of the day, beyond the petty interests of its own immediate neighborhood; that the relations of the Colonies and the Home Government were, therefore, little understood by the aggregate bodies of the settlers, in any of the Colonies, and seldom troubled them; that the disaffection was generally found among and chiefly fostered by a small minority in each Colony, mostly composed of merchants and professional men residing at or near the seats of the several Colonial Governments, *enjoying no Governmental patronage and impatient to secure it*, or having some other personal, family, or partizan ends to serve rather than their Country's good; that these, as occasions offered—as dema-

gogues are wont to do in our own day—fired the hearts of as many of their respective "country-men" as they could control, by flaming appeals against the party which was in power and in possession of the offices, and assumed to say and to do, in the names of the aggregate bodies of those "countrymen," what few among the latter had interest enough to dispute; and that the assumed unanimity of the Colonists in the opposition which was thus shown to the King and the Parliament, and the assumed disinterested Patriotism of by far the greater number of those who were thus made to appear as disloyal to their Sovereign and willing violators of the supreme law of the land, are among the myths which every faithful historian, who shall carefully examine the subject, will promptly expose and overthrow.

In the progress of events in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, within the Capital of which were established the Head-quarters of the King's forces in the Colonies, provision had been made by the disaffected, in the Spring of 1775, to resist the Royal authority by force; and arms and military stores, for that purpose, had been purchased and stored where they could be readily obtained, when their use should become necessary; and the more active of the disaffected had been organized, in military order, for the immediate employment of those supplies, in the work of rebellion, whenever the leaders, in Boston and its vicinity, should call their adherents to the field. A movement of the King's troops, for the purpose of seizing and destroying a portion of those stores which had been stored near Concord, was not opposed by the Colonists—not even those of them who had responded to the summons sent out from Boston, and who had appeared on the village-green at Lexington with arms in their hands and ammunition in their pouches and powder-horns, had ventured to fire on the advancing column of Regulars, choosing rather to be fired upon by the latter and ignominiously dispersed, without firing a shot, even in their own defense—and not until their return were those troops molested, nor then until they had given other cause for offence than the mere destruction of property or the more important

sacrifice of life, in the morning, at Lexington. Cautiously, in the beginning, but more vigorously as they became weaker from exhaustion, these troops had been attacked on their return from Concord to Boston; and safety was found for the shattered remnant which escaped, only when it reached the high grounds near Charlestown, within the shelter of Head-quarters and defensible by the Royal batteries and gunboats. From that time until near Midsummer, the belligerent forces sullenly faced each other—the loyal and disloyal, within and without Boston—and each, with equal diligence, watched the other without striking, or attempting to strike, a blow.

All this, too, had been done without any dispute, on either hand, concerning the sovereignty of the King or the general authority of the Parliament—the Royalists, within the town, maintaining the supremacy of the Monarch and the authority of the written law, and requiring obedience to both by those who were without, as well as by those who were within, the lines; while the Colonists, without the town, professing, also, to recognize the supremacy of the King and the general authority of the Parliament, practically denied both, by nullifying the Law and taking up arms in opposition to the unquestioned authority of their Sovereign.

The Colonists had not sat before Boston many days before the necessity became apparent that works must be thrown up for their own protection, as well as to prevent the Royal forces within the Town from holding communication with their friends in the country; and a Joint-committee of the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts and of the Council of War—which latter body immediately controlled the insurgents in front of Boston, was appointed to reconnoitre the high lands of Cambridge and Charlestown, for that purpose. On the twelfth of May, this Joint-committee reported to the Committee of Safety, in these words:

"We have carefully examined the lands and their situation in regard of annoying and preventing the enemy from passing into the country from Boston, [and] are of opinion that the Engineers be directed to cause a breastwork to be raised near the bridge, by the red house at the head of the creek, near the road from Cambridge to Charlestown, on the South side of said road; also a breastwork [to be] raised at the North side of the road, opposite the said red house, and to run in the same line as the fence now stands, upon the declivity of the hill there; also a redoubt on the top of the hill where the guard house now stands, and three or four nine pounders [to be] planted there; also a strong redoubt [to be] raised on Bunker's Hill, with cannon planted there, to annoy the enemy coming out of Charlestown, also to annoy them going by water to Medford. When

"these are finished we apprehend the country will be safe from all sallies of the enemy in that quarter: all which is humbly submitted.

"BENJAMIN CHURCH,

"Chairman of the sub-committee

"from the Committee of Safety.

"WILLIAM HENSHAW,

"Chairman of the sub-committee

"from the Council of War."

The Committee of Safety received this Report and duly considered it, but declined to take the responsibility for so grave an act of rebellion—it apprehended the matter did not belong to it officially; and although it was persuaded that the high lands above mentioned were important, yet not being the proper judges of what works were necessary to be constructed to make said posts tenable, it was of opinion that the determination of that matter rested solely with the Council of War—and it dismissed the subject by sending the Report "up to the Council of War:" the latter body, equally unwilling to take any responsibility in the matter under consideration, also did nothing.

Soon afterwards, the Royal forces were strengthened by the arrival of heavy reinforcements from Ireland; and the General-in-chief, who was also the Governor of the Province, made immediate preparations for the suppression of the insurrection. Preliminary to more active measures, however, and while he was engaged in preparing to make another attempt to penetrate into the country, he issued a Proclamation in which he declared the Province to be in a state of rebellion and placed it under Martial Law, at the same time offering full pardon to all offenders, save John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who should lay down their arms and resume their ordinary occupations.*

These measures, in their turn, aroused the insurgents' newly organized and revived Committee of Safety, unto whom new light seems to have been vouchsafed concerning the proposed "works which were necessary to be constructed, to make the high grounds of Charlestown tenable;" and on the fifteenth of June, it is said that it thus resolved:

"WHEREAS, it appears of importance to the safety of this Colony that possession of the hill called Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown, be securely kept and defended, and, also, some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured, therefore,

"RESOLVED, unanimously, that it be recommended to the Council of War that the above mentioned Bunker's Hill be maintained by suf-

* This Proclamation, the original of *M. Fingal*, was carefully reproduced in the January number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, where, on pages 5-7, of this volume, the reader may find it.

"sufficient forces being posted there, and as the peculiar situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Committee, they desire that the Council of War take and pursue such steps respecting the same, as to them shall appear to be for the security of this Colony.

"ORDERED, That Captain Benjamin White and Colonel Joseph Palmer be a Committee to join with a Committee of the Council of War, to proceed to Roxbury camp, there to consult with the General officers on matters of importance, and to communicate to them a Resolves this day passed in this Committee respecting Bunker's Hill in Charlestown and Dorchester Neck."*

At the date of the passage of these Resolutions, the Provincial Congress of the Colony was in session at Watertown, but the Committee of Safety sat at Cambridge—at the latter Town were, also, the quarters of General Ward, commanding "the Massachusetts army," and those of Brigadier-general Putnam, of the army of Connecticut. There seems to be very little room for doubt that these two radical elements of the rebellion—the Committee and the Generals—privately and unofficially discussed the measures proposed for adoption; and from the fact that these Resolutions of the Committee of Safety were actually communicated to "the Council of War" without any Order for that purpose, it is evident that the formalities of ordinary legislation were sometimes regarded by that Committee with as little respect as were the duties which it owed to its superiors in authority, both loyal and disloyal.

It is evident, however, that, either formally or informally, "the Council of War" was informed of the "recommendations" contained in the Committee's Resolutions; that a message was sent to Generals Thomas, Heath, Greene, and Spencer, at "the Roxbury camp," merely for their information, and not for the purpose of engaging them in the enterprise, even for the purpose of making a feint; that, on the sixteenth of June, the matter was taken into consideration, discussed, and "determined" by that Coun-

cil;* that it was pretended, and the Committee supposed, that Orders of some kind were issued, by the Generals respectively, for the occupation of Bunker's-hill;† and that, on the contrary, no such Orders were really issued, nor any other, except those reckless verbal directions to the Colonels of the fatigue-parties, which were given for the occupation, instead, of Breed's-hill, a more exposed position than the other.‡

"The hill called Bunker's-hill, in Charlestown," and that called Breed's-hill, thus dignified in the annals of rebellion, by the action,

* Daniel Putnam to General Dearborn, May 4, 1818.

Mr. Frothingham seems to recognize the fact that such a "Council of War" was held, and that the proposed movement on Bunker's-hill was nominally approved by it; but he does not seem to have brought himself up, completely, to the standard of the only authority which he cites to sustain his statement—that that Council was held on the sixteenth of June, the day before the battle; and that to it alone belongs the credit or the censure of originating the project to occupy and fortify Breed's-hill.

If Daniel Putnam's testimony is worth anything it is worth as much as this; and as Mr. Frothingham cites no other authority to sustain his statement that such a "Council of War" was held at any time, it seems that he might also have relied on the same authority for the date on which that Council was held and for the result of its deliberations. † The Committee of Safety, in its letter sent to Europe, thus related what it supposed was the history of the movement: . . . "the commanders of the New England army, had, about the 14th ult. [June] received advice that General Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's-hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed. Upon which it was determined, with the advice of this Committee, to send a party who might erect some fortifications upon said hill. Accordingly, on the 16th ult. orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's-hill, situated on the farther part of the peninsula, next to Boston; for by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other."

Such seems to have been the Committee's understanding of the subject—that the Generals had issued orders for the occupation and fortification of the same point which it had "recommended," to wit: Bunker's-hill—and it could have received its information on that subject only from the members of that Council or by its authority.

‡ It seems to us that if any one was acquainted with the Orders, such as they were, which were actually issued on the sixteenth of June, it must have been the Commanders of the several parties which were sent to the peninsula, or prominent officers of their commands.

The following statements tell their own story:

I.—"On the 16 June, in the evening, I received orders to march to BREED'S-HILL in Charlestown." Colonel Prescott's letter to John Adams, August 25, 1776.

II.—"Being under the command of General Putnam, part of our Regiment, and a much larger number of Massachusetts troops under Colonel Prescott, were ordered to march, on the evening of the 16th of June, 1776, to BREED'S-HILL." Judge Grosvenor's letter to Colonel Daniel Putnam, Pomfret, August 30, 1818.

III.—"On the 16th instant, at evening, a detachment of about twenty-five hundred men of the Massachusetts forces marched, by the General's order, to make an intrenchment on the hill at Charlestown, called CHARLESTOWN-HILL (1), near Boston, where they intrenched." Colonel John Stark, commanding the First New Hampshire Regiment, to the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire, Medford, June 19, 1776.

(1) "Charlestown-hill" was the name applied to Breed's-hill, both by Peter Brown (Letter, June 25, 1775) and Samuel Gray, (Letter, July 12, 1776.)

* Mr. Frothingham, in his *Siege of Boston*, (page 117) says "to secure secrecy, this important resolve was not recorded until the nineteenth of June."

We do not know on what authority this definite statement has been made; but a careful examination of the printed *Journal of the Committee of Safety* will satisfy every reader of it, that that *Journal* has been tampered with, by some one, since the fifteenth of June, 1776.

As the sessions of the Committee of Safety were not public, at any time, and the *Journal*, therefore, was not more private on the nineteenth, than it had been on the fifteenth of June, the omission of these Resolutions, on the latter day, "to secure secrecy,"—if such was really the pretended reason therefor—seems like a subterfuge; and their insertion in full, four days later, is significant of irregularities, somewhere.

In the absence of any evidence on the subject, however, we can only be suspicious, and accept the evidence afforded by the *Journal*, thus tainted, with the greatest caution.

respectively, of the insurgents' Committee of Safety and "Council of War," are entitled, for that reason, to our passing attention.

To the Northward of the City of Boston, and separated from it by the Charles-river, is another peninsula, oblong in form, on which stands the City of Charlestown. It is a little more than a mile in length, from South-east to North-west; and its greatest breadth, which is opposite Boston, is about two-thirds of a mile. It is washed, on the North and North-east, by the Mystic-river; and, on the South and South-west, by the Charles-river, both of which are navigable; and on its Southernmost point stands the older portion of the City of Charlestown.

This peninsula, before its face was changed by the progress of municipal improvement, was formed by three distinct hills—not standing in a straight line;—the range of high grounds connecting the North-westernmost and the second of those hills; and the lower grounds which separated the second from the South-easternmost of the three hills and extended along the bank of the Charles-river, from the base of the last-mentioned hill, at the feet of the others and of the high grounds connecting them, to the "Neck," on the extreme North-west. The Western slopes of the high grounds and of the first and second of the series of hills to which reference has been made, together with the low grounds at their bases, were mostly occupied with arable land, orchards, and gardens; the sunmits and Eastern slopes of the same hills and high grounds, the third of the series of hills—the South-easternmost,—and the low grounds separating the latter from the second of the series, were generally meadows,—mostly unmowed at the time of which we write;—several "brick-kilns, clay-pits, and much sloughy land" occupied the low ground, on the bank of the Charles, at the Eastern base of the second of the series of hills, between that and the last; and South-westerly and Westerly from these brick-kilns, on the same range of low grounds, at the Southern and South-western bases of the second of the series of hills, stood the "spacious, well-built" town of Charlestown.

This peninsula was connected with the main land, at its North-western extremity, by a narrow isthmus or "Neck" of low land, to the South-westward of which, over an arm of the Charles-river, was another communication with the main, by way of a low causeway, which was frequently overflowed by the tides.

Of the three hills referred to, the first and nearest to the "Neck" was BUNKER'S-HILL, the point selected by the Committee of Safety and "recommended" in its Resolutions, for occupation and intrenchment by the rebellious Colonists.

It rose gradually from the low "Neck," or isthmus, which was at its North-western base, a distance of four hundred yards, where it attained an altitude of one hundred and ten feet, and formed a handsome hill, the crest of which was about four hundred yards in length by about one hundred and fifty yards in width. Its sides sloped regularly, but more abruptly, on its Northern and North-eastern faces, to the Mystic, and, on its Southern and South-western faces, to a range of low grounds on the left bank of the Charles: to the South-eastward, they descended gradually to the high grounds which, like a curtain connecting two bastions of different height, connected this with the second hill of the series.

The second of the series of hills referred to was BREED'S-HILL,—the point which, subsequently, was really occupied and intrenched by the insurgents, under the orders of the Generals of the congregated armies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It occupied the middle of the widest portion of the peninsula; was more advanced toward Boston,—as if in defiance of the Royal authority which was seated in that town;—and, the occupation and fortification of it were more significant of the temper and purposes of the insurgents, than the occupation and intrenchment of Bunker's-hill would have been. Immediately in front of this hill, at the foot of its abrupt Southern and South-western slopes, on the low ground skirting the Charles-river, stood the ancient Town of Charlestown; on the same range of low grounds,—also fronting the Charles,—which laid at the foot of its abrupt South-eastern and Eastern slopes, were several "lime-kilns, clay-pits, and much "sloughy land;" and, gradually rising from those clay-pits and marshes, skirting the Eastern and North-eastern slopes of Breed's-hill and the Southern and Western slopes of the third hill of the series—separating the two hills—and terminating only at the Mystic and the foot of the high grounds, (the rear of the curtain referred to) which extended back, at this point, to the rear of Breed's-hill,—was a swale of meadow, over which the celebrated movement of the right wing of the Royal forces was subsequently made. At the foot of the less abrupt slopes, on the Northern, North-western, and Western faces of Breed's-hill, was the high ground which connected the latter with Bunker's-hill; and on one portion of this, about North from the crest of the hill, was subsequently constructed the celebrated rail-fence. This hill was much smaller in extent than Bunker's-hill; but its sides were more abrupt, especially on its Eastern, Southern, and Western faces, than the former: it was, however, only sixty-two feet high, and, therefore, it was more easily

commanded by the Royal cannon, both those which were on the neighboring waters and those on Copp's-hill, in the Town of Boston.

To the Eastward of Breed's-hill, but separated from it by the swale of meadow already referred to, and some four or five hundred yards distant—occupying the Easternmost portion of the peninsula; and overlooking Moulton's-point, at the confluence of the Charles and the Mystic-rivers—stood the third of the series of hills, known as MORTON'S-HILL. It was smaller than Breed's-hill; only thirty-five feet in height; entirely detached from its sister hills; and its gentle slopes extended, on the North, to the Mystic, on the East, to the Charles, and on the South and West, to the marsh and swale of meadow to which reference has been made already.*

Such were the position, character, and vicinity of "Bunker's-hill," which the Committee of Safety, without even the authority of its own acknowledged superiors in rebellion, rashly recommended as the first point to be seized by the insurgents and strengthened for the prosecution of an aggressive warfare against their King and legally constituted Government: such, also, were the position, character, and vicinity of "Breed's-hill," which the Generals of the congregated armies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in Council, with still less authority than that assumed by either of their superiors in rebellion, and still greater recklessness, really ordered to be occupied, intrenched, and defended, instead of that which had been recommended by the Committee: and such were the low grounds on the Charles, and Morton's-hill, and the slope of Breed's-hill, and the meadows in the swale and on the bank of the Mystic, over which the Royal troops bravely marched and gallantly fought, in support of the Constitution, the Laws, the King, and the Government, and in defence of the life of the Nation.

That "the hill called Bunker's-hill, in Charles-

* In this description of the vicinity of Bunker's-hill, I have been governed, principally, of course, by the able historian of Charlestown and of the Siege of Boston, Hon. Richard Frothingham of the former city; but I have not refused to be instructed adversely, in some instances, by that accomplished Engineer of the Royal army, Captain Montresor, whose great professional skill will be promptly recognized by every student—by none more cheerfully than by Mr. Frothingham.

A copy of Captain Montresor's survey, combined with a plan of the action on Bunker's-hill,—the latter drawn by Lieutenant Page of the Royal Engineers—has been carefully copied *in fac simile* for the illustration of this article; and to that map, as well as to two other maps of the locality and the action—one by the widely-known Ensign D'Berniere, of the Royal Engineers; the other by the equally well-known Major-general Henry Dearborn, of the United States Army—both of which have also been faithfully copied, *in fac simile*, for the illustration of our narrative, the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are respectfully referred.

"town," which we have described, was selected with good judgment, by the men who assumed to direct the *military* movements of the insurgents, under the then existing circumstances, may be reasonably questioned. It will be remembered that it occupied a peninsula, the only approaches to which, by land, were a low and narrow isthmus, or "Neck," and an artificial causeway which was both lower and narrower than the "Neck;" and that both the "Neck" and the causeway, as well as the peninsula, were entirely at the mercy of any gun-boat or armed vessel, of either party, which should be brought before them. It will be remembered, also, that the insurgents had neither vessels of war nor gunboats with which either to oppose the landing of any assailant who might be disposed to dispute the right claimed by them, either under the Committee's recommendation or otherwise, to occupy and intrench on any part of the peninsula, or, in case of need, to cover the retreat of the brave men who should thus challenge the Royal forces to the arbitrament of arms: they did not even possess small boats or scows with which to withdraw, by water, those whom they thus sought to push forward into danger, in case an enemy should cut off their retreat, by either occupying the "Neck" in force or commanding it with his gunboats. It will be remembered, also, that while the Royal troops possessed the *prestige* of superior professional ability and what Mr. Webster has aptly styled "the odor of nationality," they were also well-supplied with arms and stores of all kinds; that they had viewed the insurgents' movements from the beginning, and would undoubtedly view their proposed movement for the occupation of "the hill called Bunker's-hill, in Charles-town," with entire disapprobation; that, by means of the naval forces which were then within the harbor, they controlled all the neighboring waters and both the causeway and "the Neck;" and were already enabled, thereby, at a minute's notice, to completely cut off all communication with the main body, of whomsoever should be ordered to occupy Bunker's-hill, and by reason of a nocturnal march or otherwise, safely reach that place. Witnout, however, paying the least regard to these patent facts, the *military* value of which will be seen at a glance, Bunker's-hill was the point which first found favor in the eyes of the revolutionary "fire-eaters" composing the Committee of Safety; and that was the spot which was first recommended by that Committee, for occupation and intrenchment, in the new policy which it had resolved to force upon an unwilling Congress, upon Colonists who were still more unwilling, and upon a Continent which cared nearly nothing about the matter. With how much good judgment, this selection was made,

under the circumstances referred to, the reader will judge.

But, disadvantageous as Bunker's-hill was for the purposes indicated by the Committee of Safety, the Generals commanding the centre of the armies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to whom the Committee's Resolutions were sent, preferred and secretly ordered the occupation, instead, of a position which was still more unsuitable for a permanent lodgment—"Charlestown-hill," or, as it is known in history, Breed's-hill.

"Situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston," Breed's-hill was much further from the isthmus and mill-dam—the only lines of communication with the main—than Bunker's-hill; and it would have been more difficult to keep those lines open, had such an attempt been made by the Generals in command. Besides, it was lower than Bunker's-hill, and therefore more easily commanded by the shipping which, at that moment, was riding at anchor at its base; and being much nearer Boston, it was within easy gun-shot of the Royal battery on Copp's-hill, within the Town of Boston. Its relative position also made the occupation of it by the insurgents appear far more menacing, if not more defiant, in its character than the occupation of Bunker's-hill would have been; and the Royal troops might reasonably be expected to look upon it with a much greater degree of dissatisfaction, and to bring against it a greater and much more effective force.

The disadvantages, for permanent occupation by the insurgents, of both Bunker's and Breed's hills, however, were made still more noteworthy by the stupidity of the commanding Generals, at Cambridge, which was seen in the details of the Orders, such as they were, which they issued for the occupation of the latter.

A small body of men, on this occasion, was to be pushed forward to make a permanent lodgment on a naked hill, within gun-shot of a powerful enemy, with only one day's rations, without water or the means of procuring it, and without any covering party, even to keep open the line of communication between it and the main body of the insurgents, or, in case of disaster, to cover its retreat,—the latter, too, while the entire left wing of the insurgents, unemployed, was encamped within a short two-hours march of the point of communication—a part of within gun-shot of the "Neck"—and would have cheerfully performed that duty.

Again: this lodgment was ordered to be made on a peninsula which was already surrounded by Royal vessels of war, commanding both the isthmus or "Neck" and the causeway, over which were the only lines of communication with the main-land; yet no attempt whatever was made by Generals Ward and Putnam

to provide small boats for the removal of the detachments in case their retreat should be cut off; nor was the least effort made by them to bring the necessary artillery from Cambridge, for the purpose of driving the vessels from their moorings and protecting the reinforcements and supplies which should be sent to the detachments on Breed's-hill, from the destructive cross-fires to which they would otherwise be exposed, while passing over the "Neck."

Lastly: while the centre of the insurgents' forces, at Cambridge, was thus about to push the Continent into a war, and their left wing, unemployed and uncalled for, was hugging Medford, and Chelsea, and Malden, and Charlestown "Common;" the right wing of the insurgents' forces, under Generals Thomas, Spencer, Greene, and Heath, was also unemployed and without orders at Roxbury, instead of being directed to co-operate with those on the other side of Boston, either by way of feints for the purpose of distracting the Royal troops, or by more formidable movements, in force, for the purpose of still more closely confining the latter within the limits of the Town.

All these precautions, however, were disregarded by the ignorant, self-sufficient, and noisy master spirit who is said to have controlled the still more inefficient senior General at Cambridge and "the Council of War" of which the latter was the chief; and without providing for either a diversion from the South, or a covering party from the North, or the supply of the detachments with the necessary rations or support, orders were rashly communicated for nothing more than the occupation of *Breed's-hill*, overlooking Charlestown, as already stated.

But not alone by reason of the ineligibility of the position "recommended" by the Committee and that of the more exposed point which the Generals preferred, nor of the stupidity of those Generals in failing to provide covering parties, to keep open the line of communication with their advanced detachments, to drive the shipping from its moorings around the peninsula, to distract the enemy by feints or other movements in force by the right wing of the army, etc., are these "recommendations" and the Orders which proceeded from them entitled to the careful attention of the historian of that period in our country's history.

The Committee of Safety was not an independent body, but a mere Committee of the Provincial Congress and entirely subject to its control.* Its duties, therefore, as well as its

* "THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS"—a Committee of the Congress and not a distinct body—was originally raised by Resolution of that body, dated the twenty-sixth of October, 1774; and its particular duty was then declared by the Congress,

powers, were clearly defined, and as clearly limited to *defensive* purposes; while the Resolutions were as clearly *aggressive* in their character and tendency, notwithstanding the peculiar phraseology in which it was sought to be concealed:—the Resolutions, therefore, were adopted and issued

without competent authority. But they were also adopted and issued in the face of, and in direct opposition to, the well-defined conservatism of its immediate superiors in authority, the Provincial Congress, whose creature and servant, the Committee was*; and while those

"most carefully and diligently to inspect and observe all and every such person and persons as shall, at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of this Province, &c.; which said Committee, or any five of them, (Provided, *always*, that not more than one of the said five shall be an inhabitant of the town of Boston,) shall have power, and they are hereby directed, whenever they shall judge it necessary for the safety and defence of the inhabitants of this Province and their property, against such person or persons as aforesaid, to alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled, with the utmost expedition, and completely armed, accoutred, and supplied with provisions sufficient for their support in their march to the place of rendezvous, such and so many of the Militia of this Province, as they shall judge necessary for the ends aforesaid, and at such place or places as they shall judge proper, and them to discharge as soon as the safety of the Province shall permit."

This Committee was originally composed of nine members—only three of whom could belong to the town of Boston—and these were John Hancock, Doctor Joseph Warren, and Doctor Benjamin Church of Boston, Richard Devens of Charlestown, Captain Benjamin White of Brookline, Norton Quincy and Colonel Joseph Palmer of Braintree, Abraham Watson of Cambridge, and Colonel Azor Orne of Marblehead; but, on the twenty-ninth of October, John Pigeon of Newton, and Captain William Heath of Roxbury, were added to the number. In February, 1775, Jabez Fisher of Wrentham, was placed in the seat which Norton Quincy had declined to occupy.

On the ninth of February, 1775, the Provincial Congress amended the Resolution which had afforded the warrant of the Committee's authority; and instead of bringing within its jurisdiction "every such person and persons as shall, at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of the Province, &c." it was limited, thereafter, to "all and every such person or persons as shall at any time attempt to carry into execution by force, an Act of the British Parliament entitled 'An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England'; or who shall attempt to carry into execution, by force, another Act of the British Parliament, entitled, 'An Act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for an act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay'—somewhat of a retrograde movement—without, however, making any change in the membership of the Committee.

On the eleventh of February, the Committee was further empowered to receive the Commissary stores which the Colony had purchased, and to deliver the same to those who should be engaged in defense of the Colony.

On the fourteenth of April, Colonel Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, was appointed to take the place occupied by Mr. Fisher; and on the twenty-third of the same month, while the excitement occasioned by the action at Concord prevailed, Colonel Joseph Cushing of Hanover, Edward Durant of Newton, James Sullivan of Bliddford, and Colonel Asa Whitcomb of Lancaster, were added to the Committee—still further burying radical Boston beneath the conservatism of the country towns;—and the Committee, soon after, was empowered to impress teams for the Colony's service.

On the third of May, a special Committee was ordered "to overlook the commission of the Committee of Safety and the Committee of Supplies, and to see whether it be necessary that they be invested with other powers than they now have;" but either so little importance was attached to the subject, or so little was there found which required amendment, that not until the Committee of Safety had sent a sub-committee to the Congress, to request immediate action on the subject, and not until the Committee was specially instructed to sit for the consideration of the matter

referred to it, did it proceed to the discharge of its designated duties.

On the nineteenth of May—the Committee having meanwhile reported—the Congress repealed all its former action concerning the Committee of Safety, and directed that, thenceforth, it should have authority, when it should "think it necessary, in defence of the lives and properties of the inhabitants of this Colony, to assemble such and so many of the Militia thereof, and them to dispose and place where, and detain so long, as the said Committee of Safety [should] judge necessary, and to discharge said Militia when the safety of this Colony [would] admit of it; and the officers of the said Militia [were thereby] enjoined to pay strict obedience to the orders and directions of the said Committee of Safety." It also resolved that "the Committee of Safety [should] be, and [thereby was] empowered to direct the Army of this Colony to be stationed where the said Committee of Safety [should] judge most conducive to the defence and service of the Colony; and the General and other officers of the Army [were] required to render strict obedience to such orders of said Committee: *Provided, always*, that it [should] be in the power of [that] or any future Congress to control any order of the said Committee of Safety, respecting this or any other matter." The Committee was authorized to nominate to the Congress for commission, and during the recess of the latter to grant commissions to, such persons as were considered fit persons to command in the Army of the Colony. Any five were empowered to act as a legal quorum; and Messrs. Hancock, Warren, Church, White, Palmer, Devens, Watson, Pigeon and Orne, members of the first Committee—with Benjamin Greenleaf of Newburyport, Doctor Samuel Holten of Danvers, Nathan Cushing of Scituate, and Enoch Freeman of Cumberland County—Messrs. Greenleaf and Freeman not being members of the Congress—were elected members of the new Committee.

The members of the Committee were the same, and their authority had not been increased, when, on the fifteenth of June, the menacing, if not intentionally aggressive, movement was made to the high grounds at Charlestown which are now known as Breed's-hill. As we have said in the text, the authority of the Committee, without the order of the Congress, to assume such an aggressive position, or one that appears to have been aggressive in intent, was very questionable; and the result was nothing different from what might have been expected, under the circumstances—it closed the door to a redress of grievances and pushed the Colonies into a war with their Sovereign before they were prepared for such an event.

* The spirit which prevailed in the Provincial Congress, then fresh from the body of the Colony and the evident exponent of the wishes of the great body of the Colonists, was directly opposite to that of the "fire-eaters" who evidently controlled the action of the Committee of Safety, and pushed the Colony into greater rebellion and inaugurated a war which the Continent was not properly prepared to carry on.

Nor, in this respect, was the spirit of the third Congress, which was organized on the thirty-first day of May, any different from that of the second, which had been dissolved two days before; and in this stern fact can be read the verdict of that popular inquisition to which every member had been subjected, in his election, a few days previous to that of which we write. To prove this, let these facts bear testimony:

On Sunday, the twenty-third of April, under the excitement which followed the fight at Concord, the second Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had resolved that it was necessary for the defence of that Colony that an army of Thirty thousand men should be immediately raised and established; but it contented itself with calling out, at the expense of Massachusetts, which was alone interested in the matter, only Thirteen thousand, six hundred of the number; and left to the other Colonies, which had no particular interest in it, the labor and expense—if they should choose

in the field were yet unofficered, undisciplined, and unarmed, and the great body of the Colo-

nists,—although the latter were temporarily excited, at that time, by the Governor's Proclama-

to grant them—of calling out and providing for the remaining Sixteen thousand, four hundred, which were supposed to be "necessary" for the protection of Massachusetts, beside those which should be found necessary for their own defence. On the following Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of April, the same body which had thus resolved an army for the overthrow of the legally constituted Government of the Colony, peremptorily refused to inquire what Towns and Districts had not paid their taxes, evidently because those delinquents might be called upon to pay their debts to the Colony, in that most pressing emergency; and there was thus no provision made for the actual payment, by those who were immediately interested in the subject, of the necessary expenses of raising even the Thirteen thousand, four hundred men with which Massachusetts was actually chargeable, under the Resolution of the preceding Sunday.

On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of April, the regiments were reduced by the Congress, from one thousand to six hundred men each, without consulting the Committee of Safety, and without supplying officers to re-organize the surplus thus relieved from duty—certainly not very warlike in its tendency—and, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, it formally declared that, notwithstanding its grievances, the Colony had "not yet been detached from its Royal Sovereign." It "professed," also, "to be his loyal and dutiful subjects," reprobating only "his cruel Ministry;" and it declared for its members individually, "hardly dealt with as they had been," that they were "still ready, with their lives and fortunes, to defend his [the King's] person, family, crown, and dignity." In the face of these peaceful manifestations by the Congress, on the last-named day, [April 26] the Committee of Safety invited the "many men [who are] not already enlisted and [who] incline to remain in the army, to enlist and await the appointment of officers to command them, assuring them that "the utmost care [should] be taken to make every soldier happy in being under good officers;" and on the same day, the same Committee indirectly authorized the inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden "to fire upon and injure any seaman belonging to the Navy, under Admiral Graves," even if not fired upon by the latter, if, for their defence, their judgment should so direct—an authority which, two days before, they had been expressly forbidden to exercise.

At the same time, the Committee appealed to both Rhode Island and Connecticut, to "immediately march forward as large a number of troops as [they could] spare, well stocked with provisions and ammunition; that they come under proper officers, enlisted for such a time as may be necessary; and that as large a train of artillery as can be procured be sent down to [their] aid."

On the twenty-eighth of April, the Congress reduced the pay of the field officers in the Army to the extent of twenty per cent—evidently to check the rising ambition of hungry patriots for the higher grades of office;—while the ardor of the masses had so far cooled, and the number of men remaining before Boston had become so small, that, on the twenty-ninth, the Committee of Safety was constrained to issue a Circular addressed to "the several towns," desiring that the latter "would, with the utmost haste, send other persons to supply the places" of the absentees, "for a few days, until the enlistments [were] completed;" and it was obliged, also, to order out one half the militia of "the neighboring towns," and to direct "that the rest of the inhabitants hold themselves in readiness to march at a minute's warning." Even the impetuous Warren, the master-spirit of the Committee of Safety, in his private correspondence, on the twenty-seventh, desired "reconciliation" rather than War—the control of the Government rather than the establishment of a Commonwealth;—and the lordly Hancock, on the twenty-fourth, while inquiring concerning the spirits of the men, had anxiously prayed the Committee, "for God's sake, do not suffer the spirit to subside until they have perfected the reduction of our enemies," and the elevation to power of himself and his friends.

On the fourth of May, the Committee of Safety called on the Governor of Connecticut for "three or four thousand men of [his] establishment, in order to enable us to secure a pass of the greatest importance to our common interest;" and, on the same day, it urged the Congress to assume the functions of "government in full form"—a pre-

rogative of the Sovereign and exercised only by his authority; but the Congress after frequent postponements and anxious debates thereon, hesitated, and, on the twelfth of May, sought the advice of the Continental Congress: *at the date of which we write (June 17) it had not ventured to gratify the Committee by deposing the King, or by assuming, in any other way, to become the Government of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England.*

On the twelfth of May, the Council of War sent a proposal to the Committee of Safety to suspend the orders of the Congress, although that body was then in session, for the purpose of seizing "the Crown officers through the Continent," and removing the persons and effects of the loyal men of the Colony. The Committee, without dissenting, hesitated at this impudent proposition of those holding temporary military power, and sent it to the Congress for its determination: the latter body, four days later, so far from approving the projected military usurpation, declared that "the sword should, in all free States, be subservient to the civil powers; and as it is the duty of the Magistrate to support it, for the People's necessary defence, we tremble at having an army, although consisting of our own countrymen, established here, without a civil power, to provide for and control it." Three days later, [April 17] the project was presented to the Congress, "read, and ordered to lie on the table;" on the eighteenth, that body contented itself with simply recommending a strict non-intercourse in trade with the loyal men whom they would not allow the military to despoil of their property.

On the twenty-third of May, when the Committee of Safety recommended to the Honorable Congress, to take "some effectual measures to secure the stock on the islands and sea coasts, to prevent its falling into the hands of our enemies," the Congress declined to recommend its removal "so far into the country as to be out of the way of those implacable enemies to this People;" and sent the proposition to the next Provincial Congress.

On the twenty-sixth of May, the Committee urged the Congress to increase the Army of the Colony, for the more effectual protection of the coasts; but that apparently reasonable request was not granted by the Congress; nor does there appear to have been any disposition in that body, considered as a whole, to aggravate the prevailing spirit of disaffection to its Sovereign, by either supplying necessary arms to its own adherents, or filling the offices which were then vacant in the ranks of its own army, or providing the means of defence against the incursions of marauding parties of nominally "loyal" men, which then infested the coasts of the Provinces.

Nor, as we have said, was the newly installed Provincial Congress any more decided in its treason than had been that which preceded it; notwithstanding it had just come up from its constituencies, and might be supposed to reflect, more correctly, the popular will.

On the third of June, the newly-organized Provincial Congress was urged, as the Second Congress had been urged, to increase the Army; and it referred the subject to a Special Committee of its own body, with instructions to confer on the subject with the Committee of Safety and the Generals of the Army. On the seventh, this Committee of the Congress, after hearing the reasons for the proposed increase, which the Committee and the Generals had presented, reported "that it appears to the Committee inexpedient and unnecessary for this Colony to augment, at present, the forces already voted by it to be established for the defence of this and the other American Colonies;" and on the eighth of June, the Congress rebuked the Committee of Safety by accepting the Report referred to.

It was not until the fourteenth of June—the day before the Committee of Safety resolved to occupy Bunker's Hill—that the Congress began to consider some way and means of furnishing those who were destitute of arms in the Massachusetts Army; and, even then, it only referred the subject to a Committee, for its consideration.

From these facts it will be seen that the Provincial Congress, which was directly the representative body, was decidedly conservative in its policy; and that the Committee of Safety was composed of the ultra-revolutionists of the Colony. It is evident, also, that the great body of the Colonists was as far behind the Congress as the latter was behind the Committee of Safety, in disaffection to the Crown and

tion,*—by no means disposed to provide means for rendering them more efficient.†

It was known to the Committee, also, that the insurgents were without an arsenal, or military stores, or provisions sufficient to feed all who had come up "to assist" them in their conflict with their Sovereign, or a military chest; and it knew, also, that they had scarcely sufficient paper for printing the necessary "Bills of Credit" with which their expences were to be wholly liquidated—with what good judgment therefore, or pure regard for the common weal, or entirely disinterested patriotism, the Resolutions in question were adopted and issued, the reader

the Government; and that the latter having determined to precipitate the Colony into a War, if that should be necessary for the accomplishment of its own purposes, it had resolved to furnish materials for firing the heart of the apathetic, by occupying the high grounds near Charlestown, the necessary consequences of which it must have foreseen.

As we have said, the Committee of Safety had no authority to issue such an order, nor had the Generals of the congregated armies any authority to execute it. The Generals who could propose to override the orders of the Congress, and the Committee of Safety which could usurp authority which had been withheld by its superiors in office, however, cared little for the wishes or the interests of the great body of those whom they assumed to serve; and they rashly precipitated the Colony and the Continent into a War, in order to serve the particular ends they had in view.

The occupation of Breed's-hill and its consequences, both in and beyond Massachusetts, are known to the world; and it is also known that but for that undertaking, so lukewarm were the Colonists in the cause of the rebellion, the War of the Revolution would have begun and ended at Concord.

Bunker's-hill, therefore, was the Fort Sumter of the great rebellion of 1775-6.

* On the twelfth of June, General Gage, who was the Commander-in-chief of the King's troops as well as Governor of Massachusetts, had issued a Proclamation declaring the Colony in a state of rebellion and proclaiming martial law, at the same time offering free pardon to all who should return to their ordinary duties, except John Hancock—who was the Chairman of the Committee of Safety—and Samuel Adams.

As may reasonably be expected, this Proclamation was received by the Colonists with considerable anxiety; and the Provincial Congress, on the thirteenth of June, referred it, for consideration, to Doctor Joseph Warren of Boston, Colonel James Warren of Plymouth, Colonel Joseph Palmer of Braintree, Doctor John Taylor of Lunenburg, and William Seaver of Kingston.

On the sixteenth of June—the day after the issue of the Committee's "recommendation" to occupy Bunker's-hill—this Committee reported, simply recommending a counter-Proclamation by the Congress, which in many of its parts was only a parody of that issued by General Gage, four days before, and a fore-runner of that burlesque, from the pen of John Trumbull, which excited so much laughter, in the succeeding August.

† THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF INSURGENT MASSACHUSETTS is interesting and important, as illustrative of the character of her patriotism.

On the fourteenth of October, 1774, the Constables and Collectors of Taxes throughout the Province, were "advised" by the Provincial Congress, "not to pay the same," or any part thereof, to Hon. Harrison Gray, Esq., the legal Receiver-general, but to retain the same in their hands, until otherwise ordered.

On the twenty-eighth of October, the same Congress elected Henry Gardner, as its Receiver-general, and urged the several Towns to instruct their officers to pay the outstanding taxes only to him; and on the next day, (October 29) this appeal was repeated with renewed force.

This appeal having been disregarded—the Towns evidently preferring, to pay no one rather than to give their monies to

will be enabled to judge, without much difficulty.

All these objections, however, counted as nothing in the councils of the Committee of Safety: the Resolutions were adopted without dissent; communicated to the Generals commanding those portions of the Armies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, which were encamped near Cambridge; and transmitted by the hands of a Special Committee of its most intelligent members, to "the General officers"—Thomas, Heath, Greene, and Spencer,—of the combined Armies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut,

Mr. Gardner—on the ninth of December, the Congress "earnestly recommended" the inhabitants of those Towns, "as they regard their own safety and the preservation of their inestimable rights and liberties," that they cause their monies to be paid over to him, in order that they might be used for the promotion of the insurrection.

On the twentieth of December, the Committee of Safety finding no immediate means in Mr. Gardner's hands for the purchase of the supplies which were supposed to be necessary—so little notice had been taken by the Towns, of the Congress and its appeals—it appointed John Hancock, Doctor Warren, and Mr. Gill "to write a letter to Mr. Gardner, directing him to draft a letter to the Collectors and Constables, requesting them to make immediate payment of the Taxes for 1773 and 1774, and all other Province money in their hands," to that gentleman; but, on the fifth of January, this Resolution was reconsidered, and the Committee of Safety "Voted that it subside, and that said Gardner receive the said Taxes, etc., when brought to him."

On the fifteenth of April, 1774, so little attention had even then been paid to the matter, the Congress requested its members to personally urge the inhabitants of their respective Towns to pay over their public monies to the insurgents' Receiver-general; and ten days later, in reply to an inquiry of the Congress, Mr. Gardner answered "in a general way, that, for the year 1773, it was supposed that about \$30,000 was due, and that he had received about \$5,000,"—only twenty-five per cent of the taxes of the year preceding the last, it appears, having thus been patriotically paid by the several Towns of Massachusetts, where only patriotism is supposed to have existed; while of the Taxes of 1774, the year immediately preceding, absolutely nothing seems to have been paid.

Some of the members seem to have been disposed to ascertain what Towns were delinquent, in the face of these several appeals and of the public necessities; and they accordingly moved the appointment of a Committee to report "how we may get the knowledge of the Towns and Districts who are delinquent." The delinquents, however, were in the majority; and, as they preferred to be unknown, they defeated the proposed Resolution.

Two weeks later (April 29) a Committee was appointed "to consider on some method for supplying the treasury," otherwise than by taxing the inhabitants or collecting what was then due; and on the third of May, Mr. Gardner was authorized to borrow the funds which were requisite for carrying on the insurrection—the delinquent Towns, meanwhile, avoiding the payment of their Taxes for both 1773 and 1774.

It would be an interesting subject for the industry of some of Massachusetts' students, to-day, to ascertain and inform the world if the delinquent Towns ever paid those arrears of local Taxes, to any one; and it would increase the interest of the matter by ascertaining how much the desire, on their part, to avoid the payment of those Taxes for 1773 and 1774, had to do with the action of those delinquent Towns, in forcing Massachusetts and the Continent into a reckless rebellion against their legal and recognized Sovereign. By all means, let the inquiry, if it shall be instituted, commence with the date of Boston's payment of them, and with the part which the desire to avoid the payment, to any one, of those outstanding Taxes had to do with Boston's radicalism in rebellion, in 1774-5.

forming the right wing of the insurgents' forces, at their encampment at Roxbury, for their information. There is no doubt that that Committee discharged the duties to which it was appointed, with promptitude and fidelity; and although the co-operation of those Generals does not appear to have been desired, much less ordered, it is equally evident, that "the General officers" unto whom the Committee's "recommendations" were thus "communicated," as promptly and faithfully concurred therein.

The "recommendations" by the Committee of Safety, however, were quite as faultless in their origin and quite as judicious in their structure, notwithstanding all their defects, as were the Orders which the Generals falsely pretended to have issued under the assumed sanction of those "recommendations," if not "with the advice" of the Committee itself.

In the unaccounted-for absence of both the Orders which were thus issued by the two commanding Generals, if any such Orders were really issued *in writing*; * in view of the "mistake" which the Committee was led to suppose had occurred in the occupation of *Breed's* instead of *Bunker's* hill; † without the positive evidence concerning the exact tenor of those Orders, if written, which the Orderly-books of the General commanding the Army would certainly have afforded; ‡ and with the evidence before us, of intelligent officers in both Armies, concerning the real character of those Orders, § compared with what the Committee of Safety was evidently

led to suppose was their character,* we are constrained to say, concerning them, not that "somebody blundered," but that we believe that the Generals, after they had thus unwarrantably issued them, either wilfully misrepresented the truth concerning their tenor, to the Committee of Safety, or as wilfully withheld it, and thus led that Committee, innocently, to misrepresent it to the world.

There can be no doubt that the Committee of Safety desired the occupation of *Bunker's* hill; that it "recommended" that particular hill, and no other, to the notice of the Generals; that it supposed, weeks afterwards, that that hill had been named in the Orders issued to Colonel Prescott and Captain Knolton; and that it supposed, also, that the failure of those brave men to occupy that hill, and their occupation, instead, of *Breed's* hill, was the result of "a mistake:" there is, also, positive evidence that, for purposes of their own, without authority of either the Committee of Safety or the Provincial Congress, who alone, among the insurgents, possessed or pretended to possess any authority to dispose of the troops, those Generals, influenced by the bluster of one of their number, determined to disregard the Committee's "recommendation" and to occupy the more exposed position on *Breed's* hill; that, either by means of a falsehood or a concealment of the Truth, they led the Committee to suppose that their Orders were in harmony with its "recommendation"; that, instead, those Orders wholly disregarded that "recommendation" and directed the occupation of an entirely different and much less desirable position; and that, while the Generals referred to were traitors to their Sovereign and the legally-established Governments of both the Continent and the Colony, they were equally unmindful of that personal integrity and strict regard for the truth which should characterize the intercourse of soldiers with civilians as well as that of soldiers with each other.

Having thus noticed the character and position of the ground which was "recommended" by the Committee of Safety for the occupation of the insurgents, as well as its own authority

* The only authority I find on this subject is Mr. Frothingham, who cites a MS. *Memoir* by Colonel Prescott's son; Gordon's *History*, I, 382; and a MS. *Relation* by Rev. Mr. Martin.

The only one of these which we consider to be at all important is the *Memoir* by Judge Prescott,—itself merely hearsay evidence—which is studiously withheld from the public, even from students of the History of that period, by those who possess it; and we are not informed of the words employed therein, on this subject.

For ourself, we are free to say that the evidence of the Orderly-book of General Ward, and other circumstances within our knowledge, lead us to believe that no Order was issued *in writing* to Colonel Prescott.

† "Just before nine o'clock, they left Cambridge, and proceeded to *Breed's* hill, situate on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, *for, by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other.*" *Committee of Safety's Narrative*, July 25, 1776.

‡ General Ward was the General-in-chief of "the Army of Massachusetts," and the immediate commander of Colonel Prescott. His Orderly-book, therefore, would have contained the Order which he issued to the latter, had he really issued any; but no such Order appears there, and it is a fair inference, therefore, that none was issued, in writing.

Mr. Frothingham thus speaks of the American Orderly-books, generally, and of General Ward's, particularly: "The American Orderly-books contain meagre references to the 'Battle. General Ward's has in the margin, only a record 'of the loss,'—calling it 'The Battle of Charlestown.'"—*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, 373.

Of General Putnam's, we have no knowledge, nor have we ever heard of it.

§ See extracts from statements of Colonels Prescott and Stark—commanding, respectively, the Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops—and of Lieutenant Grosvenor of the Connecticut Army.—Page 323, Column 2, Note 2, ante.

*—"the commanders of the New England Army, had, about the 14th ult. (June) received advice that General Gage had issued Orders for a party of troops under his command to post themselves on *BUNKER'S HILL*, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown, which Orders were soon to be executed. Upon which it was determined, with the advice of this Committee, to send a party who might erect some fortifications upon THE SAID HILL, and defeat this design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult. Orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench on THAT HILL. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge and proceeded to *Breed's* hill, *for, by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment, instead of THE OTHER.*"—*Committee of Safety's Narrative*, July 25, 1776.

to "recommend" and authorize any movement which was purely aggressive in its character; and having also examined the position which the Generals really ordered to be seized and occupied, under that "recommendation," and the peculiarities of the Orders which they issued on that occasion, it will be proper, before noticing the details of that occupation, to turn to those by whom that occupation was to be effected and maintained, and to ascertain, as nearly as possible, their character and the qualifications they possessed for discharging the momentous duty which was thus assigned to them.

The great body of the insurgents who were then sitting before Boston was merely a congregation of separate, independent bodies of men—some organized with the forms of law, others only voluntarily associated—recognizing, with rare exceptions, in the officers commissioned by or coming from any other Colony than their own, respectively, no authority whatever to command them or to control their actions—not even the officers belonging to "the Bay," whom they had come "to assist," were permitted to give orders to those from Connecticut and Rhode Island, who were thus professing to assist them, in their uprising against their King and the Laws.

The hardy men of New Hampshire, without waiting for legislative action or Orders from the Committee or the Congress of that Colony, had hurried to the relief of Massachusetts and cast themselves, temporarily, under the command of her Generals; and there, as *New Hampshire men*, however, they remained at the time of which we write, rendering willing obedience to the Generals commanding "the Massachusetts Army," but recognizing the supreme authority, *over themselves*, of no one except the Provincial Congress of their own Colony.* Connecticut, by

* THE ARMY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE originated in the spontaneous movement toward Boston, of large bodies of men, to assist in protecting the people at the Bay from the attacks of the Royal troops.

On the fourth of May, 1775, the General Assembly met; and, two days later, at its own request, it was adjourned until the twelfth of June.

On the seventeenth of May, "a Convention of Deputies from the several Towns," met at Exeter; and it proceeded, the next day, to run in debt for arms and ammunition, and to order "that a number of men be raised in this Province to join in the common cause of defending our just rights and liberties"—the origin of the Army of New Hampshire.

On the nineteenth, Colonel John Stark, then before Boston, "requested a supply of firearms for the soldiers under his command;" and steps were promptly taken to comply with that request.

On the twentieth, two thousand men were ordered to be raised for the service of the Colony, "including the officers and those of this Province already in the service;" and that their term of service should expire on the last of the ensuing December.

On the twenty-second, the men thus authorized to be raised were ordered to be divided into three Regiments; on the twenty-third, Colonel Nathaniel Folsom was appointed to take the general command of the Army; on the twenty-fourth, the Second Regiment was assigned to General Folsom—Colonel Stark being in command of the First—and on

her legal authority, had sent her troops to Massachusetts, for the purpose of rendering assistance in the revolt; but she had sent, also, a Brigadier-general of her own appointment to command them;* and not until the nineteenth of June did she transfer from her own "Committee of War," at *Lebanon*, the sole right to control both her troops and her General.† Rhode Island

the first of June, James Reid was appointed Colonel of the Third.

On the third of June, it was ordered, "that General Folsom, as Brigadier-general and first Commander of the New Hampshire forces, under the *Commander-in-chief of the New England Army*, be allowed the same wages as a Brigadier-general shall receive in the Massachusetts service, both as General and Commander of a Regiment, while in actual service; and that he have no particular Regiment of his own, but equally command all the New Hampshire forces"—Enoch Poor, Lieutenant-colonel, succeeding to the command of the Second Regiment.

On the sixth of June, the General's "wages" were reduced to those of "a Colonel of a Regiment, and such other allowances as the Convention should think proper thereafter."

Although no formal vote has been found, under which the command of the New Hampshire troops was vested in General Ward, the Provincial Congress itself, when it desired the presence of Colonel Stark at Exeter, requested that General to grant a leave of absence to the Colonel, for the purpose of enabling him to answer the summons; and as General Folsom did not reach the Camp until the twentieth of June, the immediate command was still in General Ward, whose Orders were accordingly recognized and obeyed by Colonel Stark, on the morning of the action, as recited in his report of the battle to the New Hampshire Congress.

THE ARMY OF CONNECTICUT originated, also, in the spontaneous uprising of the Colonists, on the receipt of "the news from Lexington."

On the twenty-sixth of April, 1775, the General Assembly met in Special Session, at Hartford, and recognized the action of those who had thus moved to Boston, and provided for their supply with provisions. One-fourth part of the Militia was also ordered into immediate service; six Regiments were to be formed of the troops thus ordered into the field; and due provision was made for their equipment and supply. Arms were ordered to be purchased; and the export of Provisions, by water, was stopped until the twentieth of May. David Wooster was appointed Major-general, Joseph Spencer, Senior Brigadier-general, and Israel Putnam, Junior Brigadier-general.

On the eleventh of May, the General Assembly met again, when a heavy tax was laid to meet the increased expences; the embargo on the export of provisions was continued until the first of August; the manufacture of arms was encouraged; a complete Code for the government of troops was adopted; provision was made for the families of soldiers in the field; a Board of War was appointed "to assist his Honour the Governour, when the Assembly is not sitting, to order and direct the marches and stations of the inhabitants enlisted and assembled for the special defence of the Colony, or any part or parts of them, as they shall judge necessary, and to give orders from time to time, for furnishing and employing said inhabitants so enlisted, with every matter and thing that may be needed to render the defence of the Colony effectual," etc.

On the seventh of June, other troops, after extended discussion, were ordered, by the Council of War, to move from New London to the Camp before Boston; and on the seventeenth of the same month—while the action was in progress on Breed's-hill—still further detachments were sent forward by the same body.

At the date of the action on Breed's-hill, no portion of the legal authority over the Connecticut troops, of her Governor and General Assembly, had been transferred to any person or body beyond her own boundaries.

† "On motion, of the difficulties the Army are and must be under for want of a General and Commander-in-chief of the whole body raised by different Colonies, &c., and a due subordination, on consideration, &c.,

Voted, That his Honour the Governour be advised to

also, had sent her "Army of Observation" to the Bay; but General Greene went with it as its sole Commander;* and he retained that authority, undisputed, until the twenty-eight of June, when the General Assembly of that Colony transferred it.† As John Adams described it, years after,‡ "the army at Cambridge," at that time, "was not a national army, for there was no nation. It was not a United States Army, for there were no United Colonies; and if it could be said in any sense that the Colonies were united, the centre of their union—the Congress at Philadelphia—had not adopted nor acknowledged the Army at Cambridge. It was not a New England Army; for New England had not associated. New England had no legal Legislature, nor any common Executive authority, even upon the principles of original

"give orders to our Officers and Soldiers to be subordinate and yield obedience to the General and Commanding officer of the troops of the Massachusetts Bay, while they act in that Province, and until the Governor, with advice, shall see fit to order otherwise."—(*Journal of the Council of War for Connecticut*, Monday, June 19, 1775, A. M.)

* THE "ARMY OF OBSERVATION" OF RHODE ISLAND was organized under the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly, passed on the twenty-fifth of April, 1775. That Act authorized the enlistment and equipment of fifteen hundred men, with the provision, "if it be necessary for the safety and preservation of any of the Colonies, that they be ordered to march out of this Colony, and join and co-operate with the forces of our neighboring Colonies."

The General Assembly, however, appointed no officers either to enlist or to command these men; and this obstacle was increased by the seizure, at Newport, of three hundred barrels of flour which had been purchased to victual them with. It was not without some delay, therefore, that this "Army of Observation" was set in motion.

On the first Wednesday in May, the General Assembly re-assembled and passed an Act for embodying, supplying, and paying the "Army of Observation," directing it to consist of three Regiments, commanded by a Brigadier-general; that those Regiments, as well as their respective officers, should be of perfectly equal rank, without seniority; that every soldier enlisted should sign an engagement that he solemnly engaged and enlisted himself "as a Soldier in His Majesty's service, and in the pay of the Colony of Rhode Island, for the preservation of the liberties of America," etc. The Lieutenant-governor, the Brigadier-commanding, and the Committee of Safety, or the major part of them, were authorized to "order and direct when and in what manner the forces thus raised, or any part of them, should march out of the Colony to the assistance of any neighboring Colony in distress;" and Nathaniel Greene was appointed Brigadier-general of this "Army of Observation."

Under this authority, Rhode Island strengthened Massachusetts in her revolt; and on the second Monday of June, the Assembly re-assembled and proceeded with its work of organization, by adopting Articles of War, providing for the arrest of Deserters, etc.

"The Army of Observation" was thus governed when the action was fought on Breed's-hill, on the seventeenth of June.

† "Whereas it is absolutely necessary, for the well-governing and extending the force of an Army, that the same should be under the direction of a Commander-in-chief:

"It is therefore Voted and Resolved, That the Army of Observation of this Colony, during the operations of the present campaign, be under the command and direction of the Commander-in-chief of the combined American Army, stationed in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay; and that the Secretary transmit a copy of this Act to the Commander-in-chief of the combined American Army, and to the Brigadier-general of the Rhode Island troops." (*Journal of the General Assembly*. Session of June 28, 1775; *Greene's Life of General Greene*, i, 100.)

‡ Letter to George Brinley, June 19, 1818.

"authority or even of original power in the People. Massachusetts had her Army, Connecticut her Army, New Hampshire her Army, and Rhode Island her Army. These four Armies met at Cambridge, and imprisoned the British Army in Boston. But who was the Sovereign of this united, or, rather, congregated Army; and who was its Commander-in-chief? It had none. Putnam, Poor, and Greene were as independant of Ward, as Ward was of them. None of them but Ward was subject to the Orders of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress."

The Committee of Safety, therefore, and its "recommendation," as well as the Joint-Committee which was raised and the message which it bore to "the Roxbury Camp," had no authority whatever, even under the rules which then controlled the insurgents, except in the presence of the men of Massachusetts, unless, with one exception, those who had come from the other Colonies should be pleased, of their own accord, to assist in the projected enterprize.

As we have said, the "recommendations" of the Committee of Safety were communicated to the Generals commanding, respectively, those portions of the Armies of Massachusetts and Connecticut which were encamped near Cambridge; and the latter evidently considered and (concerning the occupation of Bunker's-hill, at least) professed to approve them. They also issued Orders, apparently for the purpose of carrying out that portion of the Committee's "recommendation" which referred to Bunker's-hill; but, as we have also seen, those Orders, such as they were, were really for the occupation and defence of Breed's-hill; and a select body of men, from the Massachusetts and Connecticut Armies, respectively, were detailed for that purpose.

The force which was thus ordered to open the aggressive war of rebellion, numbered "about one thousand men,"* of which three hundred were to be taken from the Massachusetts Regiment commanded by Colonel Prescott; † and five hundred from the Massachusetts Regiments commanded by Colonels Frye and Bridge‡—the latter under

* Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775. See, also, the Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1776; Judge Prescott's MS. Memoir—cited by Mr. Butler in his *History of Groton—Gordon's History*, ii, 39; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 239; Ramsay's *History of the Revolution*, i, 201; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 20; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 249; Hubley's *History of American Revolution*, i, 286; Ticknor's *Prescott*, 453; Frothingham's *Life and Times of Warren*, 507; Humphrey's *Life of Putnam*, 95.

Although other statements give higher numbers than this, we conceive that these constitute the best authority.

† Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

‡ Colonel Prescott made no allusion, in his description of the forces which left Cambridge, on Friday evening, to the Company of Artillery, commanded by Captain Gridley, which Mr. Frothingham supposes formed a part of this nocturnal party; and, for this reason, with others which are satisfactory to us, we exclude it from this part of our narrative.

the Colonel in person; the former under Lieutenant-colonel Brackett—and the whole were to be commanded by Colonel Prescott, as we have already stated. The remaining two hundred * were to be "Connecticut men," detailed from various Companies, and commanded by Captain Thomas Knolton.†

It is very evident, however, that of those who were thus ordered to march to Breed's-hill, all were not present when the column moved from the Camp; and instead of "about one thousand" men, the commands of Colonel Prescott and Captain Knolton were composed of a much smaller number‡—instead of "two hundred," for instance, Captain Knolton only carried with him four Lieutenant's commands, numbering a hundred and twenty men; § and the other commands really mustered a much smaller number than they are ordinarily said to have contained.¶

These detachments were paraded at Cambridge, in the evening of Friday, the sixteenth of June,

* Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Captain John Chester to Rev. Samuel Fish, July 22, 1775.

† This name is usually spelled "Knowlton;" we prefer the Captain's own way of spelling it, as we find it in his manuscript accounts with his command, in his own hand-writing, which are in our possession and now before us.

‡ While by far the greater number of writers confound the number of those who were ordered out, with that of the men who really marched, some vary from both—Colonel Stark, for instance, (*Letter to the New Hampshire Congress*, June 19, 1775) said, "On the sixteenth instant, at evening, a detachment of about twenty-five hundred men of the Massachusetts forces marched," etc.; the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, (*Letter to the Continental Congress*, June 20, 1775), said they numbered "about twelve hundred men,"—in which Mr. Frothingham agrees, (*Siege of Boston*, 122);—General Dearborn's Account, after deducting known reinforcements, made the actual number who originally left Cambridge, less than eight hundred—in which General Washington, (*Letter to George William Fairfax*, July 25, 1775), evidently agreed with him—and Judge Tudor, (*Life of Otis*, 470), still more diminishes the number. Doctor John Warren, brother of the General, in his *Manuscript Diary*, said the insurgents who went on the hill, on Friday evening, numbered only "about seven hundred," and Governor Trumbull (*Letter to Baron van der Capellen*, August 31, 1779) considered there were no more than "about six hundred."

§ Judge Grosvenor to Daniel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Mosseman's *History of Breed's Hill Battle*, 6; Swett's *History*, 16.

¶ As instances of this customary discrepancy, Colonel Stark's Regiment was said to be full to overflowing, numbering not less than seven hundred and fifty men; and Colonel Reed's is said to have returned, three days before the battle, four hundred and eighty-six rank and file; yet, on the day of the battle, Colonel Stark himself being the witness, the two Regiments, together, "amounted to about seven hundred men, half organized and wretchedly equipped"—a difference as great as that in Captain Knolton's command.

Of Colonel Bridge's Regiment, which was included in General Ward's Order, as we read of that Order, only seven companies, at most, could have accompanied the expedition, instead of ten, since three of them were on the main-land, the next morning;* and there is no reason to suppose that the other Regiments more rigidly executed the Order.

* Colonel Swett, (*History of Bunker Hill Battle*, 19,) says "three of Bridge's Companies did not join the detachment, but one or two small fatigue parties from other Regiments 'joining, the whole amounted to about one thousand men.'" We find no confirmation of this statement concerning other fatigue parties,

with blankets, rations for twenty-four hours* and "all the intrenching tools in the encampment."† It is said that they paraded on the Common; and that President Langdon, of Harvard College, met them there, and asked the blessing of God upon the enterprise, in "a fervent and impressive prayer."‡

All the preparations having been made, about nine o'clock, § the detachments marched from Cambridge on their perilous adventure, accompanied, it is said, by the venerable Colonel Gridley, the Engineer-in-chief of the Massachusetts Army, unto whom had been entrusted the superintendence of the proposed works.¶ It is said, also, that the column was either accompanied or joined on its line of march by two Generals—probably Pomeroy and Putnam.¶

It is said, also, that the column was halted when it reached Charlestown Common, near "the Neck," and again at the foot of Breed's-hill, at which latter place the Orders of General Ward were communicated to the subordinate officers; ** and it is said, also, that "a long consultation" took place, [there,] in relation to the place to "be fortified."†† The venerable Pomeroy and the accomplished Engineer-in-chief are said to have earnestly remonstrated against the occupation of Breed's-hill, under existing circumstances and without keeping open the communication with the main body, by a corresponding occupation of Bunker's-hill; ‡‡ but the Orders of General Ward were imperative, and controlled the men of Massachusetts, §§ while General Putnam,—

* Captain John Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Letter from Wethersfield, June 22.

† Fenno's Orderly-book, June 16; Mosseman's *History*, 6; Frothingham's *Stiege of Boston*, 131.

‡ Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Swett's *History*, 19; Frothingham's *Stiege of Boston*, 122; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 408.

§ Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; Letter from Wethersfield, June 22; Stedman's *History*, i, 125.

¶ Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*.

It is said, also, that Colonel Prescott, arrayed in blue coat, etc., and preceded by two sergeants, carrying dark lanterns, headed the column; and that wagons, laden with intrenching tools, rattled over the rough roads, in its rear, (Captain Chester's Letter, July 22; Frothingham's *Stiege of Boston*, 122,) which may be true, although we doubt it.

The Colonel hardly wore his dress uniform on such an occasion, to say nothing of the celebrated "banyan" which he wore next day; and there certainly could not have been so little regard paid to secrecy as to have employed wagons to carry the intrenching tools, rattling, in the stillness of the night, over the rough roads which extended so near to the Royal lines, that "dark lanterns" were necessary to ensure safety from discovery by the sentries on duty there.

¶ Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775.

Daniel Putnam, (*Letter of May 4, 1813*), and Judge Grosvenor (*Letter of April 30, 1818*), each aver that General Putnam was there; but we find no contemporaneous testimony concerning the presence of any other General. It is proper, in this connection, to say that Colonel Prescott made no allusion whatever to the presence, on Breed's-hill, of either of those Generals, nor of any other.

** Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Frothingham's *Stiege of Boston*, 123.

†† Ibid. See, also, Bancroft's *History*, vii, 409.

‡‡ Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775.

§§ Mr. Frothingham, singularly enough, says of these Orders: "the Order was explicit as to Bunker's-hill," (*Stiege*

the ignorant blusterer who seems to have been the author of the mischief—in person, controlled those of Connecticut; * and Breed's-hill was, accordingly, occupied.

The lines of the proposed intrenchment having been drawn "by the Engineer," Colonel Gridley,† and the usual patrols detailed by Colonel Prescott and Captain Knolton,‡ at "about twelve o'clock" the labor of the night was commenced.§ Soon after, the Engineer and Generals returned to the mainland;¶ and the little parties, ignorant of the great results which they were so diligently digging from that hill-top, toiled vigorously until daybreak, under the direction of their own immediate officers, and without the least interruption from the King's forces, although the "All's well" of the sentries, on the opposite bank of the river, in Boston, was distinctly heard, and guaranteed to the toilers on the hill, periodically, that they were yet undiscovered.

The work which was thus laid out and thrown up by the insurgents who had ventured to occupy Breed's-hill, was a rectangular redoubt, with a projecting angle on its Southerly face, fronting Boston.‡ It was "about eight rods square" **—

of Boston, 128); yet Colonel Prescott as explicitly tells us (*Letter to John Adams*) that that Order was for him "to march to Breed's-hill," for its intrenchment; and Colonel Stark and Lieutenant Grosvener confirmed his statement.

Colonels Prescott and Gridley and General Pomeroy were old soldiers, and knew, too well, the danger of disobeying the Orders of their General-in-chief, at the mere solicitation of an officer of a foreign service, possessing no authority over them, and in the face of their own better judgments to the contrary; and they occupied what they were ordered to occupy, because they had been ordered, by their own General-in-chief, to occupy it; not because General Putnam desired them to do so, nor "because it better suited the daring 'spirit of the officers' many of whom, coward-like, soon after, left the works with some paltry excuse, and never returned.

The soldierly qualities of the Massachusetts officers were never more beautifully displayed than in their evident condemnation of the neglect of their General to keep open the line of his communication with them, followed by their ready obedience to Orders which, they knew, imposed upon them almost certain destruction; and Pomeroy, and Gridley, and Prescott earned, and were entitled to, all the honors which they have ever enjoyed. In the words of General Washington, several years after, (*Letter to John Jay*, April 14, 1779) "General Putnam I need not mention."

Of course, if General Putnam was present, he ranked Captain Knolton; and his wishes undoubtedly controlled that detachment, which was from his command.

† Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Everett's *Orations*, 10.

‡ Daniel Putnam (*Letter*, 4 May, 1818) says that General Putnam "traced the lines of the redoubt."

§ Frothingham's *Siege*, 123, and the authorities cited by him.

¶ Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 23, 1775; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Gordon's *History*, II, 39; Swett's *History*, 21; Hubley's *History*, I, 286.

Judge Prescott (MS. *Memoir*) said, "eleven o'clock."

¶ Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

‡ Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Bornicre, and General Dearborn.

** Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, II, 40; Peabody's *Israel Putnam*, 170.

The letter from Boston, July 5, says it was thirty yards square; General Dearborn (*Account*) says it was "sixty or seventy feet in extent."

probably "about ten rods long and eight wide." *—and when the break of day revealed the unwelcome fact of its erection to the Marines on duty on the *Lively*, it was not more than half-finished.†

At the moment when this work was commenced, and on the following morning, when it was discovered, the waters of the Charles and the Mystic-rivers were thickly studded with the King's ships-of-war; and a heavy garrison was quartered within gunshot of the hill, in the neighboring Town of Boston. The *Falcon*, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Linzee, for instance, was anchored off Moulton's-point; the *Lively*, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Bishop, was anchored off the Eastern extremity of Charles-town, on the Southeastern front of the redoubt; the *Glasgow*, of twenty-four guns, commanded by Captain Maltby, the *Symmetry*, transport, carrying twenty guns, the *Cerberus*, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Chads, the *Somerset*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Le Cras, and several gunboats, were in the immediate vicinity; while the Fourth, Fifth, Tenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, Forty-seventh, Forty-ninth, Fifty-second, Fifty-ninth, Sixty-third, and Sixty-fifth Regiments of Foot, several batteries of the Royal Artillery, the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, and a strong body of Marines, either wholly or in part, were quartered in Boston, and ready to be moved at an hour's notice.

At day-break,‡—some say about three o'clock§—on the morning of the eventful Saturday, the industrious insurgents were seen, from the deck of the *Lively*, ¶ at their toil on Breed's-hill; and Captain Bishop, without waiting for orders,

* Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

† Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

Although other accounts speak of the work as nearly finished, we prefer Brown's statement, because its author was an intelligent man and on the spot; while all others merely repeat hearsay testimony.

‡ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775: The same to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Letter from an Officer, June 23, 1775; Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Massachusetts Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; The same to the Albany Committee, June 23, 1775; Massachusetts Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Captain John Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 23, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; Letter from the Camp, June 27; Letter from Boston, July 5; Stedman's *History*, I, 126.

§ Letter from an Officer, June 18, 1775; Lieutenant Hall's *Civil War in America*, 77; Mrs. Adams to John Adams, June 18, 1775.

Peter Brown, (*Letter*, June 25,) says "about five o'clock;" Samuel Gray, (*Letter* July 12,) says "about sunrise;" Doctor Thacher, (*Military Journal*, 26;) Mr. Hubley, (*History*, 286;) and Doctor Gordon, (*History*, II, 40,) says "four o'clock." Colonel Prescott, (*Letter to John Adams*), says "just before 'sunrising,'" (Judge Prescott, MS. *Memoir*), says "daylight 'made the discovery.'"

¶ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775: The same to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Lieutenant Hall's *Civil War*, 77; Stedman's *History*, I, 126; Gordon's *History*, II, 40.

promptly put a spring on his cable, opened a fire on the unfinished intrenchment,* and sent a boat to the Town with the information.† At that early hour, the sound of this cannonade aroused, not only the belligerents in Boston and on the surrounding high grounds, but the entire population of the Colony, for some miles around; and every point from which the intrenchment could be seen was speedily covered with an excited multitude, anxiously gazing on the novel spectacle.‡ This fire was continued with little or no interruption, during the entire forenoon, and until the Royal troops moved against the works.‖

The surprise of the Royal forces, when the insurgents were seen on Breed's-hill, appears to have been no greater, however, than that which was manifested by the insurgents themselves, when the opening day revealed to them the extreme danger into which, under cover of the darkness, they had been led by their officers; and some of the most intelligent of them suspected "there was treachery, and that they were brought there to be all slain"—one of them, more than a week after the battle, in writing to his aged mother, in another Colony, said, "I must and will venture to say, there was treachery, oversight, or presumption, in the conduct of our officers."¶

If what has been claimed for General Putnam, in the matter of the occupation of *Breed's-hill* instead of *Bunker's*, is really true—if, as his son and his most ardent admirers have steadily insisted, it was through his persistent entreaties, both in the Council and on the field, that the post of greatest danger was occupied instead of

that comparatively safe one which the Committee of Safety had formally "recommended"—the "treachery, oversight or presumption" displayed in that movement, if there was any, must also be awarded to that officer, rather than to any other. It is a singular coincidence, therefore, that while these remarkable records have come down to us, through American channels—the record of the distrust which somebody had inspired among the brave but misguided men who occupied the summit of Breed's-hill, before that hill itself became a record of brave deeds, and stubborn fidelity to the King, and desperate energy in rebellion: the record, also, of the part which General Putnam had taken in producing the peculiar causes which had led to that distrust—a parallel record has also descended to us, through other than American channels, which confirms the terrible suspicion of somebody's "treachery," and fastens upon the same General Putnam a secret desire, about that time, to return to the peace of his Sovereign, as well as an offer of terms for that purpose, to the Royal General-in-chief, and their qualified rejection.

The cannonade does not seem to have compelled the insurgents to suspend either their work on the intrenchments or their preparations for the approaching contest. The work on the redoubt was continued until that position was made tolerably secure; and a breastwork, beginning near the North-eastern angle of the former and extending, Northerly, about a hundred yards, was subsequently laid out and partially thrown up.* The space between the redoubt and the breastwork, forming a sally-port, was also covered with a blind.† Messages were sent to Cambridge, "time after time," for artillery;‡

* "Having thrown up a small redoubt, found it necessary to draw a line about twenty rods in length from the fort, Northerly, under a very warm fire from the enemy's artillery"—Colonel Prescott's *Letter to John Adams*.

See also the Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; General Gage to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Stedman's *History*, I, 126; Hall's *Civil War*, 73, 79; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 543; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Hubley's *History*, I, 286; Marshall's *Washington*, II, 290; Maps of Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere and General Dearborn.

† Map of Lieutenant D'Berniere; Swett's *History of Bunker's-hill Battle*, 20, 21, 27; Frothingham's *Siege*, 185.

‡ Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

It will be seen that we do not concur in the opinion of Mr. Frothingham (*Siege of Boston*, 121, 122;) and Colonel Swett (*History*, 18,) that the Artillery accompanied the fatigue-parties, on the preceding evening.

We have no idea that either the Artillery or the baggage-wagons were allowed to accompany those parties, in their silent march, when the slightest noise might have aroused the enemy and frustrated the undertaking—unless these monitors were sent out, as instruments of the "treachery" to which allusions have been made, for the purpose of indicating to the neighboring sentries, that the insurgents were in motion and that the garrison was in danger, of which we have seen no evidence. Besides, we find no original authority for Colonel Swett's and Mr. Frothingham's statements; and, as will be seen, we do find authority for denying their correctness.

* General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775: The same to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Massachusetts Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 30, 1775: The same to the Albany Committee, June 28, 1775; Massachusetts Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Captain John Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 25, 1775; Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; Stedman's *History*, I, 126; Lieutenant Hall's *Civil War*, 77; Gordon's *History*, II, 40.

† Letter from an Officer, June 18; General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775.

‡ General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, II, 40; Everett's *Oration*, 11.

§ Massachusetts Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775: Colonel Stark to the New Hampshire Congress, June 19, 1775; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 23, 1775; Prescott's *Letter to John Adams*, August 25, 1775; Provincial Congress to Albany Committee, June 28, 1775; Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 13; Letter from Wethersfield, June 22, 1775; Andrews' *History of the War*, I, 303; Hubley's *History*, I, 286; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 543; Gordon's *History*, II, 40; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Ramsay's *American Revolution*, I, 201.

¶ In the *Letter from Boston to Scotland*, June 25, it is said that "almost immediately, this firing was put a stop to by the Admiral," and was not resumed until nine o'clock; the Provincial Congress (*Letter to Continental Congress*) said "the fire was general by twelve o'clock;" Peter Brown (*Letter to his mother*) said the fire was brisk for a few minutes, then suspended, then resumed a short time, again suspended, until eleven, when it was continued.

¶ Peter Brown to his mother, Cambridge, June 25, 1775.—President Sill's MS. Diary, in Yale-college Library.

reinforcements were also solicited from the hesitating General of the Massachusetts Army; and the famished and wearied workmen, not yet used to the duties of soldiers, earnestly solicited additional refreshments.*

The opening of the fire, however, unsettled the nerves of several of the field-officers of the Regiments which had accompanied Colonel Prescott to the hill; and they were thereby rendered incapable of performing much more service: "the most of the men under their command also deserted the party,"†—during the morning, as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention. In response to the calls for artillery, Captains Gridley, Trevett, and Callender were sent, early in the day, with six field-pieces.‡ The earnest message for reinforcements and supplies, which General Putnam had carried, during the night, to Cambridge,§ or that which was borne, in the morning, by Colonel Prescott's first messenger,|| seems to have produced a tardy Order

to Colonel Stark, then posted at Medford, for the movement of a detachment of two hundred of his men;* and, later in the day, probably in response to the entreaties of Major Brooks,† an equally tardy Order was issued for the movement of the remainder of the New Hampshire troops, under Colonels Stark and Reid, for the support of the working parties on the peninsula.‡ We have no account of the arrival, on Breed's-hill, of either food or drink for the refreshment of the exhausted working-parties; although we have heard of a small supply, in wagons, being deterred from passing over "the Neck," by reason of the heavy cross-fire which pealed that important pass: we have read, also, that no refreshments whatever reached these weary workmen, during the entire day.§

General Putnam, after safely resting at Cambridge, until the next morning,|| returned to the peninsula, a little before noon,¶ and blustered, as was his habit, without rendering any service to the fatigue-parties, until his eyes fell on the tools which the weary workers, still unrefreshed, had recently laid down near the works. He is said to have sent to Colonel Prescott, soon after, from Bunker's-hill—a relatively safe spot on which he had taken his stand—for some of these intrenching tools,** but evidently without success; and we are told, also, that he subsequently revisited the redoubt, and suggested to Colonel Prescott, that these tools should be "sent back" or they would be lost; and that the Colonel, a wiser and a better man, objected to the proposition, for the reason, as he said, "that if he sent any of the men away with the tools, not 'one of them would return.'" The General, either for the purpose of attempting to secure the tools, or for the purpose of seeming to desire to throw up a breastwork on Bunker's-hill, or for the purpose of weakening the garrison in the redoubt and behind the breastwork, and of thus promoting the "treachery" which the Massachusetts men had already suspected and spoken of, insisted, however, on his desire to remove the tools, promising the Colonel that "they should every man return" to his place in the lines; and the Colonel consented, although with evident unwillingness. "A large party was then

* Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Edward Everett's *Life of John Stark—Spark's American Biography*, I, 1, 58, 59; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 128.

General Putnam, after he had accomplished his purposes, in the occupation of Breed's instead of Bunker's-hill, abandoned the working-parties to their fate and returned to Cambridge. In the morning, it is said, (Frothingham, 128; Swett, 24,) he called on General Ward for reinforcements and supplies, but with a limited degree of success—he does not appear, however, to have called out any of his own command until after dinner (Captain Chester's Letter, July 22, 1775.)

Colonel Prescott, anxious to maintain the honor of his little party, is said to have declined to ask to be relieved; although the fatigue and hunger of his men, and the earnest entreaties of his officers, obliged him, unwillingly, to send two messengers—the last of them was Major Brooks—to General Ward, for the purpose of soliciting reinforcements and supplies. (Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Swett, 23, 24; Frothingham, 128, 127, 128.) The second application seems to have been successful; since it was because of Major Brooks's application the New Hampshire troops, not already on the peninsula, were ordered to march there for the purpose of assisting in the defence of the intrenchments.—Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*.

Mr. Frothingham, (*Siege*, 128, Note,) strangely connects the early discontent of the men and suspicion of treachery, with their fatigue and hunger, later in the morning. That discontent and suspicion really arose at dawn of day, when they saw the position into which their officers had led them, under cover of the darkness, and because of that discovery, only. It was not fatigue, but suspected treachery, which made them discontented.

† Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775. See, also, Peter Brown's Letter to his mother, June 25, 1775, in which he says "seven hundred of us left, not deserted, but side five hundred reinforcement."

‡ It is possible that some of these subsequently returned to the redoubt, and that others of them joined in the defence of the breastwork; but it is also evident that the greater number were skulkers, who sneaked back to the Eastern side of Bunker's-hill and there assisted General Putnam—in waiting for the result of the action and in joining in the retreat.

§ Peter Brown speaks of a train of four pieces; but it is evident that Captains Gridley, Trevett, and Callender, with six pieces, were sent to the peninsula. Five of these were taken by the Royal troops (General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775) and one was carried off by Captain Trevett (Frothingham's *Siege*, 152.)

|| Colonel Swett's *History*, 21; Frothingham's *Siege*, 128. † That Colonel Prescott sent two messengers is evident from Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Everett's *Stark*, 58, 59; etc.

* Colonel Stark to the New Hampshire Congress, June 19, 1775; Everett's *Stark*, 58, 59.

† Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Brooks's *Medford*, 130. Mr. Everett (*Life of Stark*, 59) makes Major Brooks the first, instead of the second, messenger.

‡ Colonel Stark to the New Hampshire Congress, June 19, 1775; Everett's *Stark*, 59.

§ Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Gordon's *History*, II, 40.

|| Swett's *History*, 21; Frothingham's *Siege*, 124.

¶ This subject was elaborately discussed in our *Third Letter to Selah*, May 19, 1859—Major-general Israel Putnam, 139-142—and the reader is respectfully directed thereto.

** Doctor Thomas Kittredge's Deposition—Swett's *Notes to the Sketch of Bunker's-hill battle*.

"sent off with the tools," as the General had desired, "and not one of them returned"—*—how could they return since the General, in open violation of his promise that "every man should return," immediately employed them, if reports speak truly,† in throwing up, on Bunker's-hill, a breastwork for which, in the absence of men who could be spared to occupy it, there was no use; and there, on the safe side of Bunker's-hill, they remained with the General, inactive, long after their services became necessary in the lines, for the immediate defence of the position.‡

In the course of the morning, one of the insurgents—Asa Pollard, of Billerica, belonging to Colonel Bridge's Regiment—was killed by a cannon ball;§ and this incident served to increase the demoralization of his fellows and led to the desertion of many of them||—a result which did not escape the vigilant eye of Colonel Prescott and which was checked, it is said,¶ only by a judicious exposure of his own person and that of one of his Captains.

¶ Having carried the redoubt and the breastwork as near completion as the strength of the working-parties permitted, about eleven

o'clock, the insurgents mostly discontinued their labor, and patiently awaited the arrival of the refreshments, for which messengers had been sent to Cambridge,* although some of them are said to have continued to labor until a later hour.† They were suffering severely from the heat and their own fatigue;‡ but nothing had yet reached them, either to refresh them or to make them more effective in the defence of their ill-chosen position.§ They were insufficiently armed for the defence of such a work;|| and the shortness of their supply of ammunition served still further to favor the Royal troops in their operations against the intrenchments.¶

In the meantime, the King's officers commanding the vessels-of-war which surrounded the peninsula or were within striking distance of it, as well as those commanding the Royal forces within the Town of Boston, were actively engaged in preparing for the dislodgment of the insurgents from the works which they had thrown up on Breed's-hill and on the neighboring high grounds.

As we have said, the *Lively* opened the attack, at day-break, with a cannonade of the works; and a message from her Commander, sent ashore with one of his officers, conveyed to

* General Heath's *Memoirs*, 20.

† Deposition of Renben Kemp—Swett's *Notes*, 4; Depositions of Amos Foster and Colonel Wade—Swett's *Notes*, 14; Deposition of Joseph Trask—Swett's *Notes*, 15; Deposition of Deacon Miller—Swett's *Notes*, 18; Depositions of William Dickson and Captain Green—Swett's *Notes*, 19; Swett's *History*, 28; Frothingham's *Siege*, 180, 184.

‡ General Dearborn's *Account*; Captain Trevett's Deposition—Swett's *Notes*, 8; Depositions of Samuel Bassett and Deacon Miller—Swett's *Notes*, 18.

§ Massachusetts Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, ii, 40; Swett's *History*, 23; Frothingham's *Siege*, 126.

|| Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; Frothingham's *Siege*, 186.

A story is also told, in this connection, that a Chaplain was horror-stricken when orders were given to bury the body without religious exercises.—Frothingham's *Siege*, 186, Note.

¶ Swett's *History*, 23; Frothingham's *Siege*, 126; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 26; Lossing's *Field Book*, i, 541; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 411; Irving's *Washington*, ii, 469.

We find no authority for this statement, except the above-named; and we are inclined to the belief that the last five merely repeat the story on Colonel Swett's authority. We give it for what it is worth, without indorsing it.

It is said that while Colonel Prescott was thus engaged, General Gage, in company with his staff and some other officers, as well as with some of the leading Loyalists then in Boston, was examining the works of the insurgents with a spy-glass. The tall, commanding figure of the rebel leader, thus exposed to his view and his fire, arrested his attention; and Abijah Willard, one of the Council of the Province, was inquired of "Who the person was who appeared to command?" The latter recognized the form of his brother-in-law; and informed the General whom it was. "Will he fight?" is said to have been the anxious enquiry of the Royal General-in-chief; and when the Council answered, "Yes, Sir; he is an old soldier and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins," he simply replied, "The works must be carried," and dismissed the subject.—Frothingham's *Siege*, 126, and the authorities cited by him; Sabine's *Loyalists*, ii, 430.

We have no means of knowing exactly how much truth there is in this story; but we introduce it in this place, as we introduce other matter, for just what it shall be considered worth. For ourselves, we are free to confess that, notwithstanding its endorsers, we consider it very apocryphal.

* Frothingham's *Siege*, 129, 133; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 27.

† An editorial dated, "CAMBRIDGE, June 22," in Force's *American Archives*, (IV, ii, 1062) says "Our people with little loss, continued to carry on the works till one o'clock, P. M., on Saturday." See also William Tudor's Letter to Stephen Collins, June 23, 1775; Lossing's *Field Book*, i, 541.

‡ Swett's *History*, 23, 24; Frothingham's *Siege*, 126-129; Lossing's *Field Book*, i, 442; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 26, 26; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 411, 412; Elliot's *New England*, ii, 318.

§ Captain Chester by Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Gordon's *History*, ii, 40; Tudor's *Life of Otis*, 470; Allen's *History*, i, 358.

|| Colonel Prescott's Letter to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 847; General Dearborn's *Account*; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 28; Gordon's *History*, ii, 45; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 295; *History of War in America*, i, 84.

General Dearborn said (*Account*) "It is a most extraordinary fact that the British did not make a single charge during the battle, which, if attempted, would have been decisive and fatal to the Americans, as they did not carry into the field fifty bayonets. In my Company there was not one."

¶ Colonel Prescott's Letter to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27, 30; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 293; Tudor's *Life of Otis*, 470; Ticknor's *Prescott*, 453; Botts's *History of the Revolution*, i, 207; Governor Trumbull's Letter, 31st August, 1779.

General Dearborn said that he resorted to the killed, in distant parts of the field, for ammunition with which to sustain his fire (*Account*); and he said, also, "had our ammunition held out, or had we been supplied with only fifteen or twenty rounds, I have no doubt but that we should have killed and wounded the greatest part of their army, and compelled the remainder to have laid down their arms, for it was with the greatest difficulty that they were brought up the last time. Our fire was so deadly, particularly to the officers, that it would have been impossible to have resisted it but for a short time longer." (*Ibid.*)

"Colonel Prescott always thought he could have maintained his post with the handful of men under his command, exhausted as they were by fatigue and hunger, if they had been supplied with sufficient ammunition, and with bayonets."—Judge Prescott's MS. *Memoir*,

General Gage, officially, the intelligence of the insurgents' temerity. The report of her guns, "breaking the calmness of the fine summer morning," aroused both friend and foe; and in the Town especially, it was not long before every available spot was occupied, either by the residents of the Town, or by the King's troops, garrisoned there, or by the loyal Colonists who had sought shelter there from the outrages inflicted upon them by the more lawless of the disaffected. All gazed anxiously; all were filled with surprise; and all manifested either the pleasure or the indignation which their political sympathies engendered, as they gazed on the earthworks which had so wonderfully arisen from the hill-top, and on the earnest, but anxious toilers, who, like busy bees, were still occupied in strengthening their position and in preparing for the conflict which they had challenged.

The fire thus opened was continued, as we have said, with little interruption, by the shipping which surrounded the peninsula, during the entire forenoon;* and about nine o'clock it was increased by that of a battery of three twenty-four pounders and three howitzers,† which was opened on them from the works on Copp's Hill, at the Northern extremity of the Town;‡ and by that of the *Glasgow*, of twenty-four guns, which was anchored in the neighboring waters, and opened her fire on the intrenchments.§

Taking advantage of the flood-tide, several vessels-of-war and floating batteries were brought up and moored where their fire could be rendered most effective during the approaching conflict;|| and, as every hour gave the insurgents fresh strength in their important position, the speediest action was absolutely necessary, in order to dislodge them.¶ Accordingly, at half past eleven o'clock, pursuant to "General Morning Orders," the ten oldest Companies of Grenadiers, the ten oldest Companies of Light-infantry, and the Fifth and Thirty-eighth Regiments of Foot, with their blankets, ammunition, and provisions for three days, were moved to the Long Wharf; the remaining Companies of Grenadiers and Light-infantry—except those of the Thirty-fifth and the Forty-

ninth Regiments, which had just landed,—and the Forty-third and Fifty-second Regiments of Foot, under similar Orders, were moved to the North Battery; the Forty-seventh Regiment of Foot and the First Battalion of Marines, under similar orders, were to march to the North Battery, after the embarkation of those previously moved to that place, and there to await orders. The remainder of the troops in the Town were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, at a moment's warning. The strictest attention to discipline was enjoined. Whoever should leave the ranks, on any pretence, or engage in plunder or pillage, was threatened with execution without mercy.*

About twelve o'clock, the ships and batteries commenced to fire more furiously, if possible, than ever.† The *Somerset*, of sixty-four guns, two floating batteries, and the battery on Copp's Hill, poured shot upon the works on Breed's-hill; the *Fulcon*, of eighteen, and the *Lively*, of twenty guns, were anchored where they could command the low grounds in front of the works and the slope of the hill, and check any movement of the insurgents by which the landing of the approaching troops might be obstructed;

* In this description of the disposition of the Royal forces for the dislodgment of the insurgents, we are glad to be permitted to follow the narrative of Mr. Frothingham, in his invaluable *Siege of Boston*, pages 130, 131. We should have been more glad to have copied from the manuscript Orderly-book of Adjutant Waller, what we have not yet seen in print, the Orders which were really issued by General Gage, on the eventual Saturday morning to which our narrative relates; but the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose custody the manuscript is, has seen fit to adopt and adhere to Rules which remove from the use of working students of American history every such authority which falls into its hands, and we are compelled, instead, to reproduce the paraphrase made by our friend, who, in making it, was probably under the same restraint that we are, although, like myself, he is a member of the Society referred to.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to enter our protest against the usage of such a body, assuming to be a "Historical Society," under which it greedily absorbs important materials for history and as studiously withholds them from those who have occasion to use them, even for historical purposes, except under such restrictions and after such delays as, in nine cases out of ten, render the information which they contain of no practical use whatever.

We are happy in the knowledge, however, that no other Historical Society in the United States is governed by such Rules: on the contrary, they as studiously endeavor to extend the taste for historical enquiry as the Massachusetts Historical Society endeavors to cripple and retard it; and it is matter of congratulation, also, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, herself smarting under the sting of the Society's unwarrantable denial to her own officials the use of portions of her own Archives which had fallen into its hands, has taken legal steps for the restoration to the office of her Secretary, in the State-house, important material for history which, for every practical purpose, might as well be, now, in the archives at Pekin—were they in the British Museum they would be more practically useful and more speedily obtainable than they now are. She has our earnest wishes for her success; and she shall have our best efforts in aiding her to secure it.

† Massachusetts Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; General Gage to Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Hall's *Civil War*, I, 78; General Dearborn's *Account*.

* Letter from an Officer in Boston, June 22, 1775.

† Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; General Gage's Despatch, June 26, 1775; General Gage to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775.

‡ Letter from Wethersfield, June 22, 1775; Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, II, 40; Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, I, 884.

§ Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Frothingham's *Siege*, 135.

|| Massachusetts Provincial Congress to the Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; The same to the Albany Committee, June 23, 1775; Frothingham's *Siege*, 139.

¶ General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Lieutenant Hall's *History of the Civil War*, I, 77.

and two floating batteries, the *Symmetry*, transport, of twenty guns, and the *Glasgow*, of twenty-four guns, commanded "the Neck."* About the same time,† the troops who had been ordered to the peninsula were embarked at the Long Wharf and the North Battery; and, on the display of a blue flag, the designated signal,‡ the two flotillas of barges moved slowly toward the peninsula§—the whole under Major-general Howe, with Brigadier-general Pigot as his second in command,|| with orders to drive the insurgents from their intrenchments.¶ A battery of eight six-pounders was sent with the column of attack;** and these, added to the brilliant uniforms of the Royal troops, their glittering arms and appointments, and the measured movements of the oarsmen on the crowded boats, as they slowly rowed around the Northern extremity of the Town and approached the peninsula, served to increase the novelty of the spectacle, and to add to its effect on the crowds of excited spectators.†† The boats moved slowly toward Moulton's point, at the confluence of the Charles and the Mystic; and on that part of the peninsula,‡‡ without the least opposition,§§ about two o'clock,||| the troops landed and marched to the summit of Morton's-hill,¶¶ already described.***

The Royal troops landed without opposition, we said, but let it not be supposed that that was the effect of either negligence or timidity on the part of Colonel Prescott. When it became evident that the Royal troops were ap-

proaching the peninsula, that vigilant officer detached Captain Knolton and his command, and Captain Callender with two field-pieces, "to go and oppose them."* The detachment left the redoubt, but, instead of harassing the Royal troops while they were debarking, Captain Callender and the Artillery "marched a different course†" "and went right home to Cambridge, "fast as he could;"‡ while Captain Knolton and "the Connecticut forces" which he commanded, "followed," probably "to Bunker's-hill;"§ and "about seven hundred" others, "besides five "hundred reinforcement," shrinking from the duty of the hour, also, "left, not deserted."|| The Royal troops, therefore, encountered no opposition when they landed on Moulton's point.

As the Regiments and Battalions respectively reached the top of Morton's-hill, they were formed by their officers into two parallel columns,—the Light-infantry, the Fifty-second and the Fifth forming the right wing; and the Grenadiers, the Forty-third and the Thirty-eighth, the left wing;—with the battery in front;¶ and it was evident that General Howe intended either in this order to make simultaneous movements on the front and flank of the intrenchments, or, to amuse the insurgents, in front, by a feint, while another portion of the troops, in column, should be moved rapidly along the low ground, on the beach of the Mystic, under such shelter as the high bank afforded, until they gained the rear of the entrenchments and surrounded the intruders. The appearance of the works and the evident temper of the insurgents,** however, were such that General Howe advanced

* Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere and General Dearborn; Frothingham's *Siege*, 181.

† Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; *Historical Record of the Fifth Foot*, 43; *Historical Record of the Tenth Foot*, 38; Gordon's *History*, II, 41; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 848.

‡ General Morning Orders, Saturday, June 17, 1775.

§ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775.

|| General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; General Gage to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Stedman's *History*, I, 126.

¶ Stedman's *History*, I, 126.

** We learn the number of the guns from Lieutenant Page's plan of the Battle; their calibre is ascertained from the statement (Stedman's *History*, I, 129, etc.) concerning the mistake in the size of the shot supplied for their service, by the Ordnance Department.

†† Lieutenant Hall (*Civil War*, I, 78) says there were twelve pieces of artillery with the attacking party.

‡‡ Frothingham's *Siege*, 181; Everett's *Oration*, 11.

§§ Lieutenants D'Berniere and Page's Plans of the Battle; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, II, 41; General Dearborn's Account; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 848; Frothingham's *History of Charlestown*.

¶¶ General Gage to Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 26, 1775; Stedman's *History*, I, 126; Hall's *Civil War*, I, 78; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 848; *Historical Record of the Fifth Foot*, 42; Frothingham's *Siege*, 181.

*** Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Provincial Congress to the Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; The same to the Albany Committee, June 28, 1775; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

¶¶ Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere and General Dearborn.

*** Vide page 325, Column 1, ante.

* Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Judge Parker's Deposition—*N. A. Review*, VII, 237.

† Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

‡ Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

§ Mr. Frothingham probably overlooked this record when (*Siege*, 186) he gave Callender a place between the breast-work and the fence; and enabled him (*Siege*, 168) from that place and because he had no cartridges which he could use, to retire quietly and calmly from the field.

¶ Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

|| Mr. Bancroft (*History*, VII, 418, 414) sends Captain Knolton to the rail-fence, "in pursuance of Prescott's order" "to go and oppose" the landing on Moulton's point!! Mr. Frothingham has, also, strangely overlooked these important facts; and has made the movement, from the redoubt, of the Artillery and Captain Knolton, appear to have been made an hour after the landing, when the Royal troops, refreshed and reinforced, were "moving along the margin "of the Mystic river," with the evident intention of flanking the insurgents and of surrounding the redoubt. (*Siege*, 184.) The reader will perceive that he has confounded two Orders, from two distinct Commanders—that referred to in the text, issued by Colonel Prescott; and that issued by General Putnam, after Captain Knolton had retired to Bunker's-hill, for the occupation of the rail-fence.

¶ Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775.

¶¶ Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere and General Dearborn; General Gage to Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; General Dearborn's Account; Gordon's *History*, II, 41.

*** General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; Letter from Boston, June 18, 1775; Letter from Boston, June 28, 1775; Stedman's *History*, I, 126; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 848, 844.

no further than the top of the little hill, where he halted and sent back to Boston for the movement of the Reserve—three Companies of Grenadiers, three Companies of Light-infantry, the Forty-seventh Foot, and the Marines*—and advantage is said to have been taken of that circumstance to allow the troops already on the peninsula to unsling their haversacks and eat their dinner.†

It is said, however, that there was a deep-seated sympathy among the Royal troops for the insurgents and their cause; and that this sympathy was open and practical in its character. An officer on board of one of the King's ships, at the time, thus clearly described the feelings of the soldiery concerning the unnatural contest into which it was about to be plunged; and the spirit with which some of the disaffected sought to escape must not be lost sight of by those who would learn the real causes of much that ensued: "Nothing can exceed the panic and apparent dislike of most of the King's troops to enter into this engagement: even at the landing, [on Moulton's-point] several attempted to run away, and five actually took to their heels in order to join the Americans, but were presently brought back, and two of them were immediately hung up in *terrorem* to the rest. They, for the most part, openly express a dislike to the service in which they are engaged; and nothing but the fear of military punishment prevents their daily deserting."‡ With such a spirit prevailing in the ranks of the Royal troops, there could not have been that hearty opposition, in the field, to the intrenched insurgents, that loyalty demanded; and it is not improbable that its effect may be perceived by the careful observer, in some part of the result of that day's adventure.

But General Howe does not appear to have remained idle while his Reserve was moving to support him. The Light-infantry, for instance, was advanced to the low grounds at the foot of Morton's-hill, near the bank of the Mystic, where it was "covered by a break in the ground;" and the Thirty-eighth Regiment was thrown forward, also to the low ground, but to the left of the temporary position which the forces then occupied on Morton's-hill; and there it also found shelter, behind a stone-wall.§

Colonel Prescott perceived the purpose of

General Howe in thus disposing of his command; and with equal skill he proceeded to arrange his little party—already heavily diminished by desertion and weakened by hunger, thirst, and fatigue—in such a manner as would best counteract the plans of his adversary. Had the breastwork which he had laid out on the North-eastern angle of the redoubt been carried to the Mystic,—had it been completed, even, as far as the slough which terminated the designated line of its course,—it would have been more difficult for General Howe to have accomplished his purpose of turning the flank of the intrenchments; but the breastwork, instead, was unfinished as far as it extended; and it extended over only a portion of the line which had been laid down for its course, leaving a way open to the rear of the redoubt,* which an enterprising adversary would not fail to discover and take advantage of. Besides, the entire Northern and Eastern faces of Breed's-hill, and the high grounds between its base and the Mystic, and the sandy beach of the Mystic—all on the left and rear of the intrenchments—were entirely unprotected; and the two or three hundred men who remained under his command were wholly insufficient to render the defence of such a line even respectable.

Sometime during the morning, "one or two Regiments of Provincials," probably Massachusetts men from several different Regiments of that particular Army, had crossed over from the main-land, and occupied Charlestown; ‡ and

* The breastwork was laid out from the redoubt to a swamp; but it was unfinished in consequence of the severity of the fire (Gordon's *History*, II, 40; Bancroft's *History*, VII, 410; Hubley's *History*, I, 286;) and there was, therefore, no protection whatever on the left flank of the incomplete work, between it and the slough.

† The weakness of the fatigue-party commanded by Colonel Prescott, immediately after the landing of the Royal troops, may be easily seen by deducting the number of the skulkers from that of the original party.

Peter Brown said "about seven hundred of us left, not 'deserted,' on the approach of the boats to Moulton's-point, 'besides five hundred reinforcement;' and it is of little importance to ascertain if the four Companies of Connecticut men who fled to Bunker's-hill, when they should have opposed the landing of the Royal troops in the opposite direction, formed a portion of that 'seven hundred' or not. If they were included, the 'about one thousand' men who originally accompanied the Colonel, were reduced to 'about' three hundred: if they were not included, the number remaining in the works were 'about' a hundred and eighty.

It may throw some light on the subject if it shall be remembered that after Colonel Prescott had lost his weak-kneed brethren, he sent out two small flanking-parties; and that he was then "left with perhaps one hundred and fifty 'men in the fort,' with which to defend it against the consolidated power of both wings of the Royal forces.

No further comment is necessary on this subject.

‡ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; General Gage to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Gordon's *History*, II, 41.

Mr. Frothingham, following Colonel Swett, (*History*, 23) reduced this body of Provincials to a single Company, with ten others, (*ibid.*, 123, 136;) Mr. Bancroft seems never to have heard of this exceedingly important element—numbering nearly one half the men on the peninsula; Mr. Loesing,

* General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775: Letter from Boston, June 23, 1775: Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775: Stedman's *History*, I, 126: Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775: General Dearborn's Account; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 843, 844; Gordon's *History*, II, 41; Hubley's *History*, I, 287; Frothingham's *Siege*, 182.

† Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 844: Frothingham's *Siege*, 182.

‡ Letter from an Officer on board one of the King's ships at Boston, to his friend in London, June 28, 1775: Letter from an Officer in the Army, dated "Boston, June 25, 1775."

§ Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere.

the delay occasioned by the Order of General Howe for the movement of the Reserve, enabled some other reinforcements to reach the peninsula—some of them were volunteers who had come without Orders; others were moved by Orders from their respective commanding Generals. The entire body of New Hampshire troops, for instance, were ordered to move from Medford, by General Ward;* and General Putnam ordered forward some reinforcements from the camp of the Connecticut Army at Cambridge;†—there may have been a very few volunteers, also, from various Regiments of the Massachusetts Army, scattered over the entire field‡; but their's was the spirit of enthusiasm which needed no Orders and would have paid little attention to them, had any been issued. There is little doubt, however, that the number of these zealous ones is greatly exaggerated; and that the mention of single members of a Company or of single Companies of a Regiment is too often received as evidence of the presence, *in the battle*, of the entire bodies to which they respectively belonged—indeed, it is said by a respectable writer who has investigated the subject, that, in addition to the New Hampshire troops, not more than a hundred and fifty men reached the peninsula and actually participated *in the action*, during the whole of this notable Saturday;§ and another, not less reliable, that “the Neck” was so completely enfiladed that not more than five hundred, all told, crossed from the mainland to the peninsula, during the entire day.]

The movement of the Light-infantry, toward the left of the earthworks, to which reference has been made, evidently revealed to the insurgents—both those in the redoubt, on Breed's-hill, and those who had fallen back to Bunker's-hill—the danger which existed in the unprotected

left flank of the breastwork, on the bank of the Mystic; and measures were taken by both, each independently of the other, to remedy the evil. General Putnam, for instance, detailed from Bunker's-hill*—whither they had retired when they were sent out of the redoubt for the purpose of opposing the landing of the Royal troops, on Moulton's-point, earlier in the day†—the four Lieutenant-commandants, who, under Captain Knolton, had accompanied Colonel Prescott, on the preceding evening, on his hazardous expedition to Breed's-hill;‡ and this party of a hundred and twenty men§ was directed to post itself along a rail-fence which extended from near the extreme left of the unfinished breastwork, first in a North-westerly and then in a North-easterly direction, to the bank of the Mystic.¶ Later in the day, Colonel Stark, when he reached the peninsula, also moved his “half-organized” Regiment of New Hampshire men to the extreme left of the same rail-fence, between the position already occupied by Captain Knolton and the Mystic;‡ and the field-pieces which Captain Callender had carried to Bunker's-hill and deserted, when he should have been opposing the landing of the Royal troops,** were carried to the extreme right of the rail-fence, it is said, by Captain Ford's Company of Massa-

also, makes no allusion to them, except as “a few troops,” (*Field-book*, i, 548.)

* Colonel Stark to the New Hampshire Congress, June 19, 1775; Everett's *Stark*, 58, 59.

† Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Colonel Daniel Putnam to the *Portfolio*, May 4, 1818; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818.

‡ Bancroft's *History*, vii, 416, 417.

§ “They fought independently: Prescott to defend the redoubt, Knolton and Stark, with Reed's Regiment, to protect its flank. These are all who arrived before the beginning of the attack; and not more than a hundred and fifty others of various Regiments, led by different officers or driven by their own zeal, reached the battleground before the retreat.”—Bancroft's *History*, vii, 419.

While we entirely concur with Mr. Bancroft, in his conclusions concerning the strength of the reinforcements which reached the peninsula, as set forth in the fragment of history which we have copied, we do not concur with him in the romance, on the preceding page of his volume, in which he made that “one hundred and fifty others of various Regiments” consist of one hundred and twenty-five from Colonel Little's Essex Regiment, seventy from Colonel Brewer's Regiment, fifty commanded by John Nixon, forty commanded by Willard Moore, and “at least fifty privates” from Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment! Mr. Bancroft's Arithmetic speaks for itself.

! Gordon's *History*, ii, 46.

* Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1775; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Swett's *History*, 26; Peabody's *Putnam*, 170.

In common with Mr. Frothingham (*Siege*, 184, *Life and Times of Warren*, 514) and Mr. Bancroft, (*History*, vii, 414) we have hitherto supposed and maintained (*Battles*, i, 56; *Major-general Israel Putnam*), that General Putnam had nothing to do with the troops who had been sent to the peninsula on the evening of the sixteenth of June; and that Colonel Prescott gave the Order to Captain Knolton to occupy the rail-fence. We have been misled, however; and we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to acknowledge our error. In consequence of Captain Knolton's withdrawal to Bunker's-hill instead of opposing the landing of the Royal troops, he was thrown into the hands of his own General, who was also on Bunker's-hill; and by the latter, instead of by Colonel Prescott, who had sent him in a different direction, he was subsequently ordered to occupy the rail-fence.

† Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

‡ Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1775.

§ Vide page 383, Note §: *ante*.

Captain Hide (*Account*) and Samuel Gray (*Letter to Mr. Dyer*) place four hundred men under Captain Knolton; but we prefer the testimony of Judge Grosvenor, who was a Lieutenant under Captain Knolton, on that occasion.

¶ Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Captain Hide's *Account*; Map of Lieutenant Page.

The line of the rail-fence has become matter of dispute.

Lieutenant Page's Map shows the fence extending to the breastwork; and it is sustained by General Wilkinson (*Memoirs*, i, 843); Judge Grosvenor (*Letter to Colonel Putnam*).

On the other hand, Lieutenant D'Berniere's Map shows an open space between the left flank of the breastwork and the right of the fence; and it is sustained by the testimony of Colonel Swett (*History* 27), *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 158, 255, Mr. Bancroft (*History*, vii, 414), Mr. Frothingham (*Siege*, 184) and General Dearborn, (*Account*).

† Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 844, 845; Dearborn's *Account*.

** Compare Colonel Prescott's letter to John Adams, August 22, 1775 with Peter Brown's letter to his mother, June 25, 1775. See, also, Frothingham's *Siege*, 185; Swett's *History*, 30.

chusetts men.* The insurgents were also cheered by the presence, at the rail-fence, it is said, of the veteran, Pomeroy,† and, at the redoubt, by that of Doctor Warren.‡

After resting about an hour,§ at three o'clock,| General Howe entered upon the labor of the day. Approaching the peninsula, for the purpose of more certainly increasing his strength, were three Companies of Grenadiers, three Companies of Light-infantry, the Forty-seventh Regiment, and two Battalions of Marines;¶ the Thirty-eighth was behind the stone-wall, in the low ground between Breed's and Morton's-hills, North-eastward from Charlestown; ten Companies of Light-infantry were on the bank of the Mystic, North-eastward from Breed's-hill, "covered by a break in the ground"; ten Companies of Grenadiers, and the Fifth, Forty-third, and Fifty-second Regiments, at rest, surrounded their General, on Morton's-hill; and the Artillery was on the Western slope of the hill, immediately in front of the columns which were standing there. These were supported, on either side of the peninsula, by the powerful marine we have already described.

Opposing these, were the raw, undisciplined bodies of insurgents posted behind the rail-fence and the unfinished breastwork, and in the earthen redoubt on Breed's-hill, numbering, together, not more than fifteen hundred men;** while those who were skulking on the slopes of Bunker's-hill, afraid either to fight or to run over "the Neck," and numbering, in the aggregate, nearly the same number,†† were neither useful nor ornamental for the purposes of the expedition.‡‡

The rail-fence, extending from near the left flank of the breastwork to the bank of the Mystic, was

originally a line of posts, with two rails,* set in a low stone-wall,† on the rear of which the earth had been cast up to it, forming a slight ditch at its foot‡, and rendering the whole "something of a breastwork;"§ but it had been made more secure by removing a rail-fence|| which stood in the neighborhood, placing it a short distance in front of the wall, and filling the intervening space with the hay which laid in windrows, or was cocked in the neighboring meadows.¶ Near this fence, on the left of the Massachusetts men, were posted the two field-pieces which Captain Callender had abandoned on Bunker's-hill,** behind it, on the extreme right, toward the unfinished breastwork, were the one hundred and twenty Connecticut men whom Captain Knolton commanded;†† and, on the extreme left, toward the Mystic,—including those on the beach of the river, where a temporary stone-wall had been constructed ‡‡—were the men from New Hampshire, about seven hundred in number,§§ whom Colonels Stark and Reid commanded||—there were, also, it is probable, a few from other commands; but the number was small and their services were unimportant.¶¶

In the redoubt and behind the unfinished breastwork, where Colonel Prescott commanded,

* Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 542; Gordon's *History*, ii, 43; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 414; Dawson's *Battles*, i, 56; Frothingham's *Siege*, 134; Ramsay's *History*, i, 202.

† Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Swett's *History*, 27; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 414; Everett's *Stark*, 59; Dawson's *Battles*, i, 56; Frothingham's *Siege*, 134; Losang's *Field Book*, i, 543.

‡ Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775. See, also, Bancroft's *History*, vii, 414; Dawson's *Battles*, i, 56.

§ Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775.

|| Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; General Dearborn's *Account*.

¶ Not a post and rail fence, as Mr. Bancroft strangely supposes, (*History*, vii, 414), following Captain Hide, (*Account*), which, in the absence of the tools, which were all on Bunker's-hill, could not possibly have been moved and re-set.

¶ General Dearborn's *Account*; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 545; Peabody's *Putnam*, 170; Everett's *Stark*, 59; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 291; Swett's *History*, 27; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*.

** Compare Lieutenant Page's Map with Colonel Swett's *History*, 29, 31.

†† Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Frothingham's *Siege*, 134; Peabody's *Putnam*, 170; Everett's *Stark*, 59; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 29, 31; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 414, 418; Swett's *History*, 26; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*.

‡‡ Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 545; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 419; *Military History of New Hampshire—Adjutant-general's Report* for 1866, ii, 270; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 418.

§§ "In the mean time, Colonel Stark, with his own Regiment and that of Reed from New Hampshire, amounting to about seven hundred men, half organized, and wretchedly equipped, were pressing forward for the scene of action."—Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 544.

|| General Dearborn's *Account*; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 545; Frothingham's *Siege*, 134, 135; Peabody's *Putnam*, 170; Everett's *Stark*, 59; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 31; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 419; Swett's *History*, 28; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Belknap's *New Hampshire*, i, 369.

¶¶ Bancroft's *History*, vii, 419.

* Deposition of Alexander Davison—Swett's *Notes*, 6; Deposition of General Pierce—Swett's *Notes*, 8; Swett's *History*, 81; Judge Winthrop in *The Analectic Magazine*, xi, 255.

† Frothingham's *Siege*, 133; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 417.

‡ Frothingham's *Warren*, 518-516; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 417, 418; Swett's *History*, 29; Gordon's *History*, ii, 43.

§ Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

|| *Historical Record of the Fourth Foot*, 64; Trumbull's *Autobiography*, 90; Governor Trumbull's Letter to Baron van der Capellan, August 31, 1775—*Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, i, vi, 159; Frothingham's *Siege*, 137, 138; Everett's *Oration*, 12.

¶ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; Map by Lieutenant D'Berniere; "General Morning Orders, June 17, 1775."

We have noticed two Battalions of Marines, because we find two referred to in the *Returns of the Killed and Wounded*, each with its separate Report.

** General Washington to George William Fairfax, July 25, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 544; Hubley's *History*, i, 290; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 26; Gordon's *History*, ii, 46; Frothingham's *Siege*, 190.

This is, also, the fighting strength as understood by Captain Elijah Hide, (*Account*). Mr. Tudor (*Life of James Otis*, 470) says it was only twelve hundred.

†† General Dearborn's *Account*. General Wilkinson (*Memoirs*, i, 545) says they numbered a thousand or twelve hundred men.

‡‡ Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 547; General Dearborn's *Account*; Major Caleb Stark to General Wilkinson, November, 1815; Dawson's *Major-general Israel Putnam*, Third letter.

there were, perhaps, two or three hundred men of Massachusetts,* composed of the remains of the weary and unfed working-party who had accompanied him on the preceding evening, and of such stragglers from the "one or two Regiments of Provincials" lately posted in Charlestown, but withdrawn on the approach of the Royal troops,† as preferred the front to the rear of the position.

On Bunker's-hill were congregated the skulkers from the working-parties and from the Regiments recently occupying Charlestown, together with those who had reached the peninsula but preferred to occupy the rear rather than the front of the position. Colonel Gerrish and his Regiment of Massachusetts men were there;‡ and there, also, it is probable, when the Royal troops approached the peninsula, the seven hundred Massachusetts men who "left, not deserted," the redoubt which they had helped to construct, sought shelter, with "the five hundred reinforcement" which had been sent to assist in a different undertaking.§ General Putnam was also there,|| "whistling aloud to keep his courage up;" and there many remained, after they had crossed "the Neck,"¶ because the Northern slope of Bunker's-hill was less exposed to danger than the yet unmanned breastwork and scantily-supplied rail-fence and redoubt promised to be. There are said to have been nearly as many men, unemployed, in this sheltered position, where no enemy was expected, as there were in front in the unfinished intrenchments, awaiting the Royal troops.**

Such were the relative positions and such the relative strength of the antagonistic forces which had assembled on the peninsula of Charlestown, on Saturday, the seventeenth of June, 1775, for the purpose of determining, by force

of arms, the right of a community to self-government and the wrong of a Government to centralize within itself authority which belonged to, and could more properly be exercised by, those whom it assumed to govern. It was for the purpose of determining, specifically, if Massachusetts should not govern Massachusetts in all that pertained to her merely local affairs, that these forces were arrayed against each other; and these were the chosen instrumentalities through which the Almighty was pleased to proclaim the great truth, that to every community belongs the right of governing itself, except wherein, for itself, it shall determine that others shall govern it.

As we have said, the plan of operations which General Howe adopted and prepared to execute, was to turn the extreme left of the insurgents' lines, where little or no opposition was expected, and to attack them in reverse—an operation which, it is said, by many, he could have accomplished better, without the least risk and almost without an effort, if he had debarked his troops on the beach of the Mystic, at any point above the Eastern terminus of the insurgents' defences, instead of the point, below those defences, which he had chosen as his landing-place.*

For the accomplishment of his purposes, thus defined, the General determined to employ the Light-infantry, with sufficient covering-parties of Grenadiers, Infantry, and Artillery; and as he was well acquainted with the ground, both that to be traversed by his own command and that which was occupied by the insurgents,

"yards of the combat, which lasted an hour and a half, the triumph of the Provincials would have been decisive, and those of the British corps who were not killed must have surrendered, which would probably have terminated the contest and prevented the disavowment of the British empire; but I understand from high authority, that it was in vain Colonel Prescott sent messenger after messenger to entreat General Putnam to come to his succor; he rode about Bunker's-hill, while battle raged under his eye, with a number of intrenching tools slung across his horse, but did not advance a step, and was passed, with Colonel Gerrish still at his side, by Stark and Dearborn as they retreated, near the spot where they saw him when they advanced; and for this conduct Colonel Prescott never ceased to reprobate the General."—General Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, 1, 847.

* We are not insensible of the fact that there were reasons with General Howe, for changing the plan of operations which he had originally adopted (*General Burgoyne's Letter to Lord Stanley*, June 25, 1775) and that the rules of the service prohibited him from throwing himself between two heavy bodies of troops, without the knowledge on his part that he was able to control either. With the little knowledge which he then possessed concerning their strength, therefore, it is not clear that it was his duty to fall on the rear of the insurgents on Breed's-hill, and risk a simultaneous attack on his own rear, while thus engaged, by those who were on Bunker's-hill or those who might come from the main-land. He would have exposed his front and his rear to simultaneous attacks by two heavy bodies of resolute men, had he thus moved on the rear of the lines instead of their front; and if disaster succeeded the more cautious policy, how much more disastrous might not have been the more reckless policy referred to?

* Vide page 840, Column 2, Note †, ante.

† Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, II, 291; Botta's *History*, I, 293.

‡ General Dearborn's *Account*; Frothingham's *Stoige*, 148, 178, 179; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 844.

§ Compare Peter Brown's letter to his Mother, June 25, 1775, with Frothingham's *Stoige*, 147.

|| General Dearborn's *Account*; Depositions of Doctor Kittredge, General Benjamin Pierce, William Marden, Benjamin Webber, and Captain Trevett; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 844, 845; Frothingham's *Stoige*; Dawson's *Major-general Israel Putnam*, 188-148; Peabody's *Putnam*, 171, 172; Irving's *Washington*, I, 474, 475.

¶ Frothingham's *Stoige*, 148; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 849.

** "When the troops arrived at the summit of Bunker's-hill, [after the Battle, and while retreating] we found General Putnam, with nearly as many men as had been engaged in the battle, notwithstanding which no measures had been taken for reinforcing us, nor was there a shot fired to cover our retreat, nor any movement made to check the advance of the enemy to this height, but, on the contrary, General Putnam rode off with a number of spades and pick-axes in his hands and the troops that had remained with him, inactive, during the whole of the action, although within a few hundred yards of the battle-ground, and with no obstacle to impede their movement but musket-balls."—General Dearborn's *Account*.

|| If General Putnam had moved up with Colonel Gerrish and the men who remained stationery within six hundred

he was enabled to make his dispositions with promptitude and regularity. The four Companies of Light-infantry which he had already thrown forward to the low grounds in front of his temporary position on the summit of Morton's-hill, were united with seven other Companies which were moved from that hill-top; * and the eleven, in column of platoons, in close order, at about three o'clock,† were moved to the beach of the Mystic, between the water and the foot of the steep bank, with orders to push forward along that perfectly sheltered and well-concealed route, until the extreme left of the insurgents' line of defences should be completely turned. In this important movement, the Light Company of the Twenty-third Regiment of Foot led the column; and this was followed, successively, by the Light Companies of the Fourth, Tenth, Fifty-second, Forty-third, Sixty-fifth, Fifty-ninth, Forty-seventh, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-eighth, and Fifth, Regiments.‡ At the same time, ten Companies of Grenadiers, similarly formed, were moved, slowly§ and in close order,|| over the meadows on the high ground, in front of the rail-fence; ¶ and, in their turn, they were supported in that movement, on their left, by the Artillery, using grape-shot in the absence of balls,** and by the Fifth and Fifty-second Regiments of Foot,†† all of whose attention seems to have been directed against the redoubt and earthen breastworks on Breed's-hill.‡‡

* Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere.

† Vide page 349, Column 1, Note 4.

‡ Map by Lieutenant D'Berniere; General Dearborn's Account; General Wilkinson's Memoir, i, 843, 846.

§ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Hubley's History, i, 287; Gordon's History, ii, 43, 48.

|| General Wilkinson's Memoir, i, 843.

¶ General Dearborn's Account.

** This was occasioned by a mistake in the Ordnance Officer, who sent twelve-pound shot instead of six-pounders. General Dearborn's Account; Stedman's History, i, 129.

†† Maps of Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere.

‡‡ Those who have preceded us in their description of this action have uniformly overlooked some of the peculiarities of this exceedingly important movement; and in our own writings on the subject, heretofore published, we have been no more intelligent than others who have written concerning it.

It has been the habit of those who have written on this Battle, for instance, to consider that General Howe, in the beginning, divided his command into two columns (Marshall's Washington, ii, 291; Gordon's History, ii, 41; Stedman's History, i, 126; Dawson's Battles, i, 58; Peabody's Putnam 174; Lossing's Field-Book, i, 544; Barry's Massachusetts, iii, 82; Ramsay's History, i, 302; Bancroft's History, vii, 432; etc.) instead of three; that these two columns immediately moved, simultaneously—the one against the rail-fence, the other against the redoubt and breastwork,—for the purpose of attacking the insurgents who were sheltered there (Stedman's History, i, 126; Dawson's Battles, i, 58; Everett's Stark, 60, 61; Marshall's Washington, ii, 291, 292; Frothingham's Warren, 516, 517; Peabody's Putnam, 174; Lossing's Field-Book, i, 544; Swett's History, 33; Barry's Massachusetts, iii, 82; Bancroft's History, vii, 432–434; etc.) whereas these were only feints, for the purpose of amusing the insurgents, while a third column, marching on the beach, should turn their flank. They have supposed, also, that there were only three distinct attacks on the insurgents (Dawson's Battles, i, 60, 61, 62–64; Everett's 60, 61; Marshall's Washington, ii, 298; Frothingham's Stark,

It seems to have been the original purpose of the General to use the Grenadiers only as a feint, for the purpose of withdrawing the attention of the insurgents behind the rail-fence, from the column of Light-troops which was silently and steadily approaching, on the beach of the Mystic, the extreme left of their position, as the Fifth and Fifty-second were employed, on the slopes of Breed's-hill, in diverting the attention of that portion of the insurgents who were in the redoubt, from the same object; and the Royal troops, both those on the beach and those on the bank, advanced slowly and steadily.

Warren, 516, 517; Peabody's Putnam, 174–176; Lossing's Field-Book, i, 544–547; Swett's History, 34, 35, 37–39, 41–47; Barry's Massachusetts, iii, 82–84, 85–86; 88–87; Bancroft's History, vii, 434, 435, 439–430; etc.) instead of six—three in front of the wall and the fence, and three others in front of the breastwork and the redoubt, as stated in the text; and the battle began, not when the redoubt was first attacked, as many have supposed, but when the Light-infantry approached the stone-wall, on the beach of the Mystic, an hour before.

The Maps of both the British Engineers, Page and D'Berniere, as well as that corrected by General Dearborn, have clearly indicated this movement of the Light-infantry along the beach, under cover of the steep bank of the Mystic; and Lieutenant D'Berniere has designated the order in which the different Companies moved; while Lieutenant Page has not only noted the line of march along the beach; but, in his "References to the Plan," he alluded to the fact that the attempt by the Light-infantry, to turn the extreme left of the insurgents' lines had preceded the attacks on other parts of those lines, by other arms of the service, and failed; and that its failure had been followed by a change in the plan of attack; yet their testimony has hitherto remained without notice by writers on the subject.

But this important detail does not rest wholly on the Maps of the British Engineers and that of General Dearborn. General Stark informed General Wilkinson, on the day of the evacuation of Boston by the Royal troops—the seventeenth of March, 1776—that when, with the New Hampshire troops, he reached the peninsula, just before the opening of the battle, "he determined to form his men behind the post and rail-fences; but when he reached the bank of the Mystic, he cast his eyes down upon the beach," "and as he observed to me on the spot, thought it was so plain a way that the enemy could not miss it; he therefore ordered a number of 'his boys' to jump down the bank, and with stones from the adjacent walls, they soon threw up a strong breastwork to the water's edge, behind which he posted triple ranks of his choice men; in the mean time, those who were formed in the rear of the fences, to conceal themselves from the enemy, filled the space between the rails with hay," etc.—General Wilkinson's Memoir, i, 845.

Against the insurgents' left, thus organized, General Howe is said by Colonel Prescott (Letter to John Adams, August 26, 1775) to have thrown three columns of the Royal troops, instead of the two which are usually named in our histories; and these are shown by Lieutenants D'Berniere and Page (Maps of the Battle) to have been on the beach, the Light-infantry; on the bank, the Grenadiers; and on the left of the Grenadiers, the Artillery and the two Regiments of Foot, referred to in the text. But not alone on the Maps and on Colonel Prescott need we rely for testimony concerning the three parallel columns of Royal troops which were thrown on the insurgents' left. General Dearborn's Account says: "the fire commenced between the left wing of the British army, commanded by General Howe, and the troops in the redoubt, under Colonel Prescott; while a column of the enemy was advancing on our left, on the

* "which at the junction" [with the fence] "was eight or nine feet perpendicular height."—General Wilkinson's Memoir, i, 843.

ly, against the insurgents. But no sooner had the columns been set in motion than Colonel Prescott detached Lieutenant-colonel Robinson and Major Woods, each with a small body of men, to harass their flanks;* and so judiciously did those officers discharge that duty, that the impression was conveyed to the Royal troops that the insurgents were out in force to oppose their progress.† This, and the firmness of the insurgents, as the Grenadiers approached the fence, appear to have induced the General to somewhat change the disposition of his troops, if not to materially modify his plan of operations; and, while the columns were in motion, he withdrew the Light Company of the Thirty-fifth Regiment from the beach and placed it on the right flank of the Grenadiers, on the bank, above.‡ At the same time, the Grenadiers themselves were deployed into line, in front of

"shore of Mystic river, with the evident intention of turning our left wing; and that veteran and most excellent Regiment of Welsh Fusiliers," so distinguished for its gallant conduct in the Battle of Minden, advanced in "column directly on the rail fence." General Wilkinson, also, while on this subject, said "about one o'clock, General Howe put two columns and a detachment, with his Artillery, in motion—one column marched by the beach, and his Light-infantry led the other on the margin of the bank of the Mystic, and directly to the left of Colonel Stark's line; the detachment and Artillery, from the best information I have been able to procure, inclined towards his left, and commenced a feeble attack against the redoubt at long shot, apparently with a design to draw the attention of Colonel Prescott, while the column on the beach and that on the bank of the Mystic were destined to turn the flank and gain the rear of the Provincials on Breed's-hill, which they have accomplished, if they had not been driven back."—*Memoirs*, i, 345. Colonel Swett, also, alluded to the three columns of troops (*History*, 33) and Mr. Frothingham (*Steele*, 141) has followed him; although neither of the latter two has referred to the fact that only the Light-infantry was the real attacking party, while both the Grenadiers and the Infantry were, originally, merely diversions, to attract the insurgents' attention and enable the column which was advancing along the beach to secure the purpose of its movement.

From these authorities, it will be seen that instead of two columns of Royal troops, moving against the insurgents, as generally supposed, there were three—one, as a feint, up the hill-side, against the redoubt; the second, either as a feint or to co-operate on the high ground, in front of the rail-fence; and the third, on which devolved the great responsibility of turning the left flank of the insurgents, and attacking them in reverse, moved, on the beach of the Mystic, in front of the stone-wall.

* Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 32; Frothingham's *Steele*, 133.

† Letter from Boston to London, June 23, 1775.

‡ Lieutenant D'Bernicle's Plan of the Battle.

* This is an error into which others beside General Dearborn—Meers, Frothingham, Swett, Stark, and Everett, for instance—have fallen. The Twenty-third Regiment of Foot—the Welsh Fusiliers—was not in the Battle of Bunker's-hill. The Light Company of that Regiment led the column of attack against the stone-wall, on the beach, and was terribly cut up, as will be seen in the text; but the Regiment itself, beyond this Company and, possibly, the Grenadiers, does not appear to have been in the action nor on the peninsula.

† The Light Company of the Thirty-fifth Regiment was moved from its place in the column which was advancing along the beach, as will be seen in the text, and placed on the right of the Grenadiers, on the high ground.—See Lieutenant D'Bernicle's Map.

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the fence;* and in this order, flanked by the Light Company referred to, they moved forward, steadily and slowly, as before, against the hay-packed fence on their front.

As we have said, the Royal troops marched slowly and deliberately against the hay-stuffed fence and the loosely thrown-up stone-wall. It was said by one of their own officers,† that they moved "with great confidence, expecting an easy victory;" and the terrible cannonade from the shipping and from Boston, and the unbroken silence of the insurgents, who lurked behind their works without firing a shot, were well calculated to lull the suspicions of the more cautious and to increase the buoyancy and arrogance of those who were less experienced.

The field-pieces which preceded the two columns on the high ground, however, were first rendered comparatively ineffective by the Quarter-master's mistake in sending twelve-pound shot instead of sixes;‡ and, soon after, they were still more effectually silenced by becoming mired in a swampy meadow over which the troops were moving;§ while those which the insurgents had were so poorly served that they were entirely useless for purposes of defence.¶ The shipping, however, and the batteries within the town, kept up such a steady and harassing fire on the insurgents' works, that the Royal cause was subjected to no disadvantage by the mishap to its field-pieces;¶ and, later in the day, they rendered most important service by subjecting the Massachusetts men who were behind the breast-work, to an enflaming fire, and by driving them into the redoubt.**

The temporary breastwork of stone, against which the Light-infantry was moving along the beach, sheltered the extreme left of the New Hampshire men commanded by Colonel Stark—the Company from Amoskeag, commanded by Captain John Moore;†† and these had been instructed by their Colonel, to reserve their fire until the head of the column of Light-

* Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Swett's *History*, 35; Frothingham's *Steele*, 141.

† Letter from Boston, July 5, 1775.

‡ Letter from Boston, July 5, 1775; Stedman's *History*, i, 120; General Dearborn's *Account*; Swett's *History*, 33.

§ Map by Lieutenant D'Bernicle; Swett's *History*, 35; Frothingham's *Steele*, 141.

¶ Peter Brown to his mother, June 25, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 32; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 265.

¶ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; The same to Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Letter from an officer, June 23, 1775; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 291, 293; Ramsay's *History*, i, 202, 203; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 31.

** Vide page 350, post.

†† *Military History of New Hampshire—Adjutant-general's Report for 1806*, ii, 370, 371; Stark's *Memoir and Correspondence of General Stark*, 51.

infantry, which was approaching, should have reached a designated spot, some eight or ten rods distant.* At the same time, the rail-fence, on the high bank, against which the Grenadiers and their flank Company were moving in a parallel column, was manned with the remainder of the New Hampshire troops commanded by Colonel Stark; by those, from the same Colony, commanded by Colonel Reid; and by the four incomplete Companies of Connecticut men, commanded by Captain Knolton, to all of whom and to their temporary shelter, allusion has already been made. Colonel Stark, in person, commanded on the extreme left of this rail-fence, directly above the temporary wall on the beach, to which we have just referred; and he is said,† also, to have ordered his men at the fence to reserve their fire until the half-gaiters of the approaching Grenadiers should become distinctly visible. The Connecticut men, who occupied the rail-fence on the right of the New Hampshire men, are said to have been instructed, in like manner, by their officers, to withhold their fire also until they should see the whites of the Grenadiers' eyes.‡

When the Grenadiers and Light-infantry reached the points which had been thus designated as the "dead-lines" of their respective lines of march, the insurgents opened upon them a well-directed and rapid fire; and entire ranks were mowed down in an instant, with terrible accuracy.§ Both the Grenadiers, on the bank, and the Light-infantry, on the beach, of course, were immediately thrown into the utmost disorder, and fell back, discomfited, beyond the range of the insurgents' fire;|| and there, under cover of an unevenness in the ground,¶ the former, were rallied, and, soon after, returned to the at-

tack,*—the Light-infantry, also re-forming and co-operating with them, on the bank, as far as they were able to do so.† The Grenadiers and the Light-infantry, thus re-formed, with singular bravery, moved against the fence and the wall a second time; but the insurgents concentrated their defence, and with the same steadiness and accuracy as before, poured upon the shortened line of their assailants, another fire which was as murderous as the first. Again the Royal troops were repulsed; and a second time they fell back, scathed but not dishonored.‡ But the end of this terrible slaughter was not yet. The pride of the officers and the obstinacy of the troops could not quietly submit to even this renewed disaster; and again the shattered Companies of Grenadiers and Light-infantry were re-formed, and with a still more shortened line than they had previously presented, and with depressed spirits, they approached the fence, the third time.§ They were repulsed a third time;|| and the obstinacy of these assaults, as well as the deliberate coolness of the defence, is seen in the appalling record of the casualties of the day—ninety-six dead bodies being piled on the beach, for instance, beside those which were merely wounded, of the Light-infantry who were expected to carry off the laurels of victory;¶ while every man, save three, of the Light Company of the Thirty-fifth, which flanked the Grenadiers, on the high bank, above, was either killed or wounded.**

* General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846; General Dearborn's *Account*.

† Lieutenant Page, in his *Remarks on the Plan*, Letter M M, said that the Grenadiers took ground on the left of the Light-infantry, "which had not been able to force the enemy." The place where the union of these two bodies was effected, is shown to have been on the high ground.

‡ General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846; General Dearborn's *Account*; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Everett's *Stark*, 61; Peabody's *Putnam*, 175; Farmer's *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I, 859.

The Letter from a British Officer, dated July 8th, said "an incessant stream of fire poured from the rebel lines, seeming a continued sheet of fire for near thirty minutes." The effect of this fire is described as follows: "Our Light-infantry were served up in Companies, against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate; indeed, how could we penetrate, most of the Grenadiers and Light-infantry, the moment of presenting themselves, lost three-fourths and many nine-tenths of their men. Some had only eight and nine men a Company left, some only three, four, and five."

§ General Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 846; Everett's *Stark*, 61.

|| General Dearborn said that, after the second repulse, "only a few small detached parties again advanced, which kept up a distant scattering, ineffectual fire."—*Account*. Judge Grosvenor also referred to only two regular attacks by the Light-infantry; and Colonel Swett made little mention of the third. It is probable, therefore, that it was not a general movement nor made with any energy.

¶ General Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, I, 846; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775.

¶ Judge Winthrop's statement—*Analectic Magazine*, for March, 1818.

** "State of the Light Company of the Thirty-fifth," in *The Case of Edward Drewe*.

* General Dearborn's *Account*; General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846; Everett's *Stark*, 60; *Military History of New Hampshire—Adjutant-general's Report for 1866*, II, 271.

† General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846.

‡ Captain Chester said (*Letter to Rev. Joseph Fish*) "our officers ordered their men not to fire till the word was given." Captain Hide (*Account*) said "Captain Nolton gave orders to the men not to fire till the enemy had got within fifteen rods, and then not till the word was given." Colonel Swett, anxious to serve General Putnam, said, (*History*, 38) "Putnam rode through the line, and ordered that no one should fire till they arrived within eight rods, nor any till commanded."

§ Judge Winthrop's statement in *The Analæctic Magazine* for March, 1818. See also the letter from "Boston," July 5, 1775, in *The Detail and Conduct of the American War*; General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846; Farmer's *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I, 859; Ramsay's *History*, I, 203; Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775.

The Committee of Safety (Narrative of July 25) referred to the obstinacy of the defence of the stone-wall on "the beach;" but gave no particulars.

¶ General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, I, 846; General Dearborn's *Account*; Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818; Swett's *History*, 38; Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 23, 1775; Everett's *Stark*, 60; Peabody's *Putnam*, 174; Frothingham's *Warren*, 517; *Military History of New Hampshire—Adjutant-general's Report for 1866*, II, 271.

¶ General Wilkinson *Memoir*, I, 846.

During the continuance of this stubborn contest on the left of the insurgents' position, which occupied upwards of an hour,* there seems to have been no serious attempt, by the left wing of the Royal troops, to carry either the redoubt or the breastwork, although a vigorous fire had been kept up, in order to employ the insurgents who were posted behind those earthworks;†

* The Letter from Boston to Scotland (June 26, 1775) said "fifty minutes;" General Wilkinson (*Memoirs*, I, 347) and the Letter from Wethersfield, June 23, 1775, said "an hour and a half."

† It has generally been considered that the stone-wall and fence and the redoubt and breastwork were attacked simultaneously; and writers have mostly thus treated the subject. We are satisfied, however, that this is an error; and to this cause we may attribute much of the confusion and discussion which have ensued.

Messrs. Barry, Emmons, Judge Grosvenor, Peabody, Lossing, Marshall, Gordon, Ramsay, Dawson, etc., are entirely silent concerning this important preliminary movement and not less important preliminary repulse; and Mr. Bancroft seems to have neither heard nor read of Colonel Stark's forethought in building the stone-wall, of the gallantry of his men in defending it, nor of the terrible overthrow of those who were unexpectedly brought before it. Colonel Swett, and Mr. Frothingham, and Mr. Everett, on the other hand, appear to have heard of the movement on the beach—of the advance of three columns instead of two—yet they were just as silent as the others, when the result of that secret march, made under cover of the high bank, should have been the subject of their stories.

On the other hand, General Gage, in his Despatch to the Home Government, said "the Light-Infantry was directed to force the left point of the breastwork," to take the rebel "line in flank;" the Grenadiers to attack in front; supported "by the Fifth and Fifty-second Battalions,"—the three columns referred to in the text; the last named of the three, as we shall see, serving only to amuse the insurgents who were behind the earthworks. It will be seen that no allusion was made in that plan to any offensive movement against the redoubt, which was made at a different time and by different troops.

Lieutenant Page, in his *Remarks on the Plan of the Battle*, named K as "The Order our Troops would probably have 'Attacked' in" [instead of the Order in which they did Attack]: "had our Lt. Infy. been able to penetrate," in some prior movement. He also designated L as "Light Infantry advancing to the Attack of the Point," and M M as "Grenadiers taking Ground to the Left of the Lt. Infy. which had 'not been able to force the Enemy,'" in some prior movement. So far as Lieutenant Page is concerned, therefore, the Light-Infantry had already confronted the insurgents and been considered as repulsed, before either of the other arms of the service had been united with it or brought before an enemy.

General Wilkinson, on the authority of General Stark, said, (*Memoir*, I, 345) that while the assaults were being made on the rail-fence and the stone-wall, the fire on the redoubt was feeble and at long range, "apparently with a design to draw the attention of Colonel Prescott"; and on page 347, he said "after the third repulse of the Light-Infantry, and whilst the attack was carried against the redoubt, Stark's men, behind the post and rail fence, were 'unassailed and unoccupied.'"

The writer of the Letter to Scotland ("Boston, June 26, 1775) said that after the debarkation of the troops at Moulton's-point, "after resting the men a few minutes, they marched on to dislodge the rebels from some posts they had taken on the back of the hill. In half an hour after, the Forty-seventh Regiment, part of the Thirty-fifth, and 'a Battalion of Marines, followed, and landed where there formerly was a battery in Charlestown'—a clear indication that the attacks on the stone-wall and the fence preceded that which was made on the redoubt and breastwork. But the writer goes on to describe the hay-stuffed rail-

* General Gage supposed the breastwork extended to the Mystic; and the rail-fence, therefore, is always merged by him into the former.

but the third repulse of the Grenadiers and Light-Infantry probably convinced General Howe of

fence, and the obstinacy of its defence, which lasted "fifty minutes;" and then says "As soon as the troops had dislodged this body, one party of our men came up on one side and another on the other side of the redoubt, and 'stormed and carried it in a few minutes'—proving, beyond a doubt, that the series of attacks on the redoubt was entirely distinct from the series of attacks on the fence and the wall, and at a different time.

The Rev. Peter Thacher (*Manuscript Account*, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester) said "The retreat of this handful of brave men" [*Colonel Prescott's command*] "wd have been effectually cut off had it not have happened that the flanking party wh was to have surrounded the fort on the back side was kept back by a party of provincials who fought wh the utmost bravery, & kept the enemy upon the beach from advancing" kept ym from advancing [at all from the water side] further yan ye beach."

The Massachusetts Committee of Safety, also, (*Narrative*, July 25, 1775) first described the series of attacks on the Massachusetts troops, in the redoubt; and, having concluded that description, it proceeded to speak of the services of "a party of Provincials," in checking "a flanking-party of the enemy, which was to have come up on the back of the redoubt," for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Massachusetts men on the hill. It gave due credit for the result of the service, thus rendered; but it entered into no details of what was a distinct operation, by other troops than the men of Massachusetts, whose conduct, only, was within its jurisdiction. Isaac Lothrop, a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress (*Letter to Thaddeus Burr*) also referred to "our men" and "our lines," without referring to the men or the lines of other Colonies; and Colonel Prescott and Captain Chester, each true to the same local sympathy, described only those portions of the engagement in which their people respectively participated, and left all else uncared for—the former seeming to know, only, that "a party of Hampshire, in conjunction with some other forces, lined a fence at the distance of three-score rods back of the fort, partly to the North"; and the latter, while he knew that the royal troops moved against the insurgents "in three or four solid Columns," part of them "very near the Mystic," with a determination "to outflank our men, and surround them and the fort," seemed to know next to nothing concerning the operations in front of the breastwork and redoubt. What the Massachusetts men had done seemed to possess no interest to either the New Hampshire or the Connecticut men, and received no portion of their attention; and the Massachusetts men—writers, as well as soldiers—entirely reciprocated. It has been this local exclusiveness which has confused nearly all subsequent writers and produced confusion where none should have been found.

Doctor Ramsey (*History of the Revolution*, I, 308, compared with I, 303) also discriminated between the series of attacks on "the breastwork and redoubt" and those on "the left point of the former"—elsewhere said to have been at "the bottom of the hill" (p. 301)—and we are informed by the family of General Stark (*Stark's Life and Correspondence of Stark*, 80, 81) that when the redoubt was attacked, the men at the rail-fence and on the beach asked permission to leave their positions and fall on the rear of the regulars, and "could hardly be prevented," notwithstanding their want of bayonets and scarcity of powder. Surely no active enemy was then in front of the stone-wall or the rail-fence.

There were good reasons for the suppression of the details of this portion of the narrative, by Generals Gage and Burgoyne, and the great body of loyal writers—English and American.

From these authorities, as well as from the fact that sound professional judgment would necessarily lead to such a separation of the movements (Glennie's *Thomson's Military Memoirs*, 464) we have been led to the conclusion referred to.

* The sentences thus designated, printed in Italics and enclosed in brackets, are erased in the manuscript; but the sense has not been affected by the words which were substituted. That the movement on the left of the insurgents' lines was entirely independent of that on the earthworks is clearly indicated.

the hopelessness of his original undertaking, and led him to make an entirely new disposition of his command. He accordingly allowed the shattered fragments of the eleven Companies of Light-troops—those which had escaped from the terrible ordeal to which they had been exposed in front of the rail-fence and stone-wall, on the extreme right of his line of attack—to amuse and hold in check those whom they had recently assaulted, while he should direct his attention to the right of the insurgents' position—the redoubt and the breastwork—in which were only the handful of Massachusetts men, commanded by Colonel Prescott, and the very few stragglers who had ventured to assist them.*

The Royal forces which were brought against these new points of attack extended along the entire front of the unfinished breastwork and around the Eastern, Southern, and South-western fronts of the redoubt; and the line, commencing on its extreme right, was composed of some of the fragments of the unfortunate Grenadiers who had been repulsed so disastrously in front of the rail-fence, on the left of the insurgents' works, the Fifth, Fifty-second, Thirty-eighth, and Forty-third Regiments of Foot, three Companies of Light-infantry belonging, respectively, to the Eighteenth, Twenty-second, and Sixty-third Regiments of Foot, three Companies of Grenadiers, belonging, respectively, to the same Regiments, a Battalion of Marines, the Forty-seventh Regiment of Foot, and a second Battalion of Marines†—the Grenadiers, Light-infantry, and Marines, and the Forty-seventh Regiment, who were on the extreme left of the assailants' line, constituting the Reserve which had been thrown over to the peninsula, earlier in the day.‡ General Pigot commanded;§ and as the Royal troops slowly| and steadily closed their lines around the earthworks—staggering as they went, under the weight of heavy knapsacks and haversacks containing three days' rations, obstructed by unmown grass and intersecting fences, and sweltering under the heat of an unusually hot Summer's sun¶—the Massachu-

setts men who opposed them, a mere handful of "perhaps one hundred and fifty men," manfully prepared to receive them. The works sheltered the insurgents and afforded resting-places, *en barbette*, for their well-trying pieces; and the assailants, as they slowly toiled up the hill-side, halting at intervals to allow the Artillery to play on the earthworks,* presented to the undisciplined marksmen, within the lines, most admirable targets, on which, at short distance,† they sternly threw their rapid and unerring fire.‡

On the extreme left of the line of attack, where the Marines and the Forty-seventh were posted, it was evidently galled, as it advanced, by an oblique fire which was poured upon it by a party of insurgents—said to have been a portion of those who had fallen back from Charlestown, commanded by Captain Nutting§—who had thrown themselves into a barn which stood to the North-westward of the redoubt;|| and its progress was checked by the necessity which existed to dislodge these unwelcome intruders—a process which was accomplished only by detaching the Marines and the Regiment referred to, from the main body, and bringing them directly against the barn and those who occupied it.¶

It was at this time, and probably from this fire, that General Howe conceived that he had been fired upon from the houses in Charlestown,** and sent a request to Boston that that flourishing town should be set on fire††—a request which was complied with by the discharge of carcasses

* General Dearborn's *Notes on M. de Berniere's Plan of the Battle*; General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 847.

† Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere.

‡ Vide pages 383, 340, 342, *ant.*

§ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; Lieutenant Hall's *History of the Civil War*, i, 79; Stedman's *History*, i, 136; Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences*, 30; *Impartial History of the War*, 210; *History of the War in America*, i, 83; Gordon's *History*, ii, 41.

| Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; *Military Repository*, i, 12; *History of War in America*, i, 83; *Impartial History of the War*, 210; General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; Heath's *Memoir*, 19; The Thacher Manuscript; Ramsay's *History*, i, 202; Hubley's *History*, i, 287.

¶ Stedman's *History*, i, 129; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Frothingham's *Warren*, 613; *Historical Record of 17th Foot*, 64; *Historical Record of 13th Foot*, 83; Heath's *Memoirs*, 19.

* General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 291; Ramsay's *History*, i, 202; Gordon's *History*, ii, 41; *History of War in America*, i, 83; *Impartial History of the War in America*, 210; *Military Repository*, i, 11; Heath's *Memoirs*, 19.

† Stedman (*History*, i, 136) supposed this fire was from the field-pieces and howitzers which were sent from Boston, but the field-pieces having been unable to proceed with the attacking columns, the fire must have been from the shipping. See Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 81; Frothingham's *Siege*, 189; Lieutenant Hall's *History of the Civil War*, i, 70; etc.

‡ It was said by the Committee of Safety that the insurgents reserved their fire until the Royal troops "came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of 'firearms.'" See, also, Gordon's *History*, ii, 243; The Thacher Manuscript; Stedman's *History*, i, 129.

§ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Heath's *Memoirs*, 19; Gordon's *History*, ii, 43; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 271; Letter from Boston, June 25, 1775; The Thacher Manuscript; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 22, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292; Ramsay's *History*, i, 202; *Military Repository*, i, 12; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 152.

|| Swett's *History*, 27.

¶ Map by Lieutenant D'Berniere; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 81.

¶ Map by Lieutenant D'Berniere.

** General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; The same to Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Stedman's *History*, i, 126; Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences*, 81; *History of War in America*, i, 83; *Impartial History of the War*, 210; General Burgoyne, in the House of Commons, February 30, 1776.—*Parliamentary Register*, iii, 340; Mr. Hulton's Letter.

†† General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775.

from the battery at Copp's-hill* and by small parties of Marines sent ashore from the shipping, for that purpose.† The greater part of the buildings in the village were destroyed,‡ without affording the least possible service to the Royal cause—even the wind shifted and carried away the smoke which, before, might have served as a shelter for the troops, as they moved up the slopes of Breed's-hill, for the assault on the earthworks.§

Nor was the extreme right of the line—the Grenadiers and the Fifth and Fifty-second Regiments—less severely handled by the insurgents behind the breastwork than was the extreme left by the insurgents within the barn. The Regiments referred to, with the Artillery, had served as one of the covering-parties of the Light-infantry; and, as such, they had confronted the unfinished breastwork and the Eastern face of the redoubt, for more than an hour, while the contest had been raging, on their right, on the bank and the beach of the Mystic. When the plan of operations was changed, and they became, instead of a cover, a portion of the main line of attack, they gallantly pressed forward toward the breastwork, on their front, bayonet in hand, and as gallantly carried it, notwithstanding the sturdiness with which it was defended. The honors of victory, however, were enjoyed by them for a few minutes only, since they were immediately exposed to a most terrible cross-fire from the redoubt, on their left, and the rail-fence, on their right; and, with sadly thinned ranks, they were quickly compelled to abandon their acquisition and to fall back in the utmost disorder.||

Along the entire line of earthworks, indeed, the insurgents behind the intrenchments as steadily and as successfully resisted the assault by the Royal troops as those on the left had done, from behind the rail-fence and the temporary stone-

wall; and so heavy were the losses and so appalling the insurgents' fire, that General Pigot was compelled to order the entire line to fall back*—an Order which was so generally and heartily obeyed by the Royal troops that "it required the utmost exertion in all the officers, from the General to the Subalterns, to repair the disorder which the hot and unexpected fire had produced."†

It is said that the officers found great difficulty in rallying the soldiers; some of whom are reported to have run as far as the beach, and actually re-entered the boats which had brought them from Boston;‡ but they finally succeeded in re-forming their columns and returning to the assault. The insurgents, nerved by their continued successes and becoming more steady and deliberate in their new vocation, allowed the assailants to approach still nearer than before, and then opened upon them "a continuous steam of fire," with what seemed to be a more fatal result. Notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of their officers, the soldiers turned and fled in greater disorder than before; and victory seemed to rest among the insurgents.§

The assailants were driven back with the most terrible loss|—indeed, so destructive was the fire, that General Howe is said to have been left nearly alone, so many of those who were near him having been either killed or wounded;¶ and so perfectly were the assailants demoralized, that many of them fled, in their terror, a second time, to their boats.**

At this critical moment, had the insurgents been strong enough, in front, to have taken advantage

* Letter from Boston, July 5, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775.

General Burgoyne "allowed that the troops gave way a little at one time, because they were flanked by the fire out of the houses, at Charlestown."—Debate on Mr. Fox's motion, February 20, 1776. (*Parliamentary Register*, iii, 840.)

† Stedman's *History*, i, 137. See, also, Heath's *Memoir*, 19; The Thacher Manuscript; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292; *Historical Record of the Fourth Foot*, 64.

‡ The Thacher Manuscript; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 152; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 424; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27.

§ Bancroft's *History*, vii, 425; Heath's *Memoir*, 19; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 152; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27; *Historical Record of the Fourth Foot*, 64; *Historical Record of the Tenth Foot*, 38; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292; The Thacher Manuscript.

| Stedman's *History*, i, 138; Lieutenant Hall's *History of Civil War*, 80; Letter from Boston, June 25, 1775; Heath's *Memoirs*, 19; Bancroft's *History*, vii, 424; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 152; Gordon's *History*, ii, 43, 44; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27; *Historical Record of the Fourth Foot*, 64; *Historical Record of the Tenth Foot*, 48; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292; Swett's *History*, 83, 89.

¶ Lieutenant Hall's *History of the Civil War*, i, 80; Stedman's *History*, i, 137; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 85; Frothingham's *Siege*, 145; *History of War in America*, i, 58; *Impartial History of the War*, 210; Letter from Boston, June 25, 1775.

** The Thacher Manuscript.

* General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Letter from Boston to Scotland, June 25, 1775; Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; Gordon's *History*, ii, 42; Lieutenant Hall's *History of Civil War*, i, 79; Hubley's *History*, i, 287.

† Gordon's *History*, ii, 43; Hubley's *History*, i, 287.

‡ General Gage to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Letter from Boston, June 23, 1775; Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 20, 1775. The same to the Albany Committee, June 28, 1775; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; General Dearborn's Account; Isaac Lothrop to Thaddeus Burr, June 22, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 291; Snow's *History of Boston*, 808, 809; Frothingham's *History of Charlestown*, 367, 368; Stedman's *History*, i, 126; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 28; Gordon's *History*, ii, 43.

§ Paul Allen (*History of American Revolution*, i, 259) supposed Charlestown was set on fire before General Howe landed at Moulton's point.

| Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Editorial, dated "CAMBRIDGE, June 22, 1775," in *Force's American Architect*, IV, ii, 1862; The Thacher Manuscript; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 152; Gordon's *History*, ii, 42; Hubley's *History*, i, 287; Boitt's *History*, i, 205.

¶ Maps by Lieutenants Page and D'Berniere, and General Dearborn; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 344.

of their success by promptly falling on the broken ranks of their terrified assailants, the Royal troops would have been most disastrously defeated, and the Royal cause, in America, irretrievably lost; but those in front were few in number and nearly without ammunition, and those on Bunker's-hill, in the rear, regarded their personal safety as of more importance than the common cause could be—the shattered ranks of the assailants were, therefore, allowed to remain undisturbed; and their officers were enabled, soon after, to rally them for a final and more successful charge.*

In this work of re-organization, General Henry Clinton rendered great service. He had witnessed the operations on the peninsula, from the battery on Copp's-hill, in Boston; and he had evidently noticed, also, all the peculiarities of the insurgents' positions and all those of the Royal troops who had attacked them. Hastening across the river,† he arrived at Charlestown immediately after the command of General Pigot had fallen back, a second time discomfited, from before the insurgents' earthworks; and he not only infused sufficient confidence in the terror-stricken fugitives to enable them to re-form their lines of attack; but, "by a happy manoeuvre, almost instantaneously brought them back to a charge."‡

The Royal troops, thus reassured, once more ascended the hill.—General Clinton commanding the extreme left, General Pigot the centre, and General Howe the extreme right,§—with thinner ranks but greater promise of success. They had been relieved of the burden of their knapsacks and haversacks—some of them are said to have also donned their coats||—they were, therefore, in light marching order; and, as the insurgents' supply of ammunition was nearly exhaust-

ed, within the works, the assailants were to be met no longer by the terrible fire of musketry which had hitherto proved so disastrous.

The spirit with which General Clinton entered the field very soon extended to his command; and in a particular manner the left of the line distinguished itself by the resolute promptness of its advance;* although the right, where General Howe commanded, notwithstanding it had shared in the disasters attending the movement of the Light-infantry and Grenadiers, earlier in the day, seemed, by its cool and steady deportment, to be disposed to contend for the empty honors of victory. The lines steadily and slowly closed around the redoubt,† in which, with his gallant one hundred and fifty, with little ammunition, the master-spirit of the insurgents fearlessly and almost noiselessly awaited their coming; and as the fragile earthwork became more and more encircled in the resistless embrace of its determined adversary, the blood of its defenders coursed rapidly, but steadily and unmistakably, toward their head, and nerved him for the discharge of the important duties—the closing duties of the hour—which evidently awaited him. As the Royal troops ascended the hill, the breastwork was abandoned and its defenders were gathered into the redoubt‡—as the energies of a strong man are sometimes concentrated, on the approach of death, for the desperate purpose of resisting to the latest moment, his inevitable destiny.

The little stock of ammunition which the insurgents had brought with them—they had received no more from the main-land—was nearly exhausted; § and the few remaining artillery cartridges—then their only magazine—were despoiled of their powder—its unsuitable for small

* Heath's *Memoir*, 19; The Thacher Manuscript; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Stedman's *History*, i, 127; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 153; *Historical Record of the IVth Foot*, 64; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 292, 298.

† The Letter from Boston dated July 5, 1775, and Mrs. Mercy Warren (*History of American Revolution*, i, 218) said that General Clinton carried with him a reinforcement; but while we concede the evident importance of the Letter referred to, and as willingly admit that Mrs. Warren judiciously employed the unusual opportunities which she possessed for obtaining correct information, we do not find sufficient reason, elsewhere, for crediting that portion of the narrative in question.

‡ If, however, General Clinton really carried a reinforcement with him, it must have been the Second Battalion of Marines, which appears to have been represented in the action, if it was not present, *en masse*, as a Battalion.

§ Stedman's *History*, i, 127. See, also, General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27; Swett's *History*, 41.

We suppose that this "happy manoeuvre" was simply the laying aside of the knapsacks, and haversacks, and military coats of the soldiers, hereafter referred to.

|| The Maps of Lieutenants D'Bernicre and Page; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 248.

‡ Doctor Dexter, in *The Analectic Magazine*, xi, 257; Swett's *History*, 42; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 37.

* General Burgoyne gave General Clinton great credit; and the fact is evident that his "happy manoeuvre" turned the fortunes of the day. See, also, Swett's *History*, 41; Stedman's *History*, i, 127.

† The Thacher Manuscript; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 246, 247.

‡ The Thacher Manuscript; The Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Swett's *History*, 42; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 153; Ramsay's *History*, i, 203; Hubley's *History*, i, 239.

§ Mr. Andrews (*History of the War*, i, 302); Mr. Barry (*History of Massachusetts*, iii, 36); Judge Marshall (*Life of Washington*, ii, 298); Mr. Elliot (*Letter of June 19, 1775*); and *The Historical Record of the IVth Foot* (page 43) indicate that this fire was from the shipping rather than from the field-pieces.

§ The Thacher Manuscript; Colonel Prescott to John Adams, August 25, 1775; Letter from Cambridge, June 27, 1775; Committee of Safety to Albany Committee, June 28, 1775; Heath's *Memoir*, 19; Governor Trumbull to Baron van der Capellen, August 31, 1779; *History of War in America*, i, 84; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 153; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 27, 30; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 298; Ramsay's *History*, i, 203; Gordon's *History*, ii, 44; Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 247; Swett's *History*, 39; Ticknor's *Prescott*, 453; Tudor's *Otis*, 470.

arms;*—those who possessed bayonets were posted where it was supposed the assailants would first appear;† and those whose pieces wore no bayonets were posted in the rear, with the little stock of powder, ready to throw their fire in whichever direction it should seem to be most needed.‡ Thus disposed by the remarkable man who was their leader, the brave one hundred and fifty—truly great, notwithstanding they were, legally, traitors—stood, fearlessly awaiting the approach, within striking distance, of their gallant adversaries.

The right wing of the Royal troops meanwhile, approached the North-eastern angle of the redoubt, where the breastwork terminated; and from the deserted lines of the latter, stretching off some twenty rods further to the right, no longer was turned upon the assailants the murderous cross-fire which, before, had snatched from them, for the hour, the victory which was theirs. Past the blind, and through the sally-port, and over the rude parapet the hopeful Grenadiers pushed their doubtful way; and, on the right at least, the day was lost and won.§

On the left of the line, the assault was equally vigorous and equally successful. The Grenadiers of the Sixty-third Regiment were said to have led the assailants, on that flank; and as their Captain, Stopford, cheered them onward, he fell, wounded, on the hill-side. Lieutenant Dalrymple, the second in command, sprang forward to the post of honor which had been thus vacated; but, a few minutes after, as he mounted the temporary earthwork with a shout of "The day is ours!" he, too, paid the price of his renown, among the dead and wounded who simultaneously fell on either hand of him. As the rear rank pushed forward to the places which the front had filled, a Sergeant, it is said, assumed the vacant command; and with an appeal to their soldierly pride, to "Conquer or Die," he led the head of the column over the Western flank of the works, and gained a footing within the redoubt.¶

Nor was the front of the redoubt less gallantly approached, nor less vigorously attacked, nor less triumphantly carried. At the Southernmost angle of its Southern front, a tree overhung the slender earthwork; ¶ and

it is said,* we know not how truly, that its friendly aid was invoked to assist the soldiery, headed by General Pigot, in person, in scaling the parapet.

The Eastern, Southern, and Western fronts of the redoubt were thus, simultaneously, scaled; and simultaneously, in front and on either flank, the one hundred and fifty were confronted, hand to hand and face to face, with those who, without being heartily their enemies, had been most resolutely their assailants. The contest within the redoubt was an unequal one; but as the insurgents continued to defend themselves, as best they could, with their clubbed firearms and with stones, it was severe and uncompromising.† No evidence was given by them, of any desire to capitulate; nor was there any appearance among them of any individual willingness to surrender as prisoners of state—prisoners of war they could not be. Overpowered, but not conquered; free men, not captives; unabated rebels in arms, not obedient and loyal subjects; surrounded by the King's soldiery, bearing the King's arms, and professing to be lovers of the King's person and Government—with their faces toward their enemies; their enemies admiring their resolute bravery and sympathising with them in many of their complaints of oppression—the handful who had defended the redoubt and the breastwork, or those of it who remained to tell the story of its gallantry, gradually fell back, through the gathering crowds of soldiers; and by five o'clock, the places, on Breed's-hill, which they had immortalized, knew them no more.‡

The fugitives, as they fell back from the redoubt, were so completely intermingled with the crowd of soldiery which was gathering around it, that to fire on them would have been as disastrous to friends as to foes; and the strong arms and resolute wills which controlled the clubbed small-arms which the insurgents carried and sometimes brought down on an impertinent head, frequently opened a way for them, as they retreated toward Bunker's-hill.§ They were joined, too, as they fell back, by the diminished parties of Connecticut and New Hampshire men,

* Frothingham's *Siege*, 150; Swett's *History*, 44.

† Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Frothingham's *Siege*, 147, 148; Swett's *History*, 40.

‡ Doctor Grant (*Letter of June 23, 1775*), says that many of the Royal Troops were wounded with old nails and small scraps of iron, which had been used instead of balls.

§ Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Frothingham's *Siege*, 147, 148, 150.

¶ Swett's *History*, 48; Frothingham's *Siege*, 150.

‡ Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 847; Frothingham's *Siege*, 150.

¶ Letter from Wethersfield, June 22, 1775; Frothingham's *Siege*, 150; Lieutenant Clark's *Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle*—cited by Mr. Frothingham.

¶ Map by Lieutenant Page; Frothingham's *Siege*, 150.

† The Thatcher Manuscript; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; Thatcher's *Military Journal*, 28; Gordon's *History*, ii, 45; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 298; Ramsay's *History*, i, 204; Hubley's *History*, i, 289; Botta's *History*, i, 206; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 153; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 37; Frothingham's *Warren*, 517.

‡ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; The same to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; Provincial Congress to Continental Congress, June 20, 1775; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*; Samuel Gray to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775; Ramsay's *History*, i, 203; Frothingham's *Warren*, 517; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 38; Gordon's *History*, ii, 45, 46.

§ Frothingham's *Siege*, 150, 151; Judge Prescott's *MS. Memoir*.

led by Knolton, and Stark, and Reed—all that remained of those who had so bravely and successfully controlled the fortunes of the day, on the left of the redoubt, at the rail-fence and on the beach; *—and, soon after, as they approached Bunker's-hill, they were met by the cowardly skulkers, headed by their noisy and mischievous master-spirit, who plied them with empty taunts, and silly reproaches, and loud-toned entreaties to renew a contest from which, terror-stricken or with adverse hopes, the blustering cowards had steadily and timidly withheld themselves.†

The resolute perseverance of Captain Trevett secured to the insurgents one of the six field-pieces which, earlier in the day, had been taken to the peninsula; ‡ five were left, to recompense, as best they might, the losses of the day, and to serve as trophies, such as they were, of "The Battle of Bunker's-hill."§ The intrenching-tools, concerning which General Putnam had showed more solicitude than for the result of the battle, were also left in the hands of the assailants; || and these, with the unfinished earthworks, and the barricade of rails and newly made hay, and the tottering stone-wall on the beach, and the thirty desperately wounded prisoners, ¶ and the piles of slaughtered sol-

diers, and the long rows of those who were wounded, and the tarnished honor of the army—the latter jeered at by the populace, in consequence of it*—and nothing else, constituted the dwarfish fruits of the victory.

The strength of the Royal forces, in this engagement, has been variously stated; but there seems to be little room for dispute. The party which was first ordered to the peninsula, was numbered by General Gage himself, in a private letter,† at "two thousand men"—in which General Burgoyne, also in a private letter,‡ exactly agreed with him; and there is little room for doubt concerning the correctness of their statements. To this force, there were subsequently added two Battalions of Marines, a Regiment of Infantry, and six flank Companies of Grenadiers and Light-infantry, numbering, proportionately with the strength of the main body, as thus recognized by the Generals commanding it, not less than twelve hundred men§—the whole constituting a recognized strength of not less than thirty-two hundred effective fighting-men.||

The strength of the insurgents, also, is well-settled and definite. The Connecticut troops embraced only four Lieutenants' commands of thirty men each; ¶ and the reinforcements under Captains Chester, Coit, and Clark reached the rail-fence only when the tide of battle had ebbed from it and flowed into other channels.** The

* Committee of Safety's Narrative, June 25, 1775; Letter from Boston, July 5, 1775; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 347; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii, 88; *Analectic Magazine*, xi, 158; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 298; Frothingham's *Siege*, 151, 152.

† Compare General Dearborn's *Account with Peabody's Putnam*, 176; Frothingham's *Siege*, 152.

‡ Frothingham's *Siege*, 152.
§ General Gage's Despatch, June 25, 1775; The same to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775; *History of War in America*, i, 85, 86; *Impartial History of the War*, 210; Thacher's *Military Journal*, 28; Ramsay's *History*, i, 206.

|| Captain Hide's *Account*; Frothingham's *Siege*, 198.
¶ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; *History of War in America*, i, 85, 86; *Impartial History of the War*, 210.

The following are the names of the prisoners thus captured by the Royal Troops; as they appeared in the papers of the day:

Lieutenant-colonel Parker	Chelmsford	Dead.
Captain Benjamin Walker	Chelmsford	"
Lieutenant Amaziah Fausett	Groton	"
Lieutenant William Scott	Peterborough	Alive.
Sergeant Robert Phelps	Lancaster	Dead.
Phineas Nevins	Windsor	"
Oliver Stevens	Townsend	"
Daniel McGrath	Unknown	"
John Perkins	New Rutland	Alive.
Jacob Frost	Tewksbury	"
Amasa Fish	Pepperell	Dead.
Daniel Sessions	Andover	Alive.
Jonathan Norton	Newburyport	"
Phillip Johnson Beck	Boston—Mansfield	"
Benjamin Bigelow	Peckerfield	"
Benjamin Wilson	Billerica	"
Archibald McIntosh	Townsend	Dead.
David Kemp	Groton	"
John Deland	Charlestown	Alive.
Lawrence Sullivan	Wethersfield	"
Thomas Kettell, (a lad.)	Charlestown	Dismissed.
William Robinson	Unknown	Dead.
Benjamin Ross	Ashford, Conn.	"
John Dillon	Jersey, Old England	"
One unknown	"	"
William Kench	Peckerfield	"
James Dodge	Edinburgh, Scotland	"

William Robinson	Connecticut	Dead.
John Lord	Unknown	"
James Milliken	Boston	"
Stephen Foster	Groton	"
Total	—90 dead, 10 alive, 1 dismissed.	

* Reply to Despatch of General Gage; Reply to General Burgoyne's Letter to Lord Stanley.

† Letter to the Earl of Dunmore, June 26, 1775.

‡ It is noteworthy that the General reported to the Home Government—and it was published as from him—that, after the Reserve had reached the peninsula, "the whole, when in conjunction, made a body of something over two thousand men"—*London Gazette*, July 25, 1775.

§ General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 26, 1775.

|| It is worthy of notice that Lieutenant Hall, also an English authority, considered that the first party sent from Boston, numbered "two thousand men," (*History of Civil War*, 73) and Mr. Tudor (*Letter to Stephen Collins*, June 22, 1775) gave it the same strength.

¶ Captain Hide (*Account*) said the reinforcement numbered "a thousand men."

|| The Committee of Safety (*Narrative*, July 25): Rev. Peter Thacher, (*Manuscript Account*); General Wilkinson, (*Memoirs*, i, 344); Judge Marshall (*Life of Washington*, ii, 298); Doctor Ramsay, (*History of Revolution*, i, 202); Mr. Barry (*History of Massachusetts*, iii, 31); Doctor Thacher (*Military Journal*, 28); Doctor Gordon (*History*, ii, 41); Mr. Hubley (*History*, i, 287); *The Military Repository*, (i, 11) considered the strength of the assailants, to have been "three thousand men"; and General Folsom reported to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety (*Letter of June 22, 1775*) that they numbered "five thousand." Steadman (*History*, i, 126) conceded the fact that it numbered "more than two thousand men." Doctor John Warren, in his *Journal* (page 87) supposed they were "about 2,500;" General Heath (*Memoir*, 26) considered them as numbering two thousand; Mr. Tudor, (*Life of James Oles*, 470) said they numbered "near five thousand."

** Judge Grosvenor to Colonel Putnam, April 30, 1818.

†† Captain Chester to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775.

New Hampshire men, all told, amounted only to "about seven hundred men, half-organized and "wretchedly equipped;"* and no one pretended to reinforce them, at any time during the day. Of Massachusetts men *who were actually engaged*, their commander has told us† that he had only "perhaps one hundred and fifty men" within the earthworks; and the high character of those who were in command and thus narrated their strength, leaves no room whatever to question the correctness of either of these reports—including the stragglers from the "one or two "Regiments of Provincials" which had been withdrawn from Charlestown and who had subsequently taken places behind the defences, and the Artillerists under Captain Trevett, and all others who *personally opposed* the Royal troops, the numbers did not exceed fifteen hundred men.‡ Of the skulkers, who were neither useful nor ornamental on that occasion, we are told by those who saw them, that they numbered from a thousand to twelve hundred men§—nearly as many, in fact, as there were engaged with the Royal troops, and more than enough to have changed the result of the conflict, had they been judiciously posted on Breed's-hill or at the breastwork, and honestly and earnestly done their duty.

Of the loss of the contestants, in this action, there need, also, be no question. The *Return* appended to the Despatch of General Gage indicates a loss, on the part of the King's troops, of one Lieutenant-colonel, two Majors, nine Captains, nine Lieutenants, and two hundred and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and three Majors, twenty-five Captains, thirty-two Lieutenants, eight Ensigns, and seven hundred and fifty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded.|| On the part of the insurgents there seems to have been one hundred and forty, killed; two hundred and seventy-one, wounded; and thirty, missing¶—

* Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 844.

† Letter to John Adams, August 25, 1775.

‡ Committee of Safety's Narrative, July 25, 1775; General Dearborn's *Account*; Captain Hide's *Account*; General Wilkinson's *Memoir*, i, 844; Marshall's *Washington*, ii, 204; Ramsay's *History of Revolution*, i, 208; *Military Repository*, i, 12. Paul Allen (*History of American Revolution*, i, 158) considered the insurgents to have been *two thousand* in number.

The estimates of the insurgents' strength which were made by their opponents are very amusing. General Gage, for instance, (*Despatch*, June 25th) supposed they were three times as numerous as the troops which were sent against them; the *Letter from Boston to Scotland*, June 25, 1775, supposed there were sixteen hundred in the redoubt, beside "about five thousand" at the breastwork, the fence, and the stone-wall, and "some thousands more stationed on the "hill behind"—Bunker's-hill.

§ Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 844, 845; General Dearborn's *Account*.

|| General Gage's Despatch to the Home Government, June 25, 1775. See, also, Stedman's *History*, i, 127.

¶ Although other summaries have appeared, we prefer that which has been prepared with much care, "from letters,

among the killed being General Warren,* Colonel Gardner, Lieutenant-colonel Parker, Majors McCleary† and Moore.

The result of this action was, nominally, favorable to the Royal cause; but the real victory was on the side of the insurgents, whose indecision, and individuality, and want of interest were, thereby, very greatly overcome.

Of course, from that day to the present, there have been criticisms of this and that movement, on either side; and many have undertaken to pass judgment in those cases, as others have done in other cases, without possessing either the necessary qualifications for sitting in judgment on any question or the testimony which is necessary for the impartial and intelligent determination of such questions as these. To those which have already accumulated—good, bad, and indifferent—we propose to add another judgment, probably no better than the greater number which have preceded it; but we submit it as a portion of our synopsis of the annals of Bunker's-hill and as the result of our earnest inquiries among those, the living as well as the dead, who have been most competent to instruct us.

Of the insurgents—the Provincial Congress and its conservatism, the Committee of Safety and its radicalism, the Council of War and its rashness and duplicity, (to say nothing of its possible "treachery, oversight, or presumption,") and the Armies which had "congregated" before Boston and their separate and resolute individuality,‡—we have already spoken; and we have also noticed the peculiarities of the position which was "recommended" for occupation by the Committee, as well as those of the position which was actually occupied under the Orders of the Generals in the Council. We have condemned the rashness—to call it by no harsher name—of the Generals who pushed forward an unsupported body of men into a position which promised nothing but disaster; and we have nothing, now, but condemnation for that officer who coldly and hastily left to their fate, while he retired for a nap, beyond striking distance, the handful of his own command and the important detachment from another, but allied, Army, which had been brought within the range of his ignorant, if not his "treacherous,"

"official returns, and an article in a Providence newspaper," by Mr. Frothingham, and published in his *Siege of Boston*, 198.

* Warren's *Genealogy of Warren*, 47; Frothingham's *Warren*, 517; General Dearborn's *Account*; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i, 847, 848; Ramsay's *History*, i, 206; Tudor's *Otis*, 467.

† General Folsom to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, June 22, 1775; Farmer's Belknap's *New Hampshire*, i, 880; Barstow's *New Hampshire*, 248; *Military History of New Hampshire—Adjutant-general's Report for 1866*, ii, 265.

influence. On the other hand, those who condemn the treason, must admire the manliness, of Colonel Prescott and the resolute industry of his fatigue-party; and the still more resolute bravery of the handful—the “perhaps one hundred and fifty men”—who remained in the redoubt and behind the unfinished breastworks, and actually defended them, face to face, and hand to hand, is recognized as having very few parallels in the history of civil warfare. It was that tenacity in Prescott and his “perhaps one hundred and fifty,” and that steadiness in Knolton and his one hundred and twenty, and that good judgment and dogged bravery in Stark and his seven hundred, which neutralized the mischief which “somebody’s” blunders, or incompetency, or “treachery,” had produced; and to Prescott, and Knolton, and Stark justly belong the honor, and to Putnam the shame, which underlie the glory which clusters around the Heights of Charlestown.

It has been said* that much of the success of the insurgents’ fire arose from their forethought in providing a reserve of guns, which enabled them to throw on the assailants a more rapid fire than they could have done without that reserve; but we find no evidence of the existence of any such unusual supply of arms, and do not believe there was any. The fire was rapid and effective simply because those who handled the pieces were well acquainted with the use of them; and we suspect that the story of a reserve of arms arose from an anxiety, on the part of the Royal and loyal writers, to find an excuse, no matter how poor, for the disastrous result of the expedition.

It has been said,† also, that when the Royal troops were driven from before the redoubt and breastwork, Colonels Stark and Reid, and Captain Knolton, who were behind the rail-fence, should have fallen on their flank before they had recovered from the panic into which they had fallen; and it is supposed that such a movement would have resulted in the complete overthrow of the assailants and secured a victory for the insurgents. We cannot concur in that opinion, however; and we consider that the Connecticut and New Hampshire troops, in remaining at their post, on the left, discharged, with excellent judgment, the duty which had devolved on them. It must be remembered that they had already sustained three successive shocks, and three times in succession repelled their assailants. They were wearied and needed ammunition; and they had before them at that time a strong body of Light-troops, which was capable of producing much trouble, notwithstanding the

effects of its recently disastrous overthrow on the beach. If for no other purpose, therefore, than of holding these Light-troops in check and of preventing them from turning the left of the lines, these gallant officers did well in remaining at their post, behind the rail-fence which they had so successfully occupied.

There is no doubt that the insurgents would have been successful had they been sustained by a suitable reinforcement or supplied with sufficient ammunition to protect themselves. Such was the opinion of those who witnessed the conflict,* and such has been that of the best-informed writers subsequent thereto.† Indeed, the loss of the day must be wholly attributed to this failure to move fresh troops to the support of those who were fighting within the works. Meanwhile, the facts stare us in the face, that from twelve to fifteen hundred armed men were standing, *without employment*, on Bunker’s-hill during the entire period of the engagement while both the men and their cartridge-boxes were needed at the front; that there was with this party of skulkers, a Brigadier-general of the Army of Connecticut—the probable originator of the occupation of Breed’s-hill—that no evidence exists, nor any pretence, of any attempt whatever on his part to move any portion of this unemployed party to the front, at any period of the engagement, even when Colonel Prescott was most sorely pressed and asked for succor; that there is evidence that he stopped some of the troops who were voluntarily moving toward the front, where they were so much needed, and retained them in the rear, where they were not wanted;‡ that he also retained the ammunition which was on

* Captain John Chester (*Letter to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, 1775*) said “those that came up as recruits were evidently ‘most terribly frightened, many of them, and did not march up with that true courage that their cause ought to have inspired them with. And to this cause, I conceive, was owing our retreat. Five hundred men more, that might easily have been there, if they were in any tolerable order and spirits, might have sent the enemy from ‘whence they came, or to their long homes.’ Samuel Gray (*Letter to Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775*) who witnessed the fight from a distance, said, ‘The reason why our men on fatigue all night were not relieved, or attempted to be relieved, I cannot assign; had they been supported in a proper manner, there can’t remain a question but that the enemy must have been totally defeated.’”

“Colonel Prescott was always confident he could have maintained his position, with the handful of men under ‘his command, if he had been supplied with ammunition.’—Judge Prescott’s MS. *Memoirs*.”

Captain Dearborn (*Account*) said, “Had our ammunition held out, or had we been supplied with only fifteen or twenty rounds, I have no doubt but that we should have killed and wounded the greatest part of their army, and compelled the remainder to have laid down their arms; for it was with the greatest difficulty that they were brought up the last time. Our fire was so deadly, particularly to the officers, that it would have been impossible to have resisted it but for a short time longer.”

† Gordon’s *History*, II, 46; Wilkinson’s *Memoirs*, I, 847.

‡ Reuben Kemp’s, Amos Foster’s, and Deacon Miller’s statements; Swett’s *History*, 29.

* Stedman’s *History*, I, 121; Glenie’s *Thomson’s Military Memoirs*, 464.

† Wilkinson’s *Memoirs*, I, 847.

Bunker's-hill, even when Colonel Prescott's little stock was exhausted, and notwithstanding the latter sent for another supply;* and in view of these facts, we are constrained to believe that, either the *cowardice* of the men was shared by their officers, even by the Brigadier who remained with them without attempting to lead them into the battle, or the suspicion of the men that there was "*treachery*" among the officers was well-founded, or the reported disposition of the Brigadier to make his peace with his Sovereign controlled his conduct on this occasion, and led him to withhold the ammunition and the men which alone were needed to make the insurgents the victors.†

Of the Royal troops and their commander, also, we have spoken in terms of respect; and we see no reason for an adverse judgment concerning any portion of their conduct, on the occasion under review.

General Burgoyne, who was personally acquainted with the facts and competent to pass judgment, intelligently, pronounced the general disposition of the Royal troops, by General Howe, to have been "exceedingly soldierlike; in [his] opinion it was perfect;"‡ and whoever shall note the movement of the Light-infantry along the sheltered beach of the Mystic, with intent to turn the extreme left of the insurgents' lines and to fall on their rear while their front was amused with two separate columns of solid Infantry and their works were hotly cannonaded from the shipping and from Copp's-hill—to say nothing of the force held in reserve on Morton's-hill and that which was approaching the peninsula, from Boston—must fully concur with the General in that hearty and intelligent opinion.

It should be remembered in this connection, that when General Howe organized his force for the conflict, he could have known nothing of the *impromptu* stone-wall which subsequently arose, as if by magic, at the water's edge, to check the stealthy progress of his Light-troops,

already in motion; and the pebbles which were known, at that time, to have been the only occupants of the beach of the Mystic, seemed as unlikely to become armed opponents of the Royal authority and to the progress of his carefully concealed column, which was pushing in that direction, toward the insurgents' rear, as were the dry bones in the valley to become living men, at the bidding of the Prophet. The stone-wall and its triple line of defenders arose, however, where the most cautious would not have looked for them, at an hour when even the stoutest hearts might have quailed without reproach, and with a celerity which might have put to shame the formal science of any army of that period; and the effect of that notable counter-movement by the insurgents, to say nothing of the counter-movement itself, could not reasonably have been foreseen by the most experienced, nor guarded against by the most discreet, of Generals. The influence of an experienced woodman, however, and his readiness and adaptability to existing circumstances, were not more conspicuous in Colonel Stark's perception of the character of the covered beach and of the danger which probably lurked there, in his prompt and judicious construction of a temporary cover for his men, from material supplied from the stone-walls in the vicinity, and in his excellent disposition of his choicest marksmen, in front of what he properly recognized as the key of the position, than was the steadiness, the nerve, of the men of Amoskeag, who were thus brought, for the first time, face to face, as enemies, with the Army of their recognized Sovereign. An enemy of any kind, much less such an enemy as this, was not expected on that tide-washed beach; and its appearance, there, and the effect of its appearance, were vicissitudes of war which cannot be justly noticed to the disadvantage of General Howe.

Nor was General Howe justly chargeable with any of the consequences of the Quarter-master's dalliance with the school-master's daughters, even when that dalliance rendered wholly ineffective the field-pieces which he had carried in his train, and might have produced adverse consequences of the utmost importance; and if, as reported, through a similar mistake among the insurgents—but whether from licentiousness, or "*treachery*," or official stupidity, we are not informed—the little train of the latter was also silenced, the mutual mishap respecting cannonballs rendered still more remarkable the already remarkable conflict which is the subject of our narrative.

We are not insensible, while we thus write concerning the disposition of the Royal troops, of the criticisms of those who have condemned the point which was selected for the debarka-

* Gordon's *History*, II, 44; *Analectic Magazine*, XI, 158.

† Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet, or, the General Advertiser*, Vol. IV. No. 192. Monday, June 26, 1855, says of this officer: "General Putnam, who commanded the Continental troops, is a veteran soldier of great experience. He served during the whole of the last war against the French. He was wounded fifteen different times in the service of his country. He was once taken prisoner by the Indians, who first scalped, then tied him to a tree, and were about to make a stroke at his head, which would have put an end to his existence, when a French officer happening at the instant to pass by and saved his life. Such a man is every way qualified to command a set of virtuous Provincials. General Gage, with a mercenary handful of troops, will stand an excellent chance against such a man as Putnam, who abounds in bravery, good sense, and honor."

‡ After having lost his scalp and endured the pain resulting from fifteen wounds, it seems to us that this officer would have been as useless to the King as he was to the Congress; and General Gage may, therefore, be entitled to more credit than he has received, for refusing to purchase him at the price demanded.

§ Letter to Lord Stanley, June 25, 1775.

tion of the troops—preferring one on the rear of the insurgents' lines to that, on their front, which was actually occupied;*—but those criticisms would have been just in their condemnation of the commanding General, on this point, had they been based on "the whole Truth" instead of on a part of it. When, however, Moulton's point was selected as the point of debarkation, even when the troops were landed on the peninsula, the only lines which were occupied by the insurgents—indeed, the only lines which then existed or seemed to have been contemplated—were the redoubt and the breastwork, on Breed's-hill, where were Colonel Prescott and those of the men of Massachusetts who had not deserted; and it mattered little, therefore, where the landing was made, while the opposing force was huddled on a hill-top, isolated and unsupported. There was *then* no rail-fence nor stone-wall to cover the insurgents' flank or to be raked by a gun-boat on the Mystic, even if such a gun-boat had been already anchored there; and when it shall be remembered that the hay-stuffed rail-fence was not thought of until the Royal troops had actually landed on the peninsula, been formed on the top of Morton's-hill, thrown forward its advance-guards, and sat down to dinner, and that the stone-wall, also, was not constructed nor even considered necessary, until the three columns of Royal troops were actually in motion, the apparent force of the criticism will be broken, and the blamelessness of the General in command, on that subject, also, will be established.

Nor are we unaware of the fact that critics have sometimes said that the troops should have occupied "The Neck" and cut off the retreat of the insurgents from the peninsula;† we are not unaware, also, of the danger into which an occupation of "the Neck" would have plunged any detachment which should have been thus thrown, recklessly, between the concentrated fires of the uncounted, although cooped-up, detachments of insurgents, on the peninsula, on their front, and those of the uncounted and uncooped-up armies of insurgents, on the mainland, which would undoubtedly have been thrown, simultaneously, on their rear; and it needs no sooth-sayer to determine on whose banners, in such an event, the victory would have fallen. It is honorable to the professional character of those who opposed the insurgents, therefore, that no such blunder as this was committed.

It has been said, also, that the men should have been relieved of the burden of their knap-

sacks and haversacks before they were moved against the insurgents;* that they should have moved rapidly against the lines of their enemies, instead of at the slow pace at which they staggered forward and afforded, in their own persons, targets for the covered marksmen on their front;† and that, instead of firing at the insurgents as they advanced, they should have relied wholly on the bayonet, for the success of their enterprise.‡ These, however, if they were errors, were errors in the details, rather than in the general plan, of the operations; and it is exceedingly doubtful if the result would have been different in case those errors had not been committed. The comfort of the troops would have been undoubtedly promoted by relieving them of their burdens, but the men would have been none the less available to the insurgents, as targets, because of the lightness of their loads, or the rapidity of their movements—had they been as lightly-laden, even, or as nimble, as the squirrels which the Provincials knew so well how to reach, they could not have escaped the doom which evidently awaited them when they confronted the lines of well-aimed fowling-pieces which rested on the earth works, on the top-rail of the hay-stuffed fence, or on the upper course of the stone-wall, on the beach. A single fire by the insurgents was all that was required to repulse the well-formed columns of regulars; and that fire could have been given with the same ready precision, whether it had been thrown upon a heavily-laden or an unburdened assailant; while the speed of the approaching enemy would not have changed the effect of a single bullet, as it crushed its way into the mass of humanity on which it had been thrown.

There is no doubt that the effect of this "Battle of Bunker's-hill" was not less marked on the existing mode of warfare than it was on the destiny of the Continent and on the statesmanship of the world. The celerity of the insurgents in casting up their defences was new to the European soldiers whom they opposed; and it was a novelty, also, to the same scholars of the old school, when the Provincials took deliberate aim from the shoulder, and shot at their armed enemies, in the King's uniform, with the same precision as that with which they had been accustomed to shoot at the Indians who lurked in the neighboring woods, or at the wild beasts which ravaged the settlements from which they had come to "assist the Bay," in its revolt against the King. The bullet rather than the bayonet was the reliance of the insurgents; and

* Stedman's *History*, i, 128; Glenie's Thomson's *Military Memoirs*, 463, 464.

† Stedman's *History*, i, 128, 129; Glenie's Thomson's *Military Memoirs*, 463.

* Stedman's *History*, i, 128; Glenie's Thomson's *Military Memoirs*, 464.

† Gordon's *History*, ii, 43.

‡ General Dearborn's *Account*; Swett's *History*, 35.

their long practice in the woods which surrounded their scattered homes had given them unusual opportunities for attaining perfection as marksmen. Two peculiarly important military records, therefore, have described "the Battle of Bunker's-hill" as "one of the most sanguinary battles on record;"* and within eight days after the action, General Gage discovered that "the number of killed and wounded was greater than the Royal forces could afford to loose;" that "the trials they had had, showed the rebels were not the despicable rabble too many had supposed them to be;" that "the conquest of this Country was not easy, and could be effected only by time and perseverance, and strong armies attacking it in various quarters and dividing its forces;" and that he conceived it to be his duty to convey these facts to the Home Government, "that administration might take measures accordingly." Officers of the higher grades considered "the victory had cost them very dear;" "nor did they see that they enjoyed one solid benefit in return, or were likely to reap from it any one advantage whatever;" while those of inferior grades "unanimously acquitted the Colonists," and "even commended the troops of Putnam, who fought so gallantly, *pro aris et focis*"—indeed, before the close of ten days, "a universal murmur ran through the Army, and even most disagreeably invaded the General's ears."

Nor was the political effect of this battle less marked or less important than that which was experienced by the veterans of whom we have written.

"The Battle of Bunker's-hill," said one of New England's most favored statesmen,† "was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished."

The Mother Country felt the shock; and every part of the Kingdom was filled with the subject. It was considered as equivalent to a dismemberment of the Empire; and one of the leaders of the People,‡ confronting Lord North and the Government, in their seats in the

House of Commons, exclaimed, "Give us back our Colonies! You have lost America! It is your ignorance, blunders, cowardice, which have lost America!"

DOCUMENTS, ETC., ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUBJECT.

I. BY BRITISH WRITERS.

1.—*Extract of a letter from an Officer of rank to a Gentleman in London.*

[From Force's *American Archives*.]

Boston, June 18, 1775.

* * * * *

We left Cork early in April, and after a very tedious and disagreeable passage of seven weeks, arrived here on the sixteenth day of this month. On our landing, we found every thing in the utmost confusion, partly arising from the murmurs of the soldiery; the difference of opinion among the superior officers; the want of fresh provisions; the general unhealthiness of the troops; and, above all, the misery of the wretched inhabitants, destitute of food, raiment, or property. Whether it was an aggregate of all these, or a weakness arising from a sea-sickness, which commenced at the Cove of Cork and only left me on my landing, I will not pretend to say; but I have been totally confined to my room since last Saturday. Yesterday morning, the troops were ordered under arms at three o'clock, on a boat being sent from one of the ships-of-war to acquaint us that the Provincials were raising works in order to besiege us, and put us between cross-fires. Feeble as I was, I arose and dressed myself, and went down to the Head-quarters to offer my service. There were two reasons, however, which prevented their acceptance; one was the state of my health, the other, that the Regiment I belonged to was not ordered out. The troops destined for that service were landed on the Charlestown side, between eight and nine o'clock; but on account of the number of the Provincials, the troops did not begin the attack for a considerable time. In the prodigious confusion this place is now in, all I can tell now is, that the troops behaved with the most unexampled bravery; and after an engagement of nearly five hours, we forced the Provincials from their posts, redoubts, and intrenchments, one by one. This victory has cost us very dear, indeed, as we have lost some of the best officers in the service, and a great number of private men. Nor do I see that we enjoy one solid benefit in return, or are likely to reap from it any one advantage whatever. We have, indeed, learned one melancholy truth, which is, that the Americans, if they were equally well commanded, are full as good soldiers as ours; and as it is, are very little inferior to us, even in discipline and

* *Historical Record of the Fourth Foot, 64; Historical Record of the Fifth Foot, 42.*

† Daniel Webster's Address, June 17, 1825—*Works*, i, 68, 69.

‡ Colonel Barre, in the debate on Mr. Fox's motion, February 20, 1776—*Parliamentary Register*, London, 1776, iii, 389.

steadiness of countenance. This sudden, unexpected affair, has had, however, one good effect upon me, for I find myself much better.

P. S. Since I wrote the above, I fell into a conversation with a gentleman who was present in both actions, and who told me that the King's Troops must have been totally destroyed in each, had the Provincials known their own strength, particularly on the former's return from Lexington to Boston, on the 19th of April.

2.—*Letter from John Randon, a soldier in the Royal Army, to his wife, in England.*

[From Sergeant Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences during the late American War*, 88-85]

Boston, June 18, 1775.

* * * * *

Yesterday we had a bloody and obstinate fight, in which many were killed and numbers wounded. I have received two balls, one in my groin and the other near the breast. I am now so weak with the loss of blood, that I can hardly dictate these few lines, as the last tribute of my unchangeable love to you. The Surgeons inform me that three hours will be the utmost I can survive. Alas, too true was the dire presage that brooded in my mind, that we should never meet again on this side an awful eternity.

During our passage from England to America, I gave myself up to read the Bible, as it was the only book I was possessed of. The Almighty Parent of mankind was pleased to draw my heart to him, by the sweet attraction of his grace; and at the same time to enlighten my mind. There was in our Regiment a Corporal, whose name was Pierce, a pious man: I inquired after him, and we soon contracted a strong friendship. He was pleased to explain to me the amazing love of God, in giving his Son, Jesus Christ, to bleed and die for mankind. He condescended to unfold to me the mystery of salvation by faith, the nature of the new birth, and the great necessity of holiness of heart and life. In short, he became my spiritual father; and, under God, to him I owe all the good I am acquainted with.

Soon after we landed, God was pleased to speak peace to my soul. Oh! the bliss, the unutterable joy that I then felt through the blood of the Lamb! How did I long to tell all the world what Jesus had done for me! But how did I long, yea, burn, to have you to taste and know the love of God in Christ Jesus! I would have given all the world to have been with you, to have informed you of the pearl of great price. As we shall never meet more in this vale of tears, let me impose this last, this dying obligation upon you; and if ever I was dear to you, let me beg of you not to neglect the last advice of your departing husband. It is, that you give yourself up to

God; read the Bible and good books; and be often found among them who inquire after salvation. And the Lord shall guide in his ways. Oh! endeavor to bring up the dear little ones in the fear of God. Never fix your heart upon the vain and unsubstantial thoughts of the world. Heaven and the love of God are the only things that demand our hearts, or at least are worthy of engrossing them.

And you, my dear infants, though you have not the perfect knowledge of your worthless father, I beg of you to meet me in the realms of bliss. The God that blessed Jacob and Joseph shall bless you. Seek him and he will be found of you; call upon him and he will hear and bless you. What has the world but sin and sorrow? The rich are oppressed with wealth; and the poor are groaning for the want of that which the others are burdened with. The men in power are afflicted with holding the reins and guiding the helm; and the governed are oppressed with imaginary evils. The life of a soldier is blood and cruelty; and that a sailor is filled with dangers and deaths. A city life is full of confusion and strife; and that of the country is loaded with toil and labour. But the evil of all evils flows from our own sinful nature. Wherever we are we may be happy; we have the key to bliss in our own breasts. The world itself never yet made any one happy. God is the bliss and solace of a reasonable soul; and God is everywhere, and we have everywhere access to him. Learn, then, my dear children, when you grow up, to seek your permanent happiness in God, through a crucified Redeemer.

My dear wife, should the spirits of the departed have any knowledge of things here below, and, at the same time, any intercourse with them, (though unseen,) how shall I rejoice to be thy guardian Angel, to attend to you, and smile to see you combat sin, conquer the world, and subdue the flesh. How shall I smile to meet you on the bright frontiers of heaven. These hands shall weave for you the wreath triumphant! I first shall hail you welcome to your native mansions! I first shall guide you to the celestial city, and introduce you among the jubilant throng who tread the streets of the New Jerusalem. I first will lead to the sacred throne of our God, where we will together bow, transported at the feet of the ever adorable Jesus. Then, then, will we strike our melodious harps of gold, in the most exalted strains of harmony and love. Then shall our love be consummated, refined and eternalized.

The world recedes, it disappears:
Heaven opens on my eyes, my ears
With sounds seraphic ring:
Lend, lend your wings; I mount, I fly!
Oh! Grave, where is thy victory?
Oh Death! where is thy sting?

More would I say, but life ebbs out apace, my

tongue ceases to perform its office; bright angels stand around the gory turf on which I lie, ready to escort me to the arms of my Jesus; bending saints reveal my shining crown, and beckon me away: yea, methinks, my Jesus bids me come. Adieu! Adieu! Dear Love. JOHN RANDON.

3.—*Letter from Henry Hulton, Esq. Commissioner of His Majesty's Custom, at Boston.*

[From Emmons's *Sketches of Bunker-Hill Battle and Monument*, 128-129.]

'BOSTON, June 20, 1775.

DEAR SIR: I had the favor of a letter from you about two months ago. For these two months past our situation has been critical and alarming, the town being blockaded and the whole country in arms all around us. The people have not only cut us off from all supplies, but they do their utmost to prevent any kind of provision being brought us from the neighboring ports; and as we were surprised into these circumstances, I wonder we have held out so long as we have done. We have bread, salt meat, and fresh fish; and there appears no distress for want of subsistence. Many thousands of the inhabitants abandoned their dwellings, in apprehension that a speedy destruction would fall on the place; and, indeed, we have been wonderfully preserved. The affair of the 19th of April prevented the execution of a diabolical plot; and had not the troops gone out on the 17th instant, it is probable that the town at this hour would have been in ashes. The reinforcement to the army from England came very timely, for the Generals only awaited the arrival of these Regiments to enter upon action.

We are now very anxious for the arrival of the Second Division; and I am afraid it will be necessary to have another to that, before the Army can operate effectually round this place. The country is very strong by nature, and the rebels have possessed themselves of all the advantageous posts, and have thrown up intrenchments in many parts. From the Heights of this place, we have a view of the whole Town, the harbor, and country round for a great extent; and last Saturday, I was a spectator of a most awful scene my eyes ever beheld. On the morning of the 17th, it was observed that the rebels had thrown up a breastwork and were preparing to open a battery, upon the Heights above Charlestown, from whence they might incommode the shipping and destroy the North part of Boston. Immediately a cannonading began from the battery, in the North part of the Town, and the ships of war, on those works, and on the enemy, wherever they could be discovered within reach of their guns. Soon after eleven o'clock, the Grenadiers, Light-infantry, Marines,

and two Battalions marched out of their encampments, and embarked in boats; and before high water were landed on a point of land to the Eastward of Charlestown, and they immediately took post on a little eminence. Great was our trepidation lest they should be attacked by superior numbers, before they could be all assembled and properly prepared; but more boats arrived, and the whole advanced, some on the other side, round the hill where the battery was erected, and some through part of Charlestown. On that side of the hill which was not visible from Boston, it seems very strong lines were thrown up, and were occupied by many thousands of the rebels. The troops advanced with great ardor towards the intrenchments, but were much galled in the assault, both from the artillery and the small arms, and many brave officers and men were killed and wounded. As soon as they got to the intrenchments, the rebels fled, and many of them were killed in the trenches and in their flight. The Marines, in marching through part of Charlestown, were fired at from the houses; and there fell their brave commander, Major Pitcairn. His son was likewise wounded. Hearing his father was killed, he cried out, "I have lost my father;" immediately the corps returned, "We have lost our father." How glorious to die with such an epitaph!

Upon the firing from the houses, the Town was immediately set in flames; and, at four o'clock, we saw the fire and the sword, all the horrors of war raging. The Town was burning all the night; the rebels sheltered themselves in the adjacent hills and the neighborhood of Cambridge; and the Army possessed themselves of Charlestown Neck. We were exulting in seeing the flight of our enemies, but in an hour or two we had occasion to mourn and lament. Dear was the purchase of our safety! In the evening, the streets were filled with the wounded and the dying; the sight of which, with the lamentations of the women and children over their husbands and fathers, pierced one to the soul. We were now every moment hearing of some officer, or other of our friends and acquaintance, who had fallen in our defence, and in supporting the honor of our country. General Howe had his Aid-de-camp wounded, who is since dead. The Major and three Captains of the Fifty-second were killed, or died of their wounds,—most of the Grenadiers and Light-infantry, and about eighty officers, are killed and wounded. The rebels have occupied a hill about a mile from Charlestown Neck; they are very numerous, and have thrown up intrenchments, and are raising a redoubt on the higher part, whilst the ships and troops cannonade them wherever they can reach them. In the same manner, on the other side of Boston Neck, on the high ground

above Roxbury meeting [house,] the rebels are intrenching and raising a battery. Such is our present situation. In this Army are many of noble family, many very respectable, virtuous, and amiable characters; and it grieves one, that gentlemen, brave British soldiers, should fall by the hands of such despicable wretches as compose the banditti of the country; amongst whom there is not one that has the least pretension to be called a gentleman. They are a most rude, depraved, degenerate race; and it is a mortification to us that they speak English, and can trace themselves from that stock.

Since Adams went to Philadelphia, one Warren, a rascally patriot and apothecary of this Town, has had the lead in the Provincial Congress. This fellow happily was killed in coming out of the trenches the other day, where he had commanded and spirited the people, &c., to defend the lines, which, he assured them, were impregnable. You may judge what the herd must be when such a one is their leader. Here is only justice to say that there are many worthy people in this Province, but that the chief of them are now in Boston, and that amongst the gentlemen of the Council, particularly, are many respectable and worthy characters.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. N. and all friends with you, and remain, with great regard,
Dear Sir, yours,
H. H.

4.—*Extract of a letter from an Officer on board one of the King's Ships at Boston, to his friend in London.*

[From Force's *American Archives*.]

BOSTON, June 23, 1775.

* * * * *

On the evening of the sixteenth, we were informed that the Provincials were erecting a battery on the Heights near Charlestown; and that they intended from thence to bombard the Town of Boston. Early on the seventeenth, we were alarmed with an account that they had been at work upon it all night, and had nearly completed it. We were immediately ordered to land some Battalions; and in the mean time, our great guns were fired against those who appeared to be busily employed at the battery. Whether our shot did not reach far enough to create any confusion among them, or it was owing to their resolution, I cannot say; but certain it is, that the moment they discovered the landing of our Troops, they formed in order of battle, and so far from retreating, as we expected, they marched towards us with the utmost coolness and regularity. Nothing can exceed the panic and apparent dislike of

most of the King's Troops to enter into this engagement; even at the landing, several attempted to run away, and five actually took to their heels in order to join the Americans, but were presently brought back, and two of them were immediately hung up *in terrorem* to the rest. They, for the most part, openly express a dislike to the service in which they are engaged, and nothing but the fear of military punishment prevents their daily deserting. The Generals perceiving the strength and order of the Provincials, ordered a reinforcement to join the troops already landed, but before they came up, the cannonading on both sides began. The Provincials poured down like a torrent, and fought like men who had no care for their persons. They disputed every inch of ground; and their numbers were far superior to ours. The King's troops gave way several times, and it required the utmost efforts of the Generals to rally them. At the beginning of the engagement, many of them absolutely turned their backs, not expecting so hot a fire from the Americans; the latter feigned a retreat, in order, as we suppose, to draw our troops after them, and by that means to cut them in pieces; and we are informed that General Ward had a reserve of four thousand men for that purpose. The King's troops, concluding that the Americans quitted the field through fear, pursued them under that apprehension, but did not proceed far enough to be convinced by that fatal experience which was, as we hear, designed for them, of their mistake. The engagement lasted upwards of four hours, and ended infinitely to our disadvantage. The flower of our Army are killed or wounded. During the engagement, Charlestown was set on fire by the King's troops, in order to stop the progress of the Provincials, who, after their sham retreat, returned to attack them; but I think it was a wanton act of the King's troops, who certainly, after they had joined the main body of our Army, had no occasion to take that method of retarding the return of the Americans, who, upon perceiving that General Ward stood still with his reserve, laid aside their intentions.

Our troops are sickly, and a great number are afflicted with the scurvy, occasioned by the want of fresh provisions. I heartily wish myself with you and the rest of my friends; and the first opportunity that offers I will sell out and return, for at the best only disgrace can arise in the service of such a cause as that in which we are engaged. The Americans are not those poltroons I myself was once taught to believe them to be: they are men of liberal and noble sentiments: their very characteristic is the love of liberty: and though I am an officer under the King of Great Britain, I tacitly admire their resolution and perseverance, against the present oppressive measures of the British Government.

5.—*Extract of a Letter from Doctor Grant, one of the Surgeons of the British Military Hospital in Boston, to a friend in Westminster.*

[From *The Upcott Collection*—New York Historical Society's Library—iv, 312.]

Boston, June 23, 1775.

* * * * *

I have scarce time sufficient to eat my meals, therefore you must expect but a very few lines: I have been up two nights, assisted with four mates, dressing our men of the wounds they received in the last engagement; many of the wounded are daily dying; and many must have both legs amputated. The Provincials had either exhausted their ball, or they were determined that every wound should prove fatal; their muskets were charged with old nails and angular pieces of iron; and from most of our men being wounded in the legs, we are inclined to believe it was their design, not wishing to kill the men, but leave them as burdens on us, to exhaust our provisions and engage our attention, as well as to intimidate the rest of the soldiery.

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6.—*General Gage's Despatch to the Home Government.*

[From *Almon's Remembrancer*, for the year MDCLXXV, 1775-1776.]

WHITEHALL, July 25, 1775.

This morning arrived Capt. Chadds, of his Majesty's ship *Cerberus*, with the following letter from the Honourable Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth. Dated Boston, June 25, 1775.

MY LORD: I am to acquaint your Lordship of an action that happened on the 17th instant between his Majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces.

An alarm was given at break of day on the 17th instant, by a firing from the *Lively* ship of war; and advice was soon afterwards received that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the Heights of the peninsula of Charles-Town, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off, and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the Fifth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, and Fifty-second battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, were embarked with

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great expedition, and landed on the Peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works.

The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The Fifth and Thirty-eighth battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the Forty-third and Fifty-second battalions made a third line. The rebels upon the Heights were perceived to be in great force and strongly posted. A redoubt, thrown up on the 16th at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charles-Town, covered their right flank; and their centre and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystick or Medford river.

This appearance of the rebels strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the Forty-seventh battalion, and the First battalion of marines; the whole, when in conjunction, making a body of something above two thousand men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a sharp cannonade from our field-pieces and howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the Fifth and Fifty-second battalions. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and, notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left, under Brigadier General Pigot, who engaged also with the rebels at Charles Town, which at a critical moment was set on fire, the Brigadier pursued his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strongholds, and pursued till they were drove clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes, since discovered, exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near one hundred were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded, in the field, three of which are since dead.

I inclose your Lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his Majesty's troops.

This action has shewn the superiority of the King's troops, who, under every disadvantage,

attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted, and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of Major General Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example spirited the troops, in which Major General Clinton assisted, who followed the reinforcement. And in justice to Brigadier General Pigot, I am to add, that the success of the day must, in great measure, be attributed to his firmness and gallantry.

Lieutenant Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairne, and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general, was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THO. GAGE.

Return of the Officers, Non-Commission Officers, and Privates, killed and wounded, of his Majesty's Troops, at the attack of the Redoubts and Intrenchments on the Heights of Charles Town, June 17, 1775.

ROYAL REGIMENT, ARTILLERY—Captain Hudson, Captain Lemoin, Lieutenant Shuttleworth, one Serjeant, eight rank and file, *wounded*.

FOURTH FOOT—Captain Balfour, Captain West, Lieutenant Barron, Lieutenant Brown, *wounded*. One Serjeant, thirteen rank and file, *killed*. One Serjeant, one Drummer and fifer, twenty-nine rank and file, *wounded*.

FIFTH FOOT—Captain Harris, * Captain Jackson, Captain Downes, Captain Marsden, Lieutenant M'Clintock, Lieutenant Croker, Ensign Charleton, Ensign Balaguire, *wounded*. Twenty-two rank and file, *killed*. Ten Serjeants, two Drummers and fifers, one hundred and ten rank and file, *wounded*.

TENTH FOOT—Captain Parsons, Captain Fitzgerald, Lieutenant Pettigrew, Lieutenant Verner, Lieutenant Hamilton, Lieutenant Kelly, *wounded*. Two Serjeants, five rank and file, *killed*. One Drummer and fifer, thirty-nine rank and file, *wounded*.

EIGHTEENTH FOOT—Lieutenant Richardson, *wounded*. Three rank and file, *killed*. Seven rank and file, *wounded*.

TWENTY-SECOND FOOT—Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, *wounded*, and *since dead*.

TWENTY-THIRD FOOT—Captain Blakeney, Lieutenant Beckwith, Lieutenant Cochrane, Lieutenant Lenthall, *wounded*. Two Serjeants, one Drummer, eleven rank and file, *killed*. Two Ser-

jeants, one Drummer and fifer, thirty-five rank and file, *wounded*.

THIRTY-FIFTH FOOT—Lieutenant Baird, *killed*. Captain Drew, * Captain Lyon, Lieutenant Massey, Lieutenant Campbell, *wounded*. Eighteen rank and file, *killed*. Three Serjeants, two Drummers, forty-one rank and file, *wounded*.

THIRTY-EIGHTH FOOT—Lieutenant Dutton, *killed*. Captain Coker, Captain Boyd, Lieutenant Christie, Lieutenant House, Lieutenant Myres, Ensign Sergeant, Ensign Sweney, Quarter-Master Mitchell, *wounded*. Two Serjeants, twenty-three rank and file, *killed*. Four Serjeants, one Drummer and fifer, sixty-nine rank and file, *wounded*.

FORTY-THIRD FOOT—Major Spendlove, Captain M'Kenzie, Lieutenant Robinson, Lieutenant Dalrymple, *wounded*. Two Serjeants, twenty rank and file, *killed*. Three Serjeants, two Drummers and fifers, seventy-seven rank and file, *wounded*.

FORTY-SEVENTH FOOT—Major Smelt, Captain Craig, Captain England, Captain Alcock, Lieutenant England, *wounded*. Lieutenant Hilliard, Lieutenant Gould, *wounded*, *since dead*. One Serjeant, fifteen rank and file, *killed*. Three Serjeants, forty-seven rank and file, *wounded*.

FIFTY-SECOND FOOT—Major Williams, *wounded*, *since dead*. Captain Addison, Captain Smith, Captain Davidson, *killed*. Captain Nelson, Lieutenant Higgins, Lieutenant Thompson, Lieutenant Crawford, Ensign Chetwynd, Ensign Grane, *wounded*. One Serjeant, twenty rank and file, *killed*. Seven Serjeants, seventy-three rank and file, *wounded*.

FIFTY-NINTH FOOT.—Lieutenant Haynes, *wounded*. Six rank and file, *killed*. Twenty-five rank and file, *wounded*.

SIXTY-THIRD FOOT—Lieutenant Damrymple, *killed*. Captain Folliot, Captain Stopford, *wounded*. One Serjeant, seven rank and file, *killed*. Two Serjeants, one Drummer, twenty-five rank and file, *wounded*.

SIXTY-FIFTH FOOT—Captain Hudson, *killed*. Major Butler, Captain Sinclair, Lieutenant Paxton, Lieutenant Hales, Lieutenant Smith, *wounded*. One Serjeant, eight rank and file, *killed*. One Serjeant, one Drummer, twenty-five rank and file, *wounded*.

FIRST BATTALION OF MARINES—Major Pitcairn, *wounded*, *since dead*. Captain Ellia, Lieutenant Shea, Lieutenant Finnie, *killed*. Captain Averte, Captain Chudleigh, Captain Johnston, Lieutenant Ragg, *wounded*. Two Serjeants, fifteen rank and file, *killed*. Two Serjeants, fifty five rank and file, *wounded*.

SECOND BATTALION OF MARINES—Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Gardiner, *killed*. Captain Logan, Lieutenant Dyer, Lieutenant Brisbane, *wounded*. Five rank and file, *killed*. One Serjeant, twenty-nine rank and file, *wounded*.

* Subsequently Lord Harris, the celebrated captor of Mysore and Seringapatam, in the East Indies.

An interesting letter from him to his cousin, written immediately after the battle, will be found in this series of "Illustrative Documents." (No. 14, post.)

* Author of *The Case of Edward Drowe*, referred to on page 346, ante.

fired from the *Lively*, man-of-war, stationed at Charlestown Ferry. This firing was occasioned by their seeing a great number of the rebels at work, raising a redoubt on that Height, at the back of Charlestown, nearest to Boston, known by the name of Bunker's Hill, which they had begun the night before, and by the help of fascines, gabions, and other such materials, and by a great number of hands, they had got almost completed. This firing from the *Lively* was almost immediately put a stop to by the Admiral. In the mean time, the General ordered three pieces of brass cannon, (twenty-four pounders,) to be mounted on a battery that had been raised on Copp's Hill, at the North end, where he also sent some howitzers, and a large quantity of ammunition of all kinds.

At nine in the morning, this battery opened, and continued to annoy the rebels all the forenoon, as did also the *Glasgow*, man-of-war, who lay off the point at New-Boston. At twelve o'clock, the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, with the Fifth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, and Fifty-second Regiments, embarked on board the transport boats, at the Long Wharf and at the North battery; and about half past one, landed on Charlestown Point, at the entrance of Mistick River, covered by a heavy fire from the *Lively*, and another man-of-war stationed off the North battery, a large aloop and two floating batteries at Charlestown Ferry, the battery from Copp's Hill, a transport mounting twenty guns, lying a little higher up, and the *Glasgow* man-of-war. They effected their landing without any loss; and, after resting the men a few minutes, marched on to dislodge the rebels from some posts they had taken on the back of the hill.

In half an hour after, the Forty-seventh Regiment, part of the Thirty-fifth, and a Battalion of Marines, followed, and landed at the place where there formerly was a battery, in Charlestown.

At their landing, the Town of Charlestown was set on fire by carcasses thrown from Copp's Hill battery; and the troops marched on, commanded by Generals Howe and Clinton.

About three quarters past three, an excessively hot fire commenced on the back of the hill, to dislodge a large body of the rebels that had posted themselves behind some fences, which they had made ball proof by bushes, hay, earth, &c. This fire lasted about fifty minutes. As soon as they had dislodged this body, one party of our men came up on one side, and another on the other side, of the redoubt, and stormed and carried it in a few minutes. From this they pursued the rebels to the hill beyond; and having drove them from that, forced them over Charlestown Neck. All this they accomplished in about four hours, having entire possession of the Neck by six o'clock.

The whole body of troops engaged was about fourteen hundred.

In the redoubt, the rebels had sixteen hundred men; and behind it and the fences, which they had fortified from that to the water, about five thousand, besides some thousands more stationed on the hill, behind, all of whom the troops forced to fly over the Neck.

The loss on both sides is supposed to be nearly equal; nor can we wonder it should be so, when we consider that this handful of fourteen hundred men forced a redoubt defended by sixteen hundred, who, had they behaved with any tolerable degree of courage and had but a small portion of military skill, they might have defended against three times their number. Our officers have suffered much, no less than eighty-six being killed and wounded. Among the killed of the rebels is Doctor Warren, who commanded at the redoubt. The troops are now busy in fortifying the hill that commands Charlestown Neck; and the rebels are fortifying a hill about half way between that and Cambridge, from which I expect to find them dislodged in a few days.

We hear nothing from the country, as this has put an entire stop to the little communication we had before.

Had this post not been taken, it was the intention of the rebels to have set fire to Boston that night; instead of which the whole town of Charlestown is in ruins; their leader and orator (Doctor Warren) is slain; and they must now be convinced that British Troops are capable of driving them from their strongest holds, though opposed by vast superiority of numbers.

* * * * *

10.—*Extract of a letter from an Officer of the Army, in Boston, to his friend in England.*

[From *Forre's American Archives*, IV, II, 1092, 1093.]

BOSTON, June 25, 1775.

* * * * *

When I left England, the service on which I am now come was even at that time irksome and disagreeable, but now it is doubly so. The cause in which we are concerned is entirely obliterated; our disputes, as from man to man, are of a private nature. The people of the country have, by various methods, exasperated and enraged us; and to free ourselves from a situation so disagreeable and confined, there is not anything we would not attempt. I confess, upon the grand basis of this business, we all unanimously acquit the Colonists, and every hour of the day pray Lord North to head us. After the skirmish of the seventeenth, we even commended the troops of Putnam, who fought so gallantly, *pro aris et focis*. When we marched to the attack of their redoubt, they called

one jot of military sentiment) had, in concert with General Gage, formed the plan. Howe was to land the transports on the Point; Clinton in the centre; and I was to cannonade from the Causeway or the Neck: each to take advantage of circumstances. The operations must have been very easy; this was to have been executed on the 18th. On the 17th, at dawn of day, we found the enemy had pushed intrenchments with great diligence during the night, on the Heights of Charlestown; and we evidently saw that every hour gave them fresh strength; it therefore became necessary to alter our plan, and attack on that side. Howe, as second in command, was detached with about two thousand men, and landed on the outward side of the peninsula, covered with shipping, without opposition; he was to advance from thence up the hill which was over Charlestown, where the strength of the enemy lay; he had under him Brigadier-general Pigot. Clinton and myself took our stand (for we had not any fixed post) in a large battery directly opposite to Charlestown, and commanded it, and also reaching the Heights above it, and thereby facilitating Howe's attack. Howe's disposition was exceeding soldier-like: in my opinion it was perfect. As his first arm advanced up the hill, they met with a thousand impediments from strong fences, and were much exposed. They were also exceedingly hurt by musketry from Charlestown, though Clinton and I did not perceive it until Howe sent us word by a boat, and desired us to set fire to the Town, which was immediately done: we threw a parcel of shells, and the whole was instantly in flames; our battery afterwards kept an incessant fire on the Heights; it was seconded by a number of frigates, floating batteries, and one ship-of-the-line. And now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived: if we look to the Height, Howe's corps ascending the hill in the face of intrenchments, and in a very disadvantageous ground, was much engaged; to the left, the enemy pouring in fresh troops by thousands, over the land; and in the arm of the sea our ships and floating batteries cannonading them; straight before us a large and noble Town in one great blaze—the church-steeple, being timber, were great pyramids of fire above the rest; behind us, the church-steeple and heights of our own camp covered with spectators of the rest of our Army which was engaged; the hills round the country covered with spectators; the enemy all in anxious suspense; the roar of cannon, mortars, and musketry; the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together, to fill the ear; the storm of the doubts, with the objects above described, to fill the eye; and the reflection that, perhaps, a defeat was a final loss to the British Empire in

America, to fill the mind; made the whole a picture and a complication of horror and importance beyond any thing that ever came to my lot to be witness to. I much lament Tom's^a absence; it was a sight for a young soldier that the longest service may not furnish again; and had he been with me he would likewise have been out of danger; for, except two cannonballs that went a hundred yards over our heads, we were not in any part of the direction of the enemy's shot. A moment of the day was critical: Howe's left were staggered; two Battalions had been sent to reinforce them, but we perceived them on the beach seeming in embarrassment what way to march. Clinton then, next for business, took the part without waiting for orders, to throw himself into a boat to head them; he arrived in time to be of service; the day ended with glory; and the success was most important, considering the ascendancy it gave the Regular troops; but the loss was uncommon in officers for the numbers engaged. Howe was untouched, but his Aid-de-camp, Sherwin, was killed; Jordan, a friend of Howe's, who came *engage le de cœur*, to see the campaign (a shipmate of ours, on board the *Corberus*, and who acted as Aid-de-camp,) is badly wounded. Pigot was unhurt, but he behaved like a hero. You will see the list of the loss. Poor Colonel Abercrombie, who commanded the Grenadiers, died yesterday of his wounds. Captain Addison, our poor old friend, who arrived but the day before, and was to have dined with me on the day of the action, was also killed; his son was upon the field at the same time. Major Mitchell is but very slightly hurt: he is out already. Young Chetwynd's wound is also slight. Lord Percy's Regiment has suffered the most and behaved the best; his Lordship himself was not in the action. Lord Rawdon behaved to a charm: his name is established for life.

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9.—*Extract of a letter from Boston to a Gentleman in Scotland.*

(From Force's *American Archives*, IV. ii, 1098, 1094.)

BOSTON, June 25, 1775.

* * * * *

About a week ago the remainder of the fleet from Ireland arrived here with the Thirty-fifth, Forty-ninth, and Sixty-third Regiments of Foot, and Seventeenth of Light Dragoons, all of whom, except part of the Forty-ninth, were landed.

At daylight, on Saturday morning, the seventeenth instant, I was awakened by some cannon

^a His nephew, Hon. Thomas Stanley (brother of Lord Stanley, who had gone a volunteer to Boston.

fired from the *Lively*, man-of-war, stationed at Charlestown Ferry. This firing was occasioned by their seeing a great number of the rebels at work, raising a redoubt on that Height, at the back of Charlestown, nearest to Boston, known by the name of Bunker's Hill, which they had begun the night before, and by the help of fascines, gabions, and other such materials, and by a great number of hands, they had got almost completed. This firing from the *Lively* was almost immediately put a stop to by the Admiral. In the mean time, the General ordered three pieces of brass cannon, (twenty-four pounders,) to be mounted on a battery that had been raised on Copp's Hill, at the North end, where he also sent some howitzers, and a large quantity of ammunition of all kinds.

At nine in the morning, this battery opened, and continued to annoy the rebels all the forenoon, as did also the *Glasgow*, man-of-war, who lay off the point at New-Boston. At twelve o'clock, the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, with the Fifth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, and Fifty-second Regiments, embarked on board the transport boats, at the Long Wharf and at the North battery; and about half past one, landed on Charlestown Point, at the entrance of Mistick River, covered by a heavy fire from the *Lively*, and another man-of-war stationed off the North battery, a large sloop and two floating batteries at Charlestown Ferry, the battery from Copp's Hill, a transport mounting twenty guns, lying a little higher up, and the *Glasgow* man-of-war. They effected their landing without any loss; and, after resting the men a few minutes, marched on to dislodge the rebels from some posts they had taken on the back of the hill.

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At their landing, the Town of Charlestown was set on fire by carcasses thrown from Copp's Hill battery; and the troops marched on, commanded by Generals Howe and Clinton.

About three quarters past three, an excessively hot fire commenced on the back of the hill, to dislodge a large body of the rebels that had posted themselves behind some fences, which they had made ball proof by bushes, hay, earth, &c. This fire lasted about fifty minutes. As soon as they had dislodged this body, one party of our men came up on one side, and another on the other side, of the redoubt, and stormed and carried it in a few minutes. From this they pursued the rebels to the hill beyond; and having drove them from that, forced them over Charlestown Neck. All this they accomplished in about four hours, having entire possession of the Neck by six o'clock.

The whole body of troops engaged was about fourteen hundred.

In the redoubt, the rebels had sixteen hundred men; and behind it and the fences, which they had fortified from that to the water, about five thousand, besides some thousands more stationed on the hill, behind, all of whom the troops forced to fly over the Neck.

The loss on both sides is supposed to be nearly equal; nor can we wonder it should be so, when we consider that this handful of fourteen hundred men forced a redoubt defended by sixteen hundred, who, had they behaved with any tolerable degree of courage and had but a small portion of military skill, they might have defended against three times their number. Our officers have suffered much, no less than eighty-six being killed and wounded. Among the killed of the rebels is Doctor Warren, who commanded at the redoubt. The troops are now busy in fortifying the hill that commands Charlestown Neck; and the rebels are fortifying a hill about half way between that and Cambridge, from which I expect to find them dislodged in a few days.

We hear nothing from the country, as this has put an entire stop to the little communication we had before.

Had this post not been taken, it was the intention of the rebels to have set fire to Boston that night; instead of which the whole town of Charlestown is in ruins; their leader and orator (Doctor Warren) is slain; and they must now be convinced that British Troops are capable of driving them from their strongest holds, though opposed by vast superiority of numbers.

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10.—*Extract of a letter from an Officer of the Army, in Boston, to his friend in England.*

[From Force's *American Archives*, IV, II, 1092, 1093.]

BOSTON, June 25, 1775.

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out, "Colonel Abercrombie, are the Yankees cowards?" nor did they discharge a gun until we were within fifteen yards. The fire on our left wing was so hot that our troops broke; but the Grenadiers, with uncommon fury, attacked the trenches, and forced them, when our soldiers rallied again. We kept possession of the intrenchments till next morning, when we marched into Boston; a sad remains of those glorious fellows who were led into the field. General Howe was three times in the field left by himself, so numerous were the killed and wounded about him; and, alas! I grieve to tell you, that I fear nine out of ten of these gallant fellows will die of their wounds. The loss of the Provincial troops is trifling in comparison to ours; and, indeed, another such onset will be our ruin. A universal murmur now runs through the Army, which ever most disagreeably invades the General's ears. An Irish officer humorously said on the occasion, that indeed we had gained but a loss. In short, all you have yet sent by way of troops to this Continent are but a mouthful. If you send more to add to us, we may make them a dinner; and you may continue to supply them with a supper, and then it will be a good night. Indeed, we may say with Falstaff, with great propriety, that "they make us here but food for gunpowder." I wish all these domestic animosities were settled, and also our private ones; but even in our promotions, glaring and unjust partialities prevail. So very secretly was the late action conducted, that Generals Clinton and Burgoyne knew not of it till the morning, though the Town did in general, and Putnam in particular. This man served under Prussia, and does honor to his master: he is sixty-three, and brave to the back bone. I hope better times, but these are really sad ones. Adieu.

* * * *

11.—*Extract of a letter from Captain Harris of the Fifth Regiment of Foot.*

[From *Lushington's Life of Lord Harris*, 64-66.]

BOSTON, July 25, 1775.

* * * *

We had made a breach in their fortifications, which I had twice mounted, encouraging the men to follow me, and was ascending a third time, when a ball grazed the top of my head, and I fell, deprived of sense and motion. My Lieutenant, Lord Rawdon, caught me in his arms, and, believing me dead, endeavoured to remove me from the spot, to save my body from being trampled on. The motion, while it hurt me, restored my senses, and I articulated, "For God's sake, let me die in peace."

The hope of preserving my life induced Lord Rawdon to order four soldiers to take me up,

and carry me to a place of safety. Three of them were wounded while performing this office, (one afterwards died of his wounds,) but they succeeded in placing me under some trees out of the reach of the balls. A retreat having been sounded, poor Holmes* was running about, like a madman in search of me, and luckily came to the place where I lay just in time to prevent my being left behind; for when they brought me to the water's edge, the last boat was put off, the men calling out they "would take no more." On Holmes hallooing out, "It is Captain Harris," they put back, and took me in. I was very weak and faint, and seized with a severe shivering; our blankets had been flung away during the engagement; luckily there was one belonging to a man in the boat, in which wrapping me up, and laying me in the bottom, they conveyed me safely to my Quarters.

The surgeons did not at first apprehend danger from the contusion, notwithstanding the extreme pain I felt, which increased very much if I attempted to lie down. A worthy woman, seeing this, lent me an easy chair, but this being full of bugs, only added to my sufferings. My agonies increasing, and the Surgeons observing symptoms of matter forming (which, had it fallen on the brain, must have produced instant death, or at least distraction,) performed the operation of trepanning, from which time the pain abated, and I began to recover; but before the callous was formed, they indulged me with the gratification of a singular curiosity—fixing looking-glasses so as to give me a sight of my own brain. The heat of the weather and the scarcity of fresh provisions added greatly to the sufferings of the wounded. As patience was the only remedy for the former, I trusted to it for relief; and for the latter, the attention of the Surgeon, and a truly benevolent family in Boston, who supplied me with mutton-broth, when no money could purchase it, was a blessing for which I can never be sufficiently thankful.

* * * *

12.—*Extract from General Gage's letter to the Earl of Dunmore.*

[From *Force's American Archives*, IV, ii, 1107.]

BOSTON, June 26, 1775.

* * * *

This Town was alarmed on the seventeenth instant, at break of day, by a firing from the *Lively*, ship-of-war; and a report immediately spread that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the Heights of the peninsula of Charlestown, against the Town of Boston.

They were plainly seen, and, in a few hours, a

* The name of Captain Harris's servant.

battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men; and some Companies of Grenadiers and Light-infantry, with some Battalions and field artillery, amounting in the whole to two thousand men, under the command of Major-general Howe and Brigadier-general Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninsula, without opposition, under cover of some ships-of-war and armed vessels.

The troops formed as soon as landed. The rebels upon the Heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt, thrown up on the sixteenth, at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses of Charlestown, covered their right; and their left was covered by a breastwork, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mistick River.

Besides the appearance of the rebels' strength, large columns were seen pouring in to their assistance; but the King's troops advanced. The attack began by a cannonade; and notwithstanding various impediments of fences, walls, etc., and the heavy fire they were exposed to from the vast numbers of rebels, and their left galled from the houses of Charlestown, the troops made their way to the redoubt, mounted the works, and carried it.

The rebels were then forced from other strong-holds, and pursued until they were entirely driven off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them. Charlestown was set on fire during the engagement, and most part of it consumed. The loss they sustained must have been considerable, from the vast numbers they were seen to carry off during the action, exclusive of what they suffered from the shipping. About one hundred were buried the day after, and thirty found on the field, some of whom are since dead. About one hundred and ninety of the King's Troops were killed, and a great many wounded.

This action has shown the bravery of the King's troops, who, under every disadvantage, gained a complete victory over three times their number, strongly posted, and covered by breastworks. But they fought for their King, their Laws, and Constitution.

* * * * *

13.—*Extract from a Letter of an officer in Boston.*

[From *The Detail and Conduct of the American War.*]

BOSTON, July 5, 1775.

* * * * *

On the seventeenth of June, at day break, we saw the rebels at work throwing up intrenchments on Bunker's-hill; by mid-day they had completed a redoubt of earth, on the height, about thirty yards square; and from the left

of that, a line of about half a mile in length, down to Mystic river: of this line, one hundred yards next the redoubt were also earth, about five feet high; all the rest, down to the water, consisted of two rows of fence rails, the interval filled with bushes, hay, and grass, which they found on the spot.

Early in the afternoon, from a battery in the corner of the redoubt, they fired seven or eight shot into the North end of the Town; one shot went through an old house, another through a fence, and the rest stuck in the face of Cobb's [Copp's] hill.

At this time, their lines were attacked by Major-general Howe, at the head of one thousand six hundred men, composed of twenty Companies of Grenadiers and Light-infantry, forty men each, with the Fifth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, and Fifty-second Regiments. General Howe commanded on the right wing, with the Light-infantry and Grenadiers; Brigadier-general Pigot on the left: while Pigot attacked the redoubt, Howe was to force the grass fence, gain the rebels' left flank and rear, and surround the redoubt.

Our troops advanced with great confidence, expecting an easy victory. As they were marching up to attack, our artillery stopped firing. The General on enquiring the reason, was told they had got twelve pound balls for six pounders, but that they had grape shot. At this he ordered them forward and to fire grape. As we approached, an incessant stream of fire poured from the rebel lines: it seemed a continued sheet of fire for near thirty minutes. Our Light-infantry were served up in Companies against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate—indeed, how could we penetrate? Most of our Grenadiers and Light-infantry, the moment of presenting themselves lost three-fourths, and many nine-tenths, of their men. Some had only eight and nine men a Company left; some only three, four, and five. On the left, Pigot was staggered and actually retreated. Observe, our men were not driven back; they actually retreated by orders. Great pains have been taken to huddle up this matter; however, they almost instantly came on again and mounted the redoubt. The rebels then ran, without firing another shot; and our men who first mounted gave them a fire or two on their backs. At this time, Warren, the rebel Commander, fell; he was a physician; little more than thirty years of age. He died in his best cloaths: every body remembers his fine silk-fringed waistcoat. The right flank of the rebel lines being now gained, and not the left as was intended, their whole body run along the Neck, to Cambridge. No pursuit was made.

We have lost one thousand men, killed and

wounded. We burned Charlestown during the engagement, as the rebels from it exceedingly galled our left. Major Pitcairn was killed from it. So great a confidence in ourselves, which is always dangerous, occasioned this dreadful loss. "Let us take the bull by the horns," was the phrase of some great men among us, as we marched on. We went to battle without even reconnoitring the position of the enemy. Had we only wanted to drive them from their ground, without the loss of a man, the *Cymetry*, transport, which drew little water and mounted eighteen nine-pounders, could have been towed up Mystic channel, and brought to within musket-shot of their left flank, which was quite naked; and she could have lain, water-borne, at the lowest ebb tide; or, one of our covered boats, musket-proof, carrying a heavy piece of cannon, might have been rowed close in, and one charge on their uncovered flank would have dislodged them in a second.

Had we intended to have taken the whole rebel army prisoners, we needed only have landed in their rear and occupied the high ground above Bunker's-hill. By this movement we shut them up in the peninsula as in a bag, with their rear exposed to the fire of our cannon, and, if we pleased, our musquetry: in short, they must have surrendered instantly or been blown to pieces.

But from an absurd and destructive confidence, carelessness, or ignorance, we have lost a thousand of our best men and officers, and have given the rebels great matter of triumph, by showing them what mischief they can do us. They were not followed, though Clinton proposed it. Their deserters since tell us, that not a man would have remained at Cambridge, had but a single Regiment been seen coming along the Neck.

Had we seen and rejected all the advantages I have mentioned above, even our manner of attacking in front was ruinous. In advancing, not a shot should have been fired, as it retarded the troops, whose movement should have been as rapid as possible. They should not have been brought up in line, but in columns, with Light-infantry in the intervals, to keep up a smart fire against the top of the breastwork. If this had been done, their works would have been carried in three minutes, with not a tenth part of our present loss.

We should have been forced to retire, if General Clinton had not come up with a reinforcement of five or six hundred men. This re-established the left, under Pigot, and saved our honor. The wretched blunder of the oversized balls sprung from the dotage of an officer of rank in that Corps, who spends his whole

time in dallying with the schoolmaster's daughters. God knows he is old enough—he is no Sampson—yet he must have his Delilah.

Another circumstance equally true and astonishing is, that General Gage had undoubted intelligence early in May, that the rebels intended to possess Bunker's-hill; yet no step was taken to secure that important post, though it commanded all the North part of the Town. He likewise had an exact return of the Corps that composed the Rebel army then investing the Town; of every piece of cannon they possessed; of their intended lines of blockade; and of the numbers expected and on their march from the other Provinces.

We are all wrong at the head. My mind cannot help dwelling upon our cursed mistakes. Such ill conduct at the first out-set argues a gross ignorance of the most common rules of the profession, and gives us, for the future, anxious forebodings. I have lost some of those I most valued. This madness or ignorance nothing can excuse. The brave men's lives were wantonly thrown away. Our conductor as much murdered them as if he had cut their throats himself, on Boston Common. Had he fallen, ought we to have regretted him?

14.—*The Thirty-fifth, Royal Sussex, Infantry.*

(From *The Case of Edward Drewe, late Major of the Thirty-fifth Regiment of Foot*. By Lieutenant J. G. Simcoe. Exeter: 1782.)

On the seventeenth of this month [June] the first act of civil commotion commenced. The ship I was in was at sea, but at a distance we heard the sound of cannon, and at midnight saw two distinct columns of fire ascending. In this horrid state, well knowing we were the last of the fleet, ignorant whether Boston or some hostile town was in flames, were we kept for two days. When we anchored we saw Charlestown burnt to ashes, and found our army had been engaged; that our troops were victorious, but that the victory was ruinous to our best soldiers, and particularly so to our officers, ninety-two of whom were killed and wounded. The loss fell heavy on the flank Companies of our Regiment. Drewe commanded the Light-infantry; exerting himself, at the head of that fine Company, he received three shots through him, one in the shoulder, one in the beard of the thigh, the other through his foot. He also received two contusions, and his shoulder was dislocated. Massey is shot through the thigh, but says it is as well to be merry as sad. Poor Bard was the third officer of the Company; he was killed, speaking to Drewe. His dying words were, "I wish success to the Thirty-fifth; only say, 'I behaved as became a soldier.'" The Ser-

geants and Corporals of this heroic Company were wounded, when the eldest soldier led the *remaining five* in pursuit of the routed rebels. The Grenadiers equalled their brethren, and, I fear, were as unfortunate. The brave and noble-spirited Captain Lyon is dangerously wounded; and to aggravate the misfortune, his wife, now with child, a most amiable woman, is attending on him. Both his Lieutenants were wounded. The loss we have sustained in the most warm and desperate action America ever knew, draws tears from every eye interested for brave and unfortunate spirits. Had I time to enumerate to you the many instances which the soldiers of our Companies, alone, afforded the most generous exertions of love, fidelity, and veneration for their officers, and of the glowing, yet temperate resolutions of these officers, your tears would be those of triumph, and you would confess that in war alone human nature is capable of the most Godlike exertions. I think you will believe me abstracted from friendship when I say that I never heard of more courage and coolness than Drewe displayed on that day; and his spirits are *even now* superior to any thing you can conceive.

State of the Light Company of the Thirty-fifth.

BOSTON CAMP, June 30, 1775.

In the field June 17.—1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Volunteer, 2 Sergeants, 1 Corporal, 1 Drummer, 80 Privates. Total 38.

Killed.—Lieutenant Bard, John Baxter, Alexander Douglas, Edward Driver, William Jones, Joseph Nicholls, Edward Odiam, David Sharp, Samuel Smallwood, John Size. Total 10.

Wounded.—Captain Drewe, Lieutenant Massey, Volunteer Madden died of his wounds, Sergeants Knowles and Poulton, Corporal Nodder, Drummer Russ, Thomas Adams died of wounds, Richard Binch died of wounds; Peter Collier, Abraham Dukes, Richard Edny died of wounds, Timothy Henry, William James, Joseph Lucas, William Langdale died of wounds, James Morgan, Thomas Payne, Daniel Parnell, James Preddy, John Poebuck, Henry Rollett, John Rumble, Robert Tomlin, Henry Townshend. Total 25.

Escaped unbounded.—Ralph Becket, John Henly, William Leary. Total 3.

II.—BY AMERICAN WRITERS. 1

1.—*Letter from Reverend Andrew Eliot, Pastor of the New North Church in Boston, to Reverend Isaac Smith, of Boston, then in London.*

[From *Emmons's Sketches of Bunker-Hill Battle*, 151-154.]

Boston, June 19, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR: According to your desire,

I write without ceremony, to acquaint you with the state of things in Boston. You left us shut up, and the people removing from the place as fast as they were permitted. I am told that more than *nine* thousand are removed; many more were preparing to follow, but passes have been stopped for some time, so that thousands are detained who desire to go, among whom I am one. I tarried purely out of regard to the inhabitants who were left, that they might not be without ordinances and worship in the way which they choose. It is now, perhaps, too late to think of removing, as all communication is at present stopped.

The last Saturday gave us a dreadful specimen of the horrors of civil war. Early on Saturday morning, we were alarmed by the firing of cannon from the fort which is erected on Copp's-hill and from the ships which lie in Charles-river. Upon inquiry, it was found that the Provincials had been forming lines on a hill below the hill in Charlestown, commonly called Bunker's-hill. This intrenchment was calculated extremely well to annoy Boston, and the ships in the harbor. About one o'clock, a large body of British Troops set off from Boston to attack these lines. About three o'clock, the engagement began, and lasted perhaps an hour. Great part of the time the firing seemed incessant. It seems the troops stormed the lines, and, after a warm opposition, carried them. Perhaps there has seldom been a more desperate action. As the Provincials were up to the chin intrenched, they made a great slaughter of the King's Troops before they (the Provincials) retreated. How many were killed on each side, it is impossible for me to say. It is generally agreed that eighty or ninety officers were killed or wounded on the side of the Regulars. It was a new and awful spectacle to us to have men carried through the streets, groaning, bleeding, and dying. Some of the best officers are taken off, and some hundreds of the privates. The attack was commenced by General Howe. How the Provincials have suffered, is not yet known; nor, indeed, shall I pretend to give a particular account of this terrible scene. You must take this from the prints. Dr. Warren is among the slain. It is said he had the chief direction of the defence; if this is true, it seems to me he was out of his line.

Since this action, the King's Troops have taken possession of Bunker's-hill, and fortified it strongly. On the other side, the Provincials are intrenching themselves on the hill back of the road in Charlestown, just beyond the two mile stone.

Amidst the carnage of Saturday, the town of Charlestown was set on fire; and I suppose every dwelling-house and every public building is

consumed, till you have passed the passage to the mills, and are come to the houses where Woods, the Baker, dwelt. You may easily judge what distress we were in to see and hear Englishmen destroying one another, and a Town with which we have been so intimately connected, all in flames. We are left in anxious expectation of the event. God grant the blood already spilt may suffice,—but this we cannot reasonably expect. May we be prepared for every event.

It is talked that a further attack will be made on the Provincials, but I cannot pretend to guess what will be the motion on either side, though every one I meet seems to be as able to tell as if they were admitted into the Council of War.

* * * * *

I forgot to mention that a few days before the action, the Governor issued a Proclamation, offering pardon to all that would lay down their arms except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and at the same time putting us under Martial Law. It would be a great comfort to me if I could leave the Town, but I submit to what God is pleased to order.

* * * * *

I write in great haste and perturbation of mind. You will, therefore, excuse every impropriety, and will not wonder I do not write more in this very critical day. But, however Providence may dispose of me, that you may enjoy every blessing you can yourself desire, is the earnest prayer of your sincere friend and humble servant.

ANDREW ELIOT.

P. S. June 22.—Things have been pretty quiet since the above. We have no communication with those on the other side of the water, but can perceive they are fortifying at Chelsea, Malden, Winter-hill, the hills in Roxbury, Dorchester, and where not? Every inch of ground will be disputed. Can no way be found to accommodate these unhappy differences? The God of heaven preserve us!—it is an inexhaustible source of comfort that the government of the world is just where it is. A. E.

2.—Mr. Bradford's Letter to Colonel Lincoln.

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*; or, the *Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 115, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.]

The following is a copy of a letter from a person of credit, and is thought by many judicious persons to contain accounts not far from the truth.

HINGHAM, June 19.

"Yesterday I came out of Boston, at 2 o'clock, P.M. I heard the officers and soldiers say, that 'they were sure they had a thousand or more

"killed and wounded; that they were carrying the wounded men from 4 o'clock on Saturday until I came away. General Howe commanded the troops. They buried their dead at Charlestown. Among the dead was Major Pitcairn. A great many other officers are dead. There were 5,000 soldiers went from Boston. The officers and soldiers exult very much upon taking our lines.

"J. B."*

3.—Editorial from Mr. Edes's Boston Gazette.

[From *The New-York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, No. 1287, New York, Monday, June 26, 1775.]

W A T E R T O W N, June 19.

Friday Night last a Number of the Provincials intrenched on Bunker-Hill in Charlestown; and on Saturday about Noon a large Number of Regulars from Boston came across Charles's River, and landed a little below the Battery near the Point, when a bloody Battle commenced (many being killed and wounded on both sides). The very heavy Fire from the Shipping, the Battery on Cop's-Hill, Boston, together with the Train of the Enemy, obliged the Provincials to retreat a little this Side Charlestown Neck about Sunset, when the Enemy took Possession of our Entrenchment; after which they set the Town of Charlestown on Fire, beginning with the Meeting-House, and we hear they have not left one Building unconsumed. The Engagement continues at this Publication, 9 o'Clock, with Intermissions. The Confusion of the Times render it impracticable to give a particular Account of what has already occur'd, but hope to give a good one in our next. The Provincials are in high spirits.

4.—Colonel John Stark's Letter to the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire.

[From the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, II, 144, 145.]

MEDFORD, June 19, 1775.

SIR: I embrace this opportunity by Colonel Holland, to give you some particular information of an engagement in battle, which happened on the seventeenth instant, between the British troops and the Americans. On the sixteenth, at evening, a detachment of the Massachusetts forces marched, by the General's order, to make an intrenchment on a hill in Charlestown, called Charlestown Hill, near Boston, where they intrenched that night, without interruption, but were attacked on the

* This letter was written by a Mr. Bradford to Colonel Lincoln (*General Folsom to the New Hampshire Committee*, post, 314.)

† This paragraph appeared, also in *Rivington's New-York Gazette*, of the twenty-ninth of June. Ed. Hist. Mag.

seventeenth, in the morning, by the shipping in Charlestown River and batteries in Boston, very warmly; upon which I was required by the General to send a party, consisting of two hundred men, with officers, to their assistance; which order I readily obeyed, and appointed and sent Colonel Wyman commander of the same: and about two o'clock in the afternoon, express orders came for the whole of my Regiment to proceed to Charlestown, to oppose the enemy who were landing on Charlestown Point. Accordingly, we proceeded, and the battle soon came on, in which a number of officers belonging to my Regiment were killed, and many privates killed and wounded.

The officers who suffered were, Major M'Clary, by a cannon-ball; Captain Baldwin and Lieutenant Scott, by small-arms.

The whole number, including officers, who were killed and missing..... 15

Those who were wounded..... 45

Killed, wounded, and missing..... 60

By Colonel Reid's desire, I transmit the account of the sufferers in his Regiment who were in battle:

Killed..... 3

Wounded..... 29

Missing..... 1

In both regiments are..... 98

But we remain in good spirits as yet, being well satisfied that where we have lost one, they have lost three. I would take it as a favour, if the Committee of Safety would immediately recommend to the several Towns and Parishes in the Province of New-Hampshire, the necessity of their stopping and sending back all the soldiers, (belonging to the New-Hampshire forces, stationed at Medford) that they may find from the Army, not having a furlough from the commanding officer.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Yours and the Country's,

To serve in the common cause.

JOHN STARK.

To the Hon. MATTHEW THORNTON, Esq.,
at Exeter.

5.—*Massachusetts Provincial Congress to the Continental Congress.*

[From *The Journal of the Third Provincial Congress*, June 20, 1775—Ed. 1883, pages 345, 346.]

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

WATERTOWN, June 20, 1775.

TO THE HONORABLE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,
now sitting at Philadelphia.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS:

Having been favored with your Resolve respect-

ing the assumption of Government in this Colony, we seize the earliest opportunity to express our grateful sentiments for that compassion, seasonable exertion, and abundant wisdom, evidenced in your recommendation to this people on that head, and for the generous provision you have made for our support, in our efforts for the defence of the common liberty and essential rights of the whole Continent. As we are plunged into the accumulated distresses of a domestic war, our constant attention to the calls of our brethren in the field will leave us but little time to contemplate the acts of ordinary legislation; but, as we are impressed with the indispensable necessity of rescuing this people from the danger they are in of falling into a state of anarchy, and that our public resolutions may be taken and executed with greater despatch, we shall apply ourselves, with all diligence, to fulfil your benevolent intentions, and establish the form of government recommended by your honors; that so, order and government may be restored to this disturbed community.

We think it our indispensable duty to inform you, that reinforcements from Ireland, both of horse and foot, being arrived, the number unknown, and having good intelligence that General Gage was about to take possession of the advantageous posts in Charlestown and on Dorchester-point, the Committee of Safety advised that our troops should prepossess them, if possible; accordingly, on Friday evening, the 16th instant, this was effected by about twelve hundred men. About daylight, on Saturday morning, their line of circumvallation, on a small hill South of Bunker's-hill, in Charlestown, was closed. At this time, the *Lively*, man-of-war, began to fire upon them. A number of our enemies' ships, tenders, cutters, and scows, or floating batteries, soon came up; from all which the fire was general by twelve o'clock. About two, the enemy began to land at a point which leads out towards Noddle's-island, and immediately marched up to our intrenchments, from which they were twice repulsed; but, in the third attack, forced them. Our forces, which were in the lines, as well as those sent for their support, were greatly annoyed on every side, by balls, and bombs, from Copp's hill, the ships, scows, &c. At this time, the buildings in Charlestown appeared in flames, in almost every quarter, kindled by hot balls, and are since laid in ashes. Though this scene was most horrible, and altogether new to most of our men, yet many stood and received wounds by swords and bayonets, before they quitted their lines. At five o'clock, the enemy were in full possession of all the posts within the [isthmus.] In the evening and night following, General Ward extended his intrenchments, before made at the stone house, over Winter-hill. About six o'clock, P. M., of

the same day, the enemy began to cannonade Roxbury, from Boston-neck and elsewhere, which they continued twenty-four hours, with little spirit and less effect.

The number of killed and missing on our side is not known; but supposed by some to be sixty or seventy, and by some, considerably above that number. Our most worthy friend and President, Doctor Warren, lately elected a Major-general, is among them. This loss we feel most sensibly. Lieutenant-colonel Parker, and Major Moore, of this Colony, and Major McClary, from New Hampshire, are also dead. Three Colonels, and perhaps one hundred men, are wounded. The loss of the enemy is doubtless great. By an anonymous letter from Boston, we are told that they exult much in having gained the ground, though their killed and wounded amount to about one thousand; but this account exceeds every other estimation. The number they had engaged is supposed to be between three and four thousand. If any error has been made on our side, it was in taking a post so much exposed.

As soon as an estimate can be made of public and private stocks of gunpowder in this Colony, it shall be transmitted without delay; which, we are well assured, will be very small, and by no means adequate to the exigencies of our case.

We apprehend that the scantiness of our stock of that article cannot fail to induce your Honors still to give your utmost attention to ways and means of procuring full supplies of it. We feel ourselves infinitely obliged to you for your past care in this respect.

We beg leave humbly to suggest, that, if a Commander-in-chief over the army of the United Colonies should be appointed, it must be plain to your Honors that no part of this Continent can so much require his immediate presence and exertions as this Colony.

We are, with great respect, your Honors' most obedient and very humble servants.

By order of the Congress,
JAMES WARREN, President.

Attest:

SAM'L FREEMAN, Secretary.

6.—Letter from a Gentleman in Providence.*

[From *The New York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury* No. 1287, New York, Monday, June 26, 1775.]

PROVIDENCE, June 20, 1775.

* * * * *

You doubtless have been alarmed with divers

* The following is the caption which Mr. Gaine published with this Letter: "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Providence, [45 Miles from Boston] to his Friend in this City, dated June 20, 1775."

The letter appeared, also, in *Rivington's New-York Gazette*, of the twenty-ninth of June.

Accounts of the Contest which happened on the 17th Inst. between the King's Troops and our Army; shall give you a Narrative in a few Words as the Post now waits.

On the Evening of the 16th, Col. Putnam took Possession of Bunker's-Hill, with about 2000 Men, and began an Intrenchment, which they had made some Progress in. --- At 8 in the Morning, a Party of Regulars landed at Charlestown, and fired the Town in divers Places. --- Under Cover of the Smoke, a Body of about 5000 Men marched up to our Intrenchments, and made a furious and sudden Attack; they were drove back three Times; and when they were making the third Attack, one of our People imprudently spoke aloud that their Powder was all gone; which being heard by some of the Regular Officers, they encouraged their Men to march up to the Trenches with fixed Bayonets, and entered them; on which our People were ordered to retreat, which they did with all Speed, till they got out of Musket-Shot; they then formed, but were not pursued: In the mean Time six Men of War and four floating Batteries were brought up, and kept up a continual Fire on the Causeway that leads on to Charlestown; our People retreated thro' the Fire, but not without the Loss of many of the Men. Our Loss is 60 Men killed and missing, and about 140 wounded. The brave Dr. Warren is among the former, and Col. Gardner among the latter. We left 6 Field Pieces on the Hill; our People are now intrench'd on Pleasant Hill, within Cannon Shot of Bunker's Hill. The Loss of the King's Troops must be very considerable; the exact Number we cannot tell, If our People had been supplied with Ammunition they would have held Possession most certainly. They have begun firing on Roxbury, with Carcasses to set it on fire, but have not yet succeeded. Our People are in high Spirits and are very earnest to put this Matter on another Tryal.

7.—Editorial from Thomas's Massachusetts Spy.

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 115, New York, Thursday, June 20, 1775.]

WORCESTER, June 21.

A correspondent has favoured us with following account of the battle near Charlestown, viz. "The reinforcement both of horse and foot being arrived at Boston, and our army having good intelligence that general Gage, was about to take possession of the advantageous posts near Charlestown, and Dorchester-Point; the committee of safety advised, that our troops should prepossess them if possible; accordingly on Friday evening the 16th inst. this was effected; and before day-light on Saturday morning,

"their lines of circumvallation, on a small hill south of Bunker's-hill in Charlestown, was in great forwardness. At this time the Lively man of war, began to fire upon them. A number of our enemy's ships, tenders, and scows, or floating batteries, soon came up, from all which the firing was general by 12 o'clock.

"About two, the enemy began to land at a point that leads out towards Noddle's-Island, and immediately marched up to our intrenchments, from which they were twice repulsed with great loss, but the third time they forced them. Our forces which were in the lines, as well as those sent for their relief, were annoyed on all sides, by balls and bombs from Corpse-Hill, the ships, scows, &c. At this time the buildings in Charlestown appeared in flames in almost every quarter, supposed to be kindled by hot balls.

"Though this scene was horrible and altogether new to most of our men; yet many stood and received wounds, by swords and bayonets before they quitted their lines. The number of killed and wounded on our side is not yet known. Our men are in high spirits. "The number of regulars that were engaged is supposed to be between 2 and 3,000."

8.—*Handbill circulated in the City of New York, on Wednesday, June 21, 1775.*

[From *Bleington's New-York Gazetteer; or, the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 114, New York, Thursday, June 23, 1775.]

NEW-YORK, 21st June, 1775.

Last Night, by a Vessel in a short Passage from New-London, we have the following important Intelligence, in a Letter from a Gentleman at Norwich, to his Friend in New York.

NORWICH, June 19, 1775.

SIR,

I Understand by Mr. David Trumbull, That by an Express from Cambridge, his honour our Governor, has advice, that our people attempting to take possession of Bunker's Hill, and Dorchester Point, they were attacked by the Regulars, shipping, &c. Five men of war hauled up at Charlestown, covered the landing of a body of men, who drove our people from Bunker's Hill: That three Colonels in our service were wounded, Col. Gardener, mortally; how many are slain on either side, is uncertain.

This happened on Saturday about noon: At Charlestown, when the Post came away, our people kept their ground and made a stand, how they have fared at Dorchester, we do not hear;

* This article was copied into *Gaines's New-York Mercury* of the twenty-sixth of June. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

General Putnam was safe when the Express came off; preparations were making for a general attack. Col. Tyler must be on the march as soon as possible, without confusion; I shall procure teams as fast as I can, and have them to take in his baggage. Col. Jabez Huntington desires I would dispatch an Express immediately, to have the troops forwarded; he sent orders in writing yesterday.

9.—*Editorial from The Connecticut Journal.*

[From *Bleington's New-York Gazetteer; or, the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 115, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.]

NEW-HAVEN, June 21.

We have received accounts that a party of the American army having intrenched on Bunker's hill, (at Charlestown) last Friday night, the next morning they were fired on, by some of the men of war; and a number of the regulars, from Boston, crossing the ferry, and landing under the fire of the ships marched up, and dispossessed the Americans of their intrenchments—Some say, the regulars pursued our people to Cambridge, others that they immediately returned to Boston; that we lost a number of men in the encounter; and that the men of war had destroyed great part of Charlestown.—We don't learn what number our or the enemy's party consisted of. We impatiently wait for the particulars.

10.—*Letter from General Folsom to the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire.*

[From *The Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, II, 146, 147.]

MEDFORD, June 22, 1775.

GENTLEMEN: I arrived here Tuesday morning, and immediately waited on the Capt. General, who chose to fix the New Hampshire Troops in this quarter and Winter Hill. Yesterday was taken up in providing barracks for the Companies just come in.

I am informed our troops behaved gallantly in the late engagement. The Continent has sustained a heavy loss in Dr. Joseph Warren, who is missing, and it is said, was killed in the trench beyond Bunker Hill. Maj. McClary was killed by an accidental shot from one of the ships, sometime after our people had made their retreat. The whole loss sustained by the Provincials is about seventy-five killed and taken; about one hundred and twenty-five wounded—about twenty-five of them mortally.

I enclose you an account of loss sustained by Col. Reid's regiment, and request that the sufferers may be immediately supplied with their

necessary clothing, &c. Col. Stark was requested to make a like return of his regiment, but he has not yet done it. He tells me, he had fifteen men killed, and forty-five wounded. I shall send as many of Col. Poor's regiment on duty to Winter Hill, this morning, as intrenching tools can be found for. There is great scarcity of those things here. It is highly necessary our troops should have their tents as soon as possible. They have no shelter from the rain on Winter Hill. What tents are finished, if but few, should be sent forward immediately, with as many spades, shovels, and pick-axes, as can be got in readiness, and some bullets and flints. I can get no regular account of the loss the King's troops sustained. One Mr. Bradford writes Col. Lincoln from Hingham, the 19th inst. He says: "Yesterday I came out of Boston at 2 o'clock, A. M. I heard the officers and soldiers say, that they were suer that they had a thousand or more killed and wounded; that they were carrying the wounded men from 4 o'clock Saturday, till I came away. Gen. Howe commanded the troops. They buried their dead at Charlestown. Among their dead was Maj. Pitcairn; a great many other officers are dead. There were five thousand soldiers went from Boston. The soldiers and officers exult very much upon taking our lines."

A messenger I sent to Head Quarters for intrenching tools is just returned, and informs me he cannot get one; therefore, must farther urge the necessity of forwarding them immediately. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

NATH'L FOLSOM.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AT EXETER.

P. S.—According to your direction, I enquired at Head-Quarters the rank of the general officers, and inform you that Mr. Ward is Capt. General, Mr. Thomas Lieut. General, and the other Generals are Major-Generals. I am farther informed by Major Osgood that the Congress have voted, in addition to the above, a Brigadier General to each battalion.

11.—Letter from Mr. Isaac Lothrop, of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, to Thaddeus Burr, of Fairfield, Conn.

[From *Beverington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 115, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.*]

WATERTOWN, June 22, 1775.

Before this reaches you, you will doubtless

hear of the engagement of last Saturday, between our troops and those of the army at Boston; but lest you should not be well informed, I will now undertake to give you as regular an account as can at present be obtained. Last Friday evening a detachment, from the camp at Cambridge, marched to Charlestown, and there took possession of Breed's hill, about half a mile from the ferry; their intrenching tools not coming up in season, it was 12 o'clock before they began their works: as soon as day-light appeared they were discovered from Boston, when the men of war at the ferry, the battery from Cop's hill, and the floating batteries, kept up a continual cannonading and bombarding, which fortunately did but little execution, although our intrenchments were very far from being completed; this continued till about 2 o'clock, when a large army of between 4 and 5000 men, (as we since hear from Boston) under the command of General Howe, landed on the back of the hill, and marched up with great seeming resolution towards our lines; our men reserved their fire till the enemy had advanced very near, when a general engagement ensued; the fire from our lines was so excessive heavy, and made such a terrible slaughter as obliged the enemy twice to give way; altho' many of their officers stood in the rear with their swords pointed at their backs ready to run them through. Our men kept up a continual blaze upon them for about an hour, with such execution as is scarce credible. The enemy then came on the flanks, marched up, and forced their way over the ramparts, with fixed bayonets, cutlasses, and hand granados, which obliged our little brave army, consisting of about 500 men at most, to retreat.

The town of Charlestown was fired in various parts during the action, and is now consumed to a wretched heap of rubbish. I kept my ground at Watertown; but what with the thundering of cannon and small arms, the conflagration of Charlestown, the waggons and horse-litters with the wounded men coming to the hospital in this town, and the streaming of expresses to and fro, exhibited such an awful scene, as I pray God Almighty I may never again behold. The brave and worthy Dr. Warren was killed, stripped and buried within the intrenchment. Our numbers killed, are not yet known, but by the best account I can obtain, it will not much exceed 50, and the wounded short of 100. Several credible persons have since made their escape by water from Boston, some of whom I well know. The latest out, says, that upwards of 1400 of the enemy were killed and wounded, with 84 officers, and that 28 of our men were made prisoners, and the enemy had buried 41 of our dead. All agree that the loss of

* This letter appeared, also, in *Gaines's New-York Gazetteer*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, of the third of July; and in *Holt's New-York Journal*; or the *General Advertiser*, 1695, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.

the enemy in killed and wounded is more than 1000. General Howe says, you may talk of your Mindons and Fontenoy's, &c., but he never saw nor heard of such carnage in so short a time. All the surgeons in the army, with what they could get in Boston, were not sufficient to dress the wounded. Altho' they were 24 hours, night and day, in removing them from Charlestown, with the assistance of many of the inhabitants of Boston whom they pressed into the service, many died in the streets on their way to the hospitals.

12.—*Editorial Account of the Battle, from The New England Chronicle, or the Essex Gazette.*

[From *Bibbington's New-York Gazette; or, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 115, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.]

From the ESSEX GAZETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, June 22.

Last Friday night a detachment from our army began an intrenchment on an eminence below Bunker-hill, about a mile to the northward of the centre of the town of Charlestown. The enemy appeared to be much alarmed on Saturday morning, when they discovered our operations, and immediately began a heavy cannonading from a battery on Corps-hill, Boston, and from the ships in the harbour. Our people, with little loss, continued to carry on the works till one o'clock, P. M. on Saturday, when they discovered a large body of the enemy crossing Charles-river from Boston. They landed on a point of land about a mile eastward of our intrenchment, and immediately disposed their army for an attack, previous to which they set fire to the town of Charlestown. It is supposed the enemy intended to attack us under cover of the smoke from the burning houses, the wind favouring them in such a design; while, on the other side, their army was extending northward towards Mistick River, with an apparent design of surrounding our men within the works, and of cutting of any assistance intended for their relief.

They were however, in some measure, counteracted in this design, and drew their army into closer order. As the enemy approached, our men were not only exposed to the attack of a very numerous musketry, but to the heavy fire of the battery on Corps-Hill, four or five men of war, several armed boats, or floating batteries in Mistick-River, and a number of field pieces: Notwithstanding which, our troops within the intrenchment, and at a breast work without, sustained the enemies attacks with real bravery and resolution, killed and wounded great numbers, and repulsed them several times; and after bearing for about two hours as severe and heavy a

fire as perhaps ever was known, and many having fired away all their ammunition, they were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to leave the intrenchment, retreating about sunset, to a small distance over Charlestown Neck.

Our loss from the best information we can obtain, does not exceed 50 killed, and about 20 or 30 taken prisoners.

The town of Charlestown, supposed to contain about 300 dwelling houses, a great number of which were large and elegant, besides 150 or 200 other buildings, are almost all laid in ashes.

The enemy yet remain in possession of Charlestown, and have erected works for their defence on Bunker Hill. It is said they have brought over some of their light horse from Boston.

Our troops continue in high spirits. They are fortifying a very high hill about a mile and a half from this town, and within cannon shot of the enemy on Bunker Hill.

10.—*Extract from a Letter to a Gentleman in Philadelphia.*

[From *Force's American Archives*, IV, II, 1066.]

WETHERSFIELD, CONN., June 22, 1775.

* * * * *

Before this you must know, I conclude, that there has been a battle, in which fell the honourable, the noble Doctor Warren. For fear you may not have the particulars, I will endeavour in part to relate to you how the affair was, according to the best accounts I can gather by letters from the camp.

Last Friday afternoon, orders were issued for about eighteen hundred of the Provincial Troops, and two hundred of the Connecticut, to parade themselves at six o'clock, with one day's provision, equipped with packs, blankets, &c. Their orders were given at nine o'clock, and they marched with their teams, trenching tools, &c., on Bunker's Hill, to heave up an intrenchment, which you are sensible is near the water, ships, &c. They worked most surprisingly that night, and were discovered at sunrise by a sailor from the mast-head. The British Army commenced a heavy fire from Copp's Hill, near Cutler's Church, in Boston, and from all the ships which could be brought to play, which continued till near night.

About one o'clock, A. M., the Americans at Cambridge heard that the Regulars were landing from their floating batteries. The alarm was sounded, and they were ordered down to the breastwork at Charlestown; and Captain Chester writes me, that before it was possible for him to get there, the battle had begun in earnest, and cannon and musket balls were plen-

ty about their ears. Chester and my brother were both in the engagement. They reinforced our men that had left the breastwork in fine order, though they passed through the cannonading of the ships, bombs, chain-shot, ring-shot, &c.; but then their superiour number of artillery and men (for they were three to two,) forced our men to retreat, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. Thank Heaven, but few of our men fell, considering the advantages they had over us, our men being much fatigued with working at the intrenchments, and I believe not in the best preparation to meet an enemy. The British troops, to their eternal disgrace, shame, and barbarity, set Charlestown on fire with torches.

My brother says we were obliged to retreat to Prospect Hill, (alias Winter Hill,) where we made a stand, and declared we would all die before we would retreat any farther; but the British Troops did not think fit to come out from under the protection of their shipping. The loss of Americans is supposed to be, of wounded, missing, and slain, about one hundred and twenty. A large, genteel, well-dressed gentleman, who first mounted our breastwork, was overset by one of our impudent Americans, who took so good aim as to prevent his ever mounting another, as he tumbled him into the intrenchment just as he cried, "The day is our own."

We greatly rejoice to hear of the coming of the good, the brave, and great General Washington; and shall receive him with open arms.

11.—Letter from William Tudor to Stephen Collins.

[From the original manuscript, now first printed,]

CAMBRIDGE, 23d June, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter by Dr. Church was handed me last Night from Head Quarters at Roxbury. The one you mention of the 2d May I never recd. You complain of my Neglect, but pardon me Friend if I retort the Accusation & remind you of sending you 3 when I had only 2 letters of yours. Be assured I will never let any one remain unanswered. The distracted and distressed state of this bleeding Province, & variegated sufferings of thousands of its Inhabitants with the Difficulties of most of my Friends as well as Relations have so employed my Time & exercised my Thoughts that I had very little to spare of either for distant Friends. Let this apologize for my not writing you before.

To give you a just Idea of our present

situation it is necessary to look a little Back. After the skirmish of Lexington, & Genl Gage had Demonstration that Yankeys would fight, he shut up the Town & ordered every Eminence to be fortify'd, extended his Lines & raised several new Batteries, & yet was infinitely uneasy till he got the Inhabitants disarmed which he, by taking the advantage of the Distress of the Women & Children, effected. However, the Bostonians did not surrender their Arms, till they had obtained the most Solemn Assurances that the People without Discrimination or Exception should be at Liberty to quit the Town, with their Effects. The instant the General had got Possession of their Arms, he laughed at their Credulity & broke his Promise. The first Obstacle that was raised was that Merchandize was not Effects. Therefore every Thing of the mercantile Kind was prohibited a Pass. In a Day or two no Provision or medicine was to be removed. When Mr. Gage found that pecuniary motives were not sufficient to restrain the Inhabitants from flying the Town, New Orders were issued about the Passes, & much needless Formality introduced—But it all would not do, the Eagerness of the People to escape surmounted all these difficulties.—It was then hinted to the Pass Officer, that he should keep himself more out of the Way. And at last Orders were given that no Man above Sixteen should be allow'd to pass at all. In short, Conceive of every Stratagem & Subterfuge that Artifice, Baseness & Malice could Suggest to the infernal Band of Tory Refugees in Boston, countenanced & encouraged by Cowardice & Perfidy & you will have some Idea of the Vexation & Distress of the wretched Inhabitants of Boston. The Women & Children continued coming out till last Saturday (17th June) a Day fatal to the unhappy Town of Charlestown. Since which all Communication with Boston has been cut off.

The Destruction of Charlestown was owing to an ill conducted Enterprize on the Side of the Provincials. On Friday night a Detachment from Cambridge of 1200 men were ordered to take Possession of Brewer's Hill in Charlestown, which lies next to Bunker's & has a great Command of Boston (you know the Spot). Our men immediately went to throwing up a Breast Work, & would by the next Night have had a very good Entrenchment, from whence they intended cannonading the ships in Charles River & annoying the Town. Our People continued their Work undiscovered till Daybreak. When they were observed by the Lively Man of War which lay in the Ferry who immedi-

Capitulation.

I was not in Boston during the negotiations between G. Gage & the Boston selectmen, am therefore unable to be particular about the

I wrote you some Time last Winter & sent you an account of the inglorious Expedition of the 64th Regt to Salem—I hope you got the Letter.

ately fir'd on them, But without doing any other Damage than killing one man. I was in the Intrenchment at 8 Saturday Morn'g at which Time, our People had nearly got the Breast Work finished, but the Embrasures were not cut, nor the Platform for the Cannon prepar'd. there were no Cannon there, only two field Peices, 4 Pounders. I observ'd the Enemy very busy in their Battery on Cops Hill, & they soon convinc'd us what for. They began firing upon our Entrenchment about nine from 24 Pounders. When I came away being unarm'd & only a Spectator. Our men were safe from their Shot & continued their Work till 2 o'Clock when 2000 Regulars landed Commanded by Gen^l Howe, with a View to force the half finish'd Entrenchment & which they did with the Loss of a large Number. But they were assisted by the Battery from Cops Hill that overlooks & commands almost the whole of Charlestown, by three men of War, & a Number of floating Batteries & oppos'd only by about 800 Men who had been at Work the whole Night before with Musquets & two small field Peices. After they had forc'd the Provincials from the Hill, they fir'd the Town, which after burning two Days, exhibit'd a scene of Ruin unparallel'd before in America, whilst its Inhts were render'd Houseless & hundreds reduc'd from Independence to Beggary. The Loss of the Provincials amounts to 70 killed 200 wounded & 10 Prisoners. That of the Regulars, as accounts from Bostonsay, was 1400 kill'd & wounded, among whom were 80 Officers. It was undoubtedly a dear bought Conquest, but the Acquisition was certainly an important one. The Death of Doct^r Warren. He had but a Day or two before been appointed a major General who was unfortunately kill'd in the Engagement is a very great Public Loss. Like the immortal Hampden he had an early Opportunity of dying in Defence of the Liberties of his Country. Our Men are in Spirits & have since fortify'd a large Hill about a mile from Bunker's. This is a Post of vast Importance & is now so well secur'd, as to bid Defiance to an Attack. Our People have thrown up Lines which when finish'd will extend two miles. We have Men enough, but want Officers. We have 20,000 at least within six miles of Boston, but they are little better than an armed Mob. The Officers have too little Controul over their Men. And unless a very great Change takes Place in our Camps.

You have doubtless seen in the Papers an Acct. of the attacking & burning of a Man of War, sloop & driving off an armed sloop both in the Harbor of Boston. This was done in the sight of both Fleet & Army notwithstanding all the assistance all the Ships in the Harbor could afford.

The Regt of Royal Welch Fusiliers, who were in the Battle of Minden last War, & who pick'd themselves on their Bravery are ruined. It is said the greatest Part of the Privates fell & every Capt. except one. It was in a great measure owing to this Regt that they were able to carry the Hill.

We never can face disciplin'd Troops on plain Ground. Luckily for us the unevenness of the Country favours our irregular mode of Attack & Defense. I wish we could see here Gen Lee, Col Washington & Presid^t Hancock. Their Presence would inspire Ardour & promote Discipline. Can't you spare Mr. M— with a thousand Pensilvanian Solds? It would have a happy Effect. This Province will doubtless be made the principal object of Ministerial Vengeance. It is therefore of the greatest Importance that the most vigorous stand should be made here.

The Distress of this Part of the Province is astonishing. 10,000 People are suppos'd to have come out of Boston. Charlestown is intirely burn't down. Roxbury wholly forsaken by its Inhabit^s & the Houses made Barracks for our Army. And since the Fight at Charlestown, Brooklyne, Cambridge, Medford, Lynn & Salem, Chelsea & Malden are deserted by the Women & Children, whilst the Houses back in the Country are crowded with the wretched Refugees from British Fury & Cruelty. Trade intirely suspended & a great Emission of Paper Money which must hereafter be redeem'd, whilst the Province is daily feeding & paying 13,600 men. However we bear it all chearfully. Sensible that our Cause is righteous, & that 'tis the Cause of an extensive Continent. A Continent which we think feels for our sufferings & will at every Hazard support us. Our Salvation depends on a united & spirited Opposition. For whilst we jointly resist, G. Britain will in vain attempt to subdue. Heaven grant the unnatural Contest may soon subside & that our blinded K— may see which ever Side obtains the Victory, he is the Loser in the Death of his Subjects.—One Thing is worthy of Observation, that in every Skirmish, the Regular Troops have been by much the greatest Losers.—

I am exceedingly pleased to hear the Quakers have muster'd their SHOOTING IRONS. Who can refuse to take up Arms, when your quiescent Sect have set the Example?

And shall us tamely yield ourselves to Bondage?
No: let this faithful free born English Hand,
First dig my Grave in Liberty & Honour:
And tho' I found but one more thus resolv'd,
That honest man & I would die together. ROWS.

There are Thousands in America, who act upon this noble Principle, and whose many Virtues will convince mistaken

Britain, that they deserve that Freedom which they dare die for.

I have begun a second Sheet, without having time to copy the rough Scrawl on the other.—

Excuse my closing abruptly—

I am with great Sincerity

Your Friend

& Servt

W^m TUDOR.

Pray write me soon & send me every Particular Occurrence of your City. It is but very seldom I see a Philadelphia Paper. There are many minute Matters which don't find their Way to the Public Prints, that would be amusing at least.

Mr. Step. Collins } Pray present my most respectful Compts to Mr. Adams & acquaint him I have been so unfortunate as never to have been in the Way when an Express set out for Philad. which is the Reason of my not writing him—as I was unwilling to risque a Letter by the Post which is unsettled.

You will be pleased to read him most Part of this Letter.

[Addressed]

For

MR. STEPHEN COLLINS

Mercht

By Post } Philadelphia

15.—*Editorial from The Massachusetts Occasional News-Paper.**

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or, the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 117, New York, Thursday, July 18, 1775.]

B O S T O N , June 26,

This town was alarmed on the 17th instant at break of day, by a firing from the Lively Ship of war; and a report was immediately spread that the provincials had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the heights of the Peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen, and in a few hours a battery of six guns, played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for the landing a body of men; and some companies of grenadiers and light infantry, with some battalions, and field artillery; amounting in the whole to about two thousand men, under the command of Major General Howe, and brigadier

General Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the Peninsula without opposition; under cover of some ships of war and armed vessels.

The troops formed as soon as landed: The provincials upon the heights, were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt thrown up on the 16th at night, with other works full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses of Charlestown, covered their right; and their left was covered by a breastwork, part of it cannon proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystick River.

Besides the appearance of the provincials strength, large columns were seen pouring in to their assistance; but the King's troops advanced; the attack began by a cannonade, and notwithstanding various impediments of fences, walls, &c. and the heavy fire they were exposed to, from the vast numbers of provincials, and their left galled from the houses of Charlestown, the troops made their way to the redoubt mounted the works and carried it. The provincials were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued 'till they were drove clear of the Peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them. Charlestown was set on fire during the engagement, and most part of it consumed. The loss they sustained, must have been considerable, from the vast numbers they were seen to carry off during the action, exclusive of what they suffered from the shipping. About a hundred were buried the next day after, and thirty found wounded on the field, some of which are since dead. About 170 of the King's troops were killed, and since dead of their wounds; and a great many were wounded.

This action has shown the Bravery of the King's troops, who under every disadvantage, gained a complete victory over three times their number, strongly posted, and covered by breast-works.

16.—*Captain Hide's Account of an Engagement at Charles-town.*

[From *The New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1287, New York, Monday, June 26, 1775.*]

Last Friday Night arrived an Express from the Provincial Camp near Boston, with the following interesting Account of an Engagement, at Charlestown, between about Three Thousand

* The following is Mr. Rivington's caption to the article: "On Sunday last a vessel arrived from Boston, by way of Rhode-Island, which brought the following particulars, extracted from *THE MASSACHUSETTS OCCASIONAL NEWS-PAPER*:"

* The same article appeared in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, or, the General Advertiser*, Vol. IV. Numb. 192. Philadelphia, Monday, June 26, 1775; in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 118, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775; and in *Holt's New-York Journal, or, the General Advertiser*, 1696, Supplement, New York, Thursday, June 29, 1775.

of the King's Regular Forces, and about Half the Number of Provincials, on Saturday the 17th Instant.

On Friday night, June 17th, 1500 of the provincials went to Bunker's-Hill, in order to intrench there, and continued intrenching till Saturday ten o'clock, when two thousand regulars marched out of Boston, landed in Charles-Town, and plundering it of all its valuable effects, set fire to it in ten different places at once; then dividing their army, one part of it marched up in the front of the provincial's intrenchment, and began to attack the provincials at long shot; the other part of the army marched round the town of Charles-Town under cover of the smোক occasioned by the fire of the town. The provincial Centries discovered the regulars marching upon their left wing. Upon notice of this, given by the Centry to the Connecticut forces posted on that wing, Capt. Nolton, of Ashford, with 400 of said forces, immediately repaired to, and pulled up a post and rail fence, and carrying the posts and rails to another fence, put them together for a breast work. Capt. Nolton gave orders to the men, not to fire until the enemy were got within 15 rods, and then not till the word was given. At the word's being given the enemy fell surprisingly. It was thought by spectators who stood at a distance, that our men did great execution. The action continued about two hours, when the regulars on the right wing were put into confusion, and gave way. - - - The Connecticut troops closely pursued them, and were on the point of pushing their bayonets; when orders were received from General Pomeroy, for those who had been in action two hours, to fall back, and their places to be supplied by fresh forces. These orders being mistaken for a direction to retreat, our troops on the right wing began a general retreat, which was handed to the left, the principal place of action, where Captains Nolton, Chester, Clarke, and Putnam, had forced the enemy to give way and retire before them, for some considerable distance; and being warmly pursuing the enemy, were with difficulty persuaded to retire: But the right wing, by mistaking the orders, having already retired, the left, to avoid being encircled, were obliged to retreat also with the main body. - - - They retreated with precipitation across the causeways to Winter-Hill, in which they were exposed to the fire of the enemy, from their shipping and floating batteries.

We sustained our principal loss in passing the causeway. The enemy pursued our troops to Winter Hill, where the provincials, being reinforced by General Putnam, renewed the battle with great spirit, repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and pursued them till they got under cover of their cannon from the shipping - - - when the enemy retreated to Bunker's-Hill, and the

provincials to Winter-Hill, where, after entrenching and erecting batteries, they on Monday, began to fire upon the regulars on Banker's Hill, and on the ships and floating batteries in the harbour, when the Express came away. The number of provincial's killed, is between 40 and 70, 140 wounded; of the Connecticut troops, 16 were killed; no officer among them, was either killed or wounded, except Lieut. Grosvenor, who is wounded in the hand. - - - A Colonel or Lieut.-Col. of the New-Hampshire forces among the dead. It is also said that Doct. Warren, is undoubtedly among the slain. - - - The provincials lost 3 iron six pounders, some intrenching tools and knapsacks.

The number of regulars that first attacked the provincials on Bunker's Hill was not less than 2000. - - - The number of provincials was only 1500, who, it is supposed would soon gained a complete victory, had it not been for the unhappy mistake already mentioned. - - - The regulars were afterwards reinforced with 1000 men. - - - It is uncertain how great a number of the enemy were killed or wounded; but it was supposed by spectators, who saw the whole action, that there could not be less than 4 or 500 killed. - - - Mr. Gardner who got out of Boston on Sunday evening, says that there were 500 wounded men brought into that place, the morning before he came out.

This account was taken from Captain Elijah Hide, of Lebanon, who was a spectator on Winter-Hill during the whole action.

17.—*Extracts from Letters received in Philadelphia from Gentlemen in the Army.*

[From Force's *American Archives*; IV, II, 1118, 1119.]

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, JUNE 27, 1775.

* * * * *

You will have heard of the battle of Bunker's Hill before you receive this, but the accounts will be various.

Our people went on to take the ground, expecting every day the enemy would take it, if we did not. They were not well prepared; however, they went on; and at daybreak, before they had time to finish their work, they were attacked, but General Howe gives them the praise of defending their works as well as any men on earth could do; and had our troops who were to march up to their support, behaved as well in coming to their posts as the others did in defending theirs, they never would have lost their ground, but the enemy must have been cut off. But the low ground over which they were to pass was so continually raked by a constant fire from the ships and floating batteries, with every kind of shot, that it rendered it impossible to bring a proper number of men over

at that time to their support; and after a most vigorous defence for some hours, our men being employed the whole night before without sleep or rest, and many having expended the ammunition they had with them, they retreated, and left the ground and unfinished lines to the enemy, where they are now encamped and fortifying. Our people are encamped on Prospect Hill, at about a mile distance, and have strong lines thrown up from Cambridge River to Mistick River, and are watching each other. We lost in the engagement one hundred and seventy-nine men, killed and wounded: fifty killed, thirty wounded and prisoners in Boston, and the remainder of the one hundred and seventy-nine wounded with us; the enemy lost one thousand on the spot and dead of their wounds before last Wednesday, and seven hundred then in the hospitals wounded. Many such conquests would totally ruin the King's Troops.

Last Saturday, the enemy cannonaded Roxbury, and endeavoured to burn the Town, but failed. Sunday, General Clinton sent a flag from his camp to ours, with letters from our prisoners: they say they are kindly treated, and have their choice of Army or Town Surgeons, or both; and most of them are like to do well.

* * * * *

We have lost but few men compared with the loss the enemy sustained; ours will fall short of sixty killed; thirty are prisoners, and about one hundred wounded. We have the greatest reason to believe, from their own account, as well as from many other concurring circumstances, that their loss is not short of fifteen hundred, killed and wounded; among the former are two Colonels, Majors Pitcairn and Sheriff. The Royal Welsh Fusiliers have but seventy privates and one Captain left alive. The Regulars say that the battle of Minden, or that on the Plains of Abraham, did not exhibit equal scenes of blood in so short a time from so few men engaged.

They give out that we must have lost three thousand men, as they conclude our loss must greatly exceed theirs.

18.—*Extract of a Letter from an Officer of Rank and Character, to a Gentleman in New York.*

[From *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 116, New York, Thursday, July 6, 1775.*]

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, June 27, 1775.

* * * * *

The state of the battle at Bunker's-Hill, is 179 killed, missing and wounded, on our side;

about 50 killed, 80 wounded and prisoners, the rest wounded and with us; not many dangerous. On the part of the enemy 1000 men killed on the spot, and died out of the hospitals before last Wednesday; 700 of them remaining wounded, many of them dangerously.—General Gage cannot afford to purchase many trenches of us at such a price.

* * * * *

General Howe says he never saw men behave better than ours did at the breast-work.

* * * * *

19.—*The Massachusetts Provincial Congress to the Committee of Safety, Correspondence, and Protection, at Albany, N. Y.*

[From *The Journal of the Third Provincial Congress*, June 28, 1775.—Ed. Boston, 1888, pages 408-410.]

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

WATERTOWN, June 28, 1775.

GENTLEMEN: This Congress have received your very obliging letter, by Mr. Price, of the 23d ultimo, and they cheerfully embrace the opportunity to forward to you by the same hand, as particular an account of the late engagement with the enemies of America, as we, in the present hurry of our public affairs, are able to do. On the night of the 16th of June, instant, a body of our troops took possession of a hill in Charlestown, where they began some entrenchments; but as soon as the morning light appeared, they were fired upon by some of the ships in Boston harbor, and also from a battery on Copp's hill, which is on Boston side. Soon after, several ships and floating batteries drew up, as near as possible on each side [of] Charlestown-neck, in order, with their cannon, to annoy our people, and prevent any recruits going from our main body to their relief. About two o'clock, P. M., a large body of regular troops, consisting of several thousands, commanded by Lord Howe, suddenly crossed Charles river, and landed near the hill on which our people were posted. They immediately marched up, in order to force our infant entrenchments: but our people gave them so warm a reception, that they thought best to retreat; but soon renewed their attempts; but were repulsed the second time with great slaughter; but, on their third attempt, our people, being almost destitute of ammunition, as the enemies' constant fire from their ships and floating batteries had prevented any supplies from our main army, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of about 50 men killed, and 200 wounded, as near as has yet been ascertained, and about 30 taken prisoners, many of whom were wounded, and some are since dead of their wounds. The loss on the part of our enemies is much greater; some persons who were on the

* This article appeared, also, in *Gaines's New-York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, 1289, New York, Monday, July 10, 1775.

field of battle soon after the fight, affirm they saw 800 men dead on the ground, and that there were as many more wounded: the lowest account we have had, is, 1000 killed and wounded, among whom are 84 commissioned officers. On the same day, the town of Charlestown, consisting of near 500 houses and other buildings, was, by those bloody incendiaries, set on fire and consumed to ashes. We cannot, however, but assure you, gentlemen, that, notwithstanding our present distressed situation, we feel a peculiar satisfaction in finding our patriotic brethren of the city and county of Albany, so cordially interesting themselves in our particular welfare, and so kindly offering us their assistance, as well as manifesting their zeal for the rights and liberties of America in general. It is our ardent desire to cultivate harmony and friendship with all our neighboring brethren, and, we hope, you will not fail to continue your favors, and we assure you, that we shall always take pleasure in conveying to you any intelligence that shall afford satisfaction. As to the benevolent donations you mention, which are collected for our distressed brethren, as the transporting the articles you make mention of is almost impossible, [we] think it had better be exchanged for cash, or some necessary specie, which may be more easily transported. We are sorry to hear there is any prospect of an attack upon Ticonderoga, &c., but, we trust, those important fortresses are sufficiently garrisoned, and doubt not, but our brave countrymen stationed there, will be able to repulse any force which can be sent against them from Canada. Finally, brethren, we ardently wish, that the great Supreme Being, who governs all things, may so direct all our military operations, that they may speedily issue in the full restoration and peaceable possession of the natural and constitutional rights and liberties of every American.

By order of the Congress,

JAMES WARREN, President.

Attest:

SAML. FREEMAN, Secretary.

P. S.—Some make the number of our killed and missing to be near a hundred.

20.—*Editorial from The New-England Chronicle, or Essex Gazette.*

[From *The New England Chronicle, or the Essex Gazette*, Cambridge, June 29, 1775.

C A M B R I D G E, June 29.

A man of Reputation whose name is King, was in Boston at the Time of the Battle on the 17th Instant: Having a Permit from Admiral Greaves to catch Fish for the Town of Boston, he took the opportunity to make his Escape to Marblehead, and arrived there the 21st inst

He informs that from Sunset, on the day of the Battle, until next morning, wounded Regulars were brought over in Boats, to the Amount of at least 500; that 30 of them died before they arrived at the Hospital; that 84 officers were killed and wounded, 3 of which were Freed officers; and that the whole of the killed and wounded amounted to 13 or 1400.

Various other Accounts Confirm Mr. King's intelligence, and give so great reason to Conclude that the Havoc among the Ministerial Troops was very considerable. The Loss on our side is not yet ascertained; but at the most is supposed to be 150 to 200 killed and wounded. Major General Warren, late President of the Provincial Congress, is among the Slain. Col. Parker of Chelmsford and 27 Privates from different towns are Prisoners in Boston Gaol.

21.—*Rev. Peter Thacher's Narration.*

[From the original manuscript, belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, now first printed.*]

The following account was written by a person who was an eye witness of the battle of Bunker's hill. Some of the circumstances the intervention of the hill prevented him from seeing, for he stood on the [east] north side of Mystic river. [He remembers well however the precipitate retreat of the british troops to the trench† and the exertions of the officers to rally and carry them on again to action; this was fair by us§ for at the moment he ardently wished they might be unsuccessful.] What facts he did not see himself were communicated to him by Col. Prescott (who commanded the provincials,) and by other persons who were personally conversant in the scenes which [it describes] this narration describes. It was drawn up within one fortnight after the 17th of June, 1775, while events were recent in the minds of the actors and it is now faithfully copied from the draught then made in a great hurry. This must

* We are indebted to our valued friends, Messrs. S. F. Haven and E. M. Barton, Librarian and Assistant Librarian of that venerable Society, among other favors in promotion of our effort to give a more perfect record of Bunker-hill than any which has preceded it, for this critically-prepared copy of this exceedingly important paper; and we desire to return to those gentlemen our most grateful acknowledgements.

The words which are in *Italics* and enclosed in brackets are erased, in the original: when other words have been substituted for those which have been erased, they follow the latter, and are noted in foot-notes. We have preferred to adopt this mode, in order that we may present to our readers, as nearly as possible, every thing that is worth preserving concerning Bunker's-hill.

As this manuscript was the basis of the Narrative prepared by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, for transmission to Europe (*No. 23, post*) its great importance will be readily perceived. EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† The word "north" is interlined over "east," erased. ED. HIST. MAG.

‡ Probably intended for "beach." ED. HIST. MAG.

§ I can make nothing else of this except "fair-ly us." S. F. H.

serve as an excuse for the inaccuracies and embarrasments of the stile which could have been altered, had not the author felt himself obliged to give a copy of the account precisely as it was then written. It was transmitted by the committee [of safety safety] of safety of Massachusetts to their friends in England and many now possibly be in the hands of some person there. The author [now] signs his name, which though it [may have] may give* no other celebrity to the account; will, he hopes, convince those who know him that the account is true, for he flatters himself that they none of them beleive him him guilty of the baseness and wickedness of a falsehood.

PETER THACHER.

[NARRATION. †]

In consequence of undoubted information received from Boston by the commanders of the continental army [th]at Cambridge that Genl Gage with a part of his troops purposed the next day to take possession of Bunker's hill a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, they determined with the advice of the committee of Safety of the Massachusetts province to [take possession of that hill] send a party who might erect some fortifications upon the hill and prevent this design; accordingly on the 16th of June, orders were issued that a party of about one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown & entrench upon the hill; [in the evening] about 9 o'clock in the evening the detachment marched [from Cambridge & came] upon ye design to Breed's hill situated on the further part of the peninsula next to Boston, for by a mistake of orders [it was understood] this hill was [deter] marked out for the entrenchment instead of [the hill behind Bunker's hill] the other; ¶ as there were [numbers] many things necessary to be done preparatory to the [people] [soldiers]** [beginning work] entrenchments being thrown up† which could not be done before lest the enemy should observe them, it was nearly‡ twelve o'clock before the [entrenchment was begun] wk was entered upon§§ for the clocks in Boston were

heard to strike abo 10 minutes after the men first took their tools into their hands; the work was carried on in very animation & success so that by the dawn of the day they had nearly completed a small [square] redoubt about eight rods square; at [break of day] this time an heavy fire began from 3 men of war, a number of floating batteries & from a fortification of the enemys on cops hill in Boston* directly opposite to o^r little redoubt; these [discharged] kept up† an incessant shower of shot & bombs, by which one man pretty soon fell; not discouraged by the melancholly fate of yr companion the soldiers‡ laboured indefatigably till they had thrown up a small§ breast-work extending| from ye north side of ¶ the redoubt on ye north side** to the bottom of the hill but were prevented by the incessant|tolerable†† fire of ye enemy from completing [this or the redoubt] ym whol‡‡ in such a manner as to [be] make ym§§ defensible; [but they soon found that they should have to do other business besides intrenching for] having laboured ym|| between 12 & 1 o'clock [they perceived] a number of boats & barges filled with [troops who] soldiers ¶ were [coming to attack them] observed approaching towds Charlestown,*** these [troops] landed yr troops††† at a place called M[oul]oretons|| point, situated§§§ a little to the eastward of [or redoubt] our works; ||| [they] the brigade ¶¶¶ [immediately] formed upon yr landing**** tho they were [a little] something†††† galled by the fire of two small field pieces which [or people] were [placed at] †††† had placed at the end of the intrenchments; they stood thus formed till [they had received] a second brigade arrived from Boston to join them; [they then marched up

* "May give" interlined over "may have," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† "To the account," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ The narrative commencing on the opposite page is written closely, in rather small chirography, on an irregular half-sheet of foolscap, doubled to a quarto form. The interlineations and erasures are copied from the manuscript. Many of the former are extremely obscure. S. F. H.

§ "a part of" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "upon ye design" interlined, over "from Cambridge & came," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶ "the other" interlined over "the hill behind Bunker's hill," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶¶ "soldiers" interlined over "people," erased; and then, itself, erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "entrenchments being thrown up" interlined over "beginning work," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡‡ "nearly," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§ "wk was entered upon" interlined over "entrenchment was begun," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

* "in Boston," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† "kept up" interlined over "discharged," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ "the soldiers" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ "small" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

| "extending" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "ye north side of" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

** "on ye north side" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "tolerable" interlined over "cessant," erased, changing the word "incessant" to "intolerable." Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡‡ "ym whol" interlined over "this or the redoubt," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§ "make ym" interlined over "be," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

|| "having laboured ym" interlined over "but they soon found," &c., erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶ "soldiers" interlined over "troops who," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

*** "observed approaching towds Charlestown" interlined, over "coming to attack them," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

††† "yr troops" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

||| "ore" interlined over "oul," erased; changing "Moul-ton's" to "Moreton's." Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§§ "situated" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

|||| "our works" interlined over "or redoubt," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶¶ "the brigade" interlined over "they," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

**** "upon yr landing" interlined, to take the place of "immediately," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†††† "something" interlined, over "a little," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡‡‡ "were [placed at]" interlined over "or people," erased; and "placed at" subsequently erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

extending their flanks for a large way] having sent out large flank guards in order to surround [our Ppale] y^m they began a very slow march towards our lines; at this instant flames & smoke were seen to arise in large clouds from the town of Charlestown w^e had been set on fire [by a carcass fired] from [one] somet of y^e enemys batterys with a design to favour their attack upon o^r Lines by the Smoke which [as the wind at first stood] y^r imagined; w^d have been blown directly [upon] y^t away & thence covered§ them in y^r attack| but the wind changing at this instant it was carried [beyond them] another way;¶ the [men] provincials** in the [fort] redoubt†† & the Lines reserved their fire till the enemy had [arrived] come within abo 10 or 12 yards & then discharged at once upon ym; y^e fire threw y^r body†† into very great confusion & [the main body] all§§ of them after having kept a fire for some time|| retreated in very g^t [precipitation] disorder¶¶ down to the [Lines] point*** where they landed, & there some of them even into y^r boats; at this time their officers were observed by spectators on the oppositett shore [opposite to come down to the point to exert themselves to the utmost with the utmost] to come there & then††† use the most passionate gestures & even to push forward ye men with their swords; at length by y^r exertions the troops were again rallied & marched up to the entrenchments; the Americans [agⁿ] reserved their fire & [by y^t means agⁿ] a second time & a second time§§§ put the regulars to flight who once more retreated in precipitation||| to their boats; the same or great¶¶¶ exertions were now agⁿ**** observed to be made by their officers wh [notwithstanding y^e evident reluctance discovered by y^e

soldiers were successfull*] [were attended with the same effect,] and having formed once more they [sent a party who by flanking the entrenchments wth] brought† some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake y^e inside of y^e breastwork & having† drove the provincials thence into the redoubt they determined now it appeared§ to make a decisive effort; the fire from the ships & batteries as well as from the cannon in the front of y^r army was redoubled; innumerable bombs were sent into the fort; the officers behind the army of the regulars were observed to goad forward y^r men with renewed exertion; the [entrenchment] breastwork on y^e side of the || without the [the fort] redoubt¶ was abandoned, the ammunition of the provincials was expended [can it be] the enemy advanced on three sides [of y^e redoubt] of y^e fort at once** & scaled the walls the [americ] [arms of the americans were not fixed with bayonets,] can it be wondered at then that the word was given to retreat? but event† this was not done till the redoubt was half filled wth regulars, & the provincials had for some time kept up an engagement with the but ends of y^r muskets w^h unfortunately were not fixed w^t bayonets. The retreat of this handfull of brave men w^d have been effectually cut off had it not have [been] happened†† that the flanking party w^{as} to have surrounded the fort on the back side was kept back by a party of the provincials who fought w^h the utmost bravery, & [kept the enemy upon the beach from advancing] kept y^m from advancing [at all from the water side] further yan ye beach, the engagement of y^e 2 partys was kept up w^e very g^t warmth & it must be acknowledged y^t neither party of§§ the ministerial troops [not even y^m out of America]|| discovered no want of courage, all y^r efforts however ca not compel the provincials to retreat till y^r main body had left the hill, [they then] wⁿ y^rs returned y^e y^rs¶¶ followed y^m in as much order as could well be expected frm troops who had [no long] been no longer under discipline & [who never] many of w^m never*** before [perhaps] saw an engagement.

* "ym" interlined over "our Ppale," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† "some" interlined over "one," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ "yy imagined" interlined over "as the wind at first stood," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ "yt away & thence covered" interlined over "upon," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "in yr attack," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "another way" interlined over "beyond them," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

** "provincials" interlined over "men," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "redoubt" interlined over "fort," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "body" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§ "all" interlined over "the main body," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

|| "after having kept a few for some time," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶ "disorder" interlined over "precipitation," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

*** "point" interlined over "Lines," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

††† "opposite" interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

††† "to come there and then" interlined over "opposite to come down," &c., erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§§ "a second time & a second time" interlined over "by yt means agⁿ," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

||| "in precipitation," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶¶ "or great" [or greater] interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

**** "now agⁿ," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

* "notwithstanding - - - successfull," was first interlined, then erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† "brought," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ "to bear in such a manner as to rake ye inside of ye breastwork & having," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ "it appeared," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "breastwork on ye side of the" interlined over "entrenchment," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ "redoubt" interlined over "the fort," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

** "of ye fort at once" interlined over "of ye redoubt," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "even," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† "happened" interlined over "been," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

§§ "neither party of," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

|| ["not even ym out of America"] interlined and then erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶¶ "wⁿ y^rs returned ye y^rs" — the meaning of which is not clear — is interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

*** "many of w^m never" interlined over "who never," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

[But] In their retreat the Americans had to pass over the neck wh joins the peninsula of Charlestown to ye main Land; this neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war & 2 floating batteries placed in such a manner as y^e guns raked every part of it; the incessant fire kept up across y^e neck had prevented any considerable reinforcements being sent to the [men in the redoubt] provincials* on the hill & it was feared that it would prevent y^r retreat but they retired over it with little or no Loss.

Wh very great signs of exultation the [Troops] british Troops agⁿ took possession of ye hill whither y^j had fled after y^r retreat frm Concord, & it was expected y^t they wd have prosecuted the advantage wh they had gained by marching immediately to Cambridge wh was then indeed in an almost† defenceless state; they did not however do this, but kept firing wth y^r cannon frm [Bos] ye hill & frm y^r ships & batteries across y^e neck; the wonder wh was excited at y^e [great was however] conduct of y^m ‡ soon ceased [however] wa a certain acc^o arrived frm Boston y^t of 3 thousand who marched out on y^e expedition, no less than 1500, amg wh were 92 commission officers, were killed & wounded, a [blow] more severe blow than the british troops had ever before met wth in proportion to y^e number who were engaged & the time [w^h] the engagement lasted wth frm [y^e time] the first [hour] fire of y^e musketry to the last was exactly an hour & an half.

22.—Editorial from The Providence Gazette and Country Journal.

[From The New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury, No 1289, Monday, July 10, 1775.]

PROVIDENCE, July 1.

By a Return made a few Days since at the Head Quarters of the American Army, it appears, that only 48 Provincials were killed in the late Battle at Bunker's Hill, and 181 wounded; 80 of the latter were taken Prisoners, and 6 has since died of their Wounds in Boston; the Prisoners that remain with the Enemy (24 in Number) are like to recover.

Several Persons who have escaped from Boston assert, that the Enemy had 1000 Men killed, including those who had died of their Wounds by Wednesday Se'night; and that 700 wounded Officers and Soldiers remained then in Hospitals. - - - The Welch Fusileers were nearly all cut off; only one Captain and 17

Privates, it is said, remained of that Regiment.

23.—Letter from the Camp at Cambridge.

CAMBRIDGE, July 3, 1775.

* * * * * The best account we can get of the late engagement is, that the Regulars lost more than 800 in the field and 700 wounded.

Among the slain are Col. Williams, Major Pitcairn, and Major Sheriffe: It remains a matter of doubt whether or not General Burgoyne is among the dead; this we are certain of, that General Howe commanded the first division of 1700, and General Burgoyne the second, of 1800, and since the battle has not been seen in Boston; 'tis given out that he has gone to England. The Provincials had not more than 700 in the action. The Welsh fusileers, the best regiment in the English army, carried from the field no more than 17 privates and one captain. It is also certain they lost 84 officers.

* * * * * Tuesday Morning, 6 o'clock. The loss of the Provincials, as by the returns made to General Washington this morning, is 138 killed, 301 wounded, and 17 missing.

24.—"Another Account of the Battle."

[From Livingston's New-York Gazetteer: etc., No. 117. New York, Thursday, July 13, 1775.]

Another account from Boston mentions, that the provincials occupied a post at Charlestown, on a commanding ground, which overlooked Boston, at 1500 yards distance, which works they had constructed in the night. It consisted of a redoubt, with cannon mounted, and a continued entrenchment to a drowned swamp on one side, and defended by the houses in Charlestown on the other, which were filled with provincial troops; on the approach of day, the British artillery began to fire on the provincials' works, from a battery of six 24 pounders, and an howitzer from Corpse-hill, towards the North End, which played principally upon the redoubt. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Grenadiers and light infantry, consisting of 20 companies with the 5th, 38th, 43rd and 52nd regiments embarked, and were landed on Charlestown Point, about 650 yards from the provincial's works, which, being formed, the boats returned for the 63rd and 47th regiments, the marines and ten pieces of brass field artillery, the whole under the command of Major General Howe, who had a low swampy land to pass, and to surmount a higher piece of ground, formed by nature for defence. The fire of six field pieces and an heavy one of musketry from the provincials, continued without intermission on the British troops, and they still poured in fresh men from Cambridge, from the moment the

* "provincials" interlined over "men in the redoubt," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† "almost," interlined. Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ "conduct of y^m interlined" over "great was however," erased. Ed. Hist. Mag.

forces marched from their encampment; signals being made by three guns from Roxbury church, and smoaks from hill to hill, and the bells ringing, so that before the action was over, they were reinforced with a large body of men. At last after an obstinate attack of an hour, reaching the summit very gradually, the British troops stormed the redoubt, and the provincials retired. They were cautiously pursued until another rising ground was obtained, which intirely commands the whole peninsula, but more immediately the neck of land.

The loss of killed and wounded of the provincials, cannot be accurately ascertained. Five field pieces and 400 intrenching tools, with 20 prisoners, fell into the hands of the British troops.

One armed ship, two sloops, and five floating batteries fired on the neck, but they did not altogether answer the end intended, as they neither prevented reinforcing or retreating.

25.—*Extract from Samuel Gray's Letter to Mr. Dyer.*

[From Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 392-395.]

ROXBURY, July 12, 1775.

* * * * *

To give you a clear and distinct account of a very confused transaction,—the causes and reasons of the proceedings of the late battle of Charlestown, and of our defeat, as 't is called,—will be impossible for me, who am not personally knowing to every fact reported about the transactions of that and the preceding day. As far as I am able to give the facts, I will do it, and choose to leave conclusions to you. Some reports, which I have from good characters, must make part of the history.

Friday night, after the 16th of June, a large part of the Continental army intrenched on the southerly part of Charlestown Hill, on the height toward Charles River. North of this hill lies Bunker Hill, adjoining East or Mystic River. Between these two is a valley. North of Bunker Hill is a low, flat, narrow neck of land, the only avenue to the hill and town. The low neck and the valley (both which must be passed in advancing to or retreating from the intrenchment) are exposed to a cross fire from the ships and floating batteries on each side, and the valley to the fire of the battery on Copps Hill, in Boston. About sunrise, the 17th, our intrenchment was discovered, and a heavy fire immediately began from the ships and batteries, which continued with very little cessation till about one o'clock, when a large party of the Ministerial troops landed on a point of land S. E. from the intrenchment, about four o'clock. The savages set fire to the

Town, beginning with the meeting-house. A heavy fire from the cannon and musketry was kept up on both sides till about five o'clock, when our men retreated:—thus far from my own knowledge. I am informed that, in a council of war, it was determined to intrench on Charlestown Hill and on Dorchester Hill the same night, but not till we were so supplied with powder, &c., as to be able to defend the posts we might take, and annoy the enemy; that on Friday a resolution was suddenly taken to intrench the night following, without any further council thereon; that the Engineer and two Generals went on to the hill at night and reconnoitered the ground; that one General and the Engineer were of opinion we ought not to intrench on Charlestown Hill till we had thrown up some works on the North and South ends of Bunker Hill, to cover our men in their retreat, if that should happen, but on the pressing importunity of the other general officer, it was consented to begin as was done. The Europeans suffered greatly from the fire of our men in their ascending the hill. A party of about 400, under the command of Capt. Knowlton, of Ashford, lay under cover of a fence thrown together, and reserved their fire until the enemy came within twelve or fifteen rods, when they gave them a well-aimed fire, and killed and wounded multitudes of them. The particular account of their loss cannot be known with certainty; but we generally give credit to the report, confirmed so many various ways, that their loss is about 1500 in killed and wounded,—the particulars of which you are before this made acquainted with. Our loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, I think, cannot exceed 200, by the best information I am able to get. I think our loss can never be ascertained with precision, as the order, regularity, and discipline, of the troops from this province, is so deficient that no return can be made which is to be relied upon. However, the returns, for many reasons, (which you may easily divine when I have told you what their state is,) will exceed rather than fall short of the real loss. The officers and soldiers [*drafted?*] under command of Major Durkee, Captains Knowlton, Coit, Clark, and Chester, and all the continental troops ordered up, and some from this province, did honor to themselves and the cause of their country, and gave the lie to Colonel Grant's infamous assertion on our countrymen, that they have no one quality of a soldier. A little experience will, I hope, make us possessed of all those qualifications of the most regular troops, which, in this country, are worth our pursuit or imitation. The reason why our men on fatigue all night were not relieved, or attempted to be relieved, I cannot assign; had they been supported in a proper manner, there can't remain a question but that the enemy must have been

totally defeated. This battle has been of infinite service to us; made us more vigilant, watchful, and cautious. We are fortified from Prospect Hill to Mystic River, and on the other hand to Cambridge River, I hope so as to secure us in case of an attack: our lines are very extensive, and will require a large force to defend them properly on that side. On this side we have a fort upon the hill westward of the meeting-house. An intrenchment at Dudly House, including the garden, and extending to the hill E. of the meeting-house. A small breastwork across the main street, and another on Dorchester road, near the burying-ground. One on each side of the road, through the lands and meadows a little South of the George Tavern. Across the road are trees, the top toward the Town of Boston, sharpened and well pointed, to prevent the progress of the light-horse.

A redoubt near Pierpont's or Williams' Mill, and another at Brookline, the lower end of Sewall's Farm, to obstruct their landing, and another breastwork at Dorchester. Our works are not yet completed, but I think we are able to repulse them if they are not more than three-fold our numbers; and then, I believe, our people will not quit their ground.

* * * * *

26.—*Letter of Captain John Chester, supposed to have been addressed to Rev. Joseph Fish, of Stonington, Connecticut.*

[From Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 389-391.]

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, July 22d, 1775.

REV. AND MUCH RESPECTED SIR,—Your favor of the 4th instant I received the day before the Fast, and should have answered it by the bearer, Mr. Niles, had I not been that day on fatigue duty. The day after Fast Mr. Niles set off for home, from Roxbury. I want words to express my gratitude for your religious advice, your many useful and important hints, your arguments and reasons for our animation and support in the glorious struggle for freedom, and your tender expressions of friendship for my family, as well as your anxious concern for my own personal safety.

I shall endeavor, as far as my time and business will permit, to give you, Sir, the particulars of the battle of Charlestown. Though, as to the greater part of account published, I may not be able to mend it.

In the latter part of the day before the battle, our Adjutant informed me that orders were issued from Head-quarters that 1800 province men, 200 Connecticut men, parade themselves [] clock, with provisions for twenty-four hours, blankets [] there wait for further orders. About nine o'clock they were ordered to march to Bunker Hill, a number of wagons accompany-

ing them with intrenching tools, &c. Just about twelve o'clock at night they began intrenching, and went on with great vigor till day-break, and were then discovered by the regulars, who were heard to swear most terribly about the Yankees; and they began a heavy fire before sunrise from the ships and Cops Hill, which was kept up with little or no cessation till afternoon. But finding our people paid little regard to their cannon, and knowing the great importance of the post, they landed, (I believe it was about two o'clock,) and formed in three or four solid columns, and advanced towards the fort. Those on their right soon changed their position into a line for battle, and marched on very regularly, rank and file. They were very near Mystic River, and, by their movements, had determined to outflank our men, and surround them and the fort. But our officers in command, soon perceiving their intention, ordered a large party of men (chiefly Connecticut) to leave the fort, and march down and oppose the enemy's right wing. This they did; and had time to form somewhat regularly behind a fence half of stone and two rayles of wood. Here nature had formed something of a breast-work, or else there had been a ditch many years ago. They grounded arms, and went to a neighboring parallel fence, and brought rayles and made a slight fortification against musquet-ball. Here they received the enemy to very tolerable advantage. Our officers ordered their men not to fire till the word was given. Lieut. Dana tells me he was the first man that fired, and that he did it singly, and with a view to draw the enemy's fire, and he obtained his end fully, without any damage to our party. Our men then returned the fire, well-directed, and to very good effect, and so disconcerted the enemy that they partly brok[e and re]treated. Many of our men were for pursuing, [but by] the prudence of the officers they were prevented lea[ving s]o advantageous a post. The enemy again rallied and ad[vanc]ed, and in the same manner were repulsed a second, and some say, a third time. But at last they stood their ground, and the action was warm, till the enemy carried the fort which was on their left wing, and soon there was a retreat of the whole of the provincials. I am told that a gentleman on Chelsea side saw the whole engagement, and that he said it lasted thirty-five minutes with the musquetry, and that our first firings swept down the enemy most amazingly. The men that went to intrenching over night were in the warmest of the battle, and, by all accounts, they fought most manfully. They had got hardened to the noise of cannon; but those that came up as recruits were evidently most terribly frightened, many of them, and did not march up with that true courage that their cause ought to have inspired them with. And to this cause, I conceive,

was owing our retreat. Five hundred men more, that might easily have been there, if they were in any tolerable order and spirits, might have sent the enemy from whence they came, or to their long homes.

I wish it was in my power to give you a satisfactory reason "why our intrenchments were not supported with fresh recruits from Cambridge, "and why that important pass over Charlestown Neck was not guarded against annoyance from "Mystic River as well as the other side from the "fire of the ships and floating batteries, and our "retreat secured," &c. &c. Possibly the whole attempt was rather premature, and not thoroughly well planned. If we might again attempt it, we should, undoubtedly, have contrived and executed much better. Perhaps it may be better however, to prepare ourselves well for some future attempt, than to lament the unfortunate success of the last, which we cannot now possibly mend.

As to my own concern in it, with that of my company, would inform, that one subaltern, one sergeant, and thirty privates, were drouthted out over night to intrench. They tarried, and fought till the retreat. Just after dinner, on Saturday, 17th ult., I was walking out from my lodgings, quite calm and composed, and all at once the drums beat to arms, and bells rang, and a great noise in Cambridge. Capt. Putnam came by on full gallop. What is the matter? says I. Have you not heard? No. Why, the regulars are landing at Charlestown, says he; and father says you must all meet, and march immediately to Bunker Hill to oppose the enemy, I waited not, but ran, and got my arms and ammunition, and hasted to my company, (who were in the church for barracks,) and found them nearly ready to march. We soon marched, with our frocks and trowsers on over our other clothes, (for our company is in uniform wholly blue, turned up with red,) for we were loath to expose ourselves by our dress, and down we marched. I imagined we arrived at the hill near the close of the battle. When we arrived there was not a company with us in any kind of order, although, when we first set out, perhaps three regiments were by our side, and near us; but here they were scattered, some behind rocks and hay-cocks, and thirty men, perhaps, behind an apple-tree, frequently twenty men round a wounded man, retreating, when not more than three or four could touch him to advantage. Others were retreating, seemingly without any excuse, and some said they had left the fort with leave of the officers, because they had been all night and day on fatigue, without sleep, victuals, or drink; and some said they had no officers to head them, which, indeed, seemed to be the case. At last I met with a considerable company, who was going off rank and file. I called to the officer that led them, and

asked why he retreated? He made me no answer. I halted my men, and told him if he went on it should be at his peril. He still seemed regardless of me. I then ordered my men to make ready. They immediately cocked, and declared if I ordered they would fire. Upon that they stopped short, tried to excuse themselves; but I could not tarry to hear him, but ordered him forward, and he complied.

We were then very soon in the heat of action. Before we reached the summit of Bunker Hill, and while we were going over the Neck, we were in imminent danger from the cannon-shot which buzzed around us like hail. The musquetry began before we passed the Neck; and when we were on the top of the hill, and during our descent to the foot of it on the south, the small as well as cannon shot were incessantly whistling by us. We joined our army on the right of the centre, just by a poor stone fence, two or three feet high, and very thin, so that the bullets came through. Here we lost our regularity, as every company had done before us, and fought as they did, every man loading and firing as fast as he could. As near as I could guess, we fought standing about six minutes, my officers and men think.* * * * *

27.—*Statement prepared by order of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, for transmission to Great Britain.*

[From FORBES'S *American Archives*, IV, II, 1873-1876.]

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, }
"WATERTOWN, July 7, 1775. }

"In compliance with a Resolve of the Committee of Safety, recommending that a Committee be appointed to draw up, and transmit to Great Britain, a fair and impartial account of the late battle of Charlestown, as soon as possible,

"Ordered, That the said Committee of Safety be a Committee for that purpose, and that they likewise be a Standing Committee for that and like purposes.

"A true extract from the Minutes:

"SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Secretary*."

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, July 25, 1775.

In obedience to the above order of Congress, this Committee have inquired into the premises, and upon the best information obtained, find that the commanders of the New England Army had, about the 14th ult., received advice that General Gage had issued orders for a party of the Troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed. Upon which it was determined, with the advice of this Committee, to send a party, who might erect

some fortifications upon said hill; and defeat this design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult., orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the farther part of the peninsula, next to Boston; for, by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other. Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up (which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design,) it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon; they were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity, so that by the dawn of the day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's upon Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite to our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works, by which only one man fell; the Provincials continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy.

Between twelve and one o'clock a number of boats and barges, filled with the Regular Troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown. These troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This Brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them. Having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the Town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two Regiments of Provincials who had been posted in that Town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed, for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the Regiments were already removed. The Provincials, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small-arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder, and with great precipitation, to the place of landing; and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were ob-

served by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up with apparent reluctance towards the intrenchment. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came up within five or six rods, and a second time put the Regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breastwork from one end of it to the other, the Provincials retreated within their little fort. The Ministerial Army now made a decisive effort; the fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their Army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their Army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions; and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breastwork, on the outside of the fort, was abandoned; the ammunition of the Provincials was expended; and few of their arms were fixed with bayonets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party, to retreat? But this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with Regulars, and the Provincials had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the but-end of their muskets.

The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come up on the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of Provincials, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach. The engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the Ministerial Troops evidenced a courage worthy of a better cause. All their efforts, however, were insufficient to compel the Provincials to retreat, till their main body had left the hill. Perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat, the Americans had to pass over the neck, which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main-land. This neck was commanded by the *Glasgow*, man-of-war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner as that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck, had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable

reinforcement from getting to the Provincials upon the hill, and it was feared would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the Ministerial troops again took possession of the hill, which had served them as a retreat in their flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant about two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when, by the best accounts from Boston, we were told that of three thousand men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than fifteen hundred (ninety-two of whom were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded, and about twelve hundred of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about fifteen hundred men, which were the most that were at any time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New-England Army amounted, according to an exact return, to one hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded. Thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was Major General Joseph Warren, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic Colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has since died of his wounds; and the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston jail. These three, with Major Moore and Major McClary, who noble struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament; but the officers and soldiers in general who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery.

The Town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were in general large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed; and its chimneys and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting an indignation in their bosoms which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants who have introduced desolation and havock into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty.

Though the officers and soldiers of the Ministerial Army meanly exult in having gained this

ground, yet they cannot but attest to the bravery of our troops, and acknowledge that the battles of Fontenoy and Minden, according to the numbers engaged, and the time the engagements continued, were not to be compared with this; and, indeed, the laurels of Minden were totally blasted in the battle of Charlestown. The ground purchased, thus dearly purchased by the British Troops, affords them no advantage against the American Army, now strongly intrenched on a neighbouring eminence. The Continental Troops, nobly animated from the justice of their cause, sternly urge to decide the contest by the sword; but we wish for no farther effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it. But if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh, Britons! Be wise for yourselves before it is too late, and secure a commercial intercourse with the American Colonies before it is forever lost; disarm your Ministerial assassins; put an end to this unrighteous and unnatural war; and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your right to tax and officer the Colonies, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is irrevocably lost. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

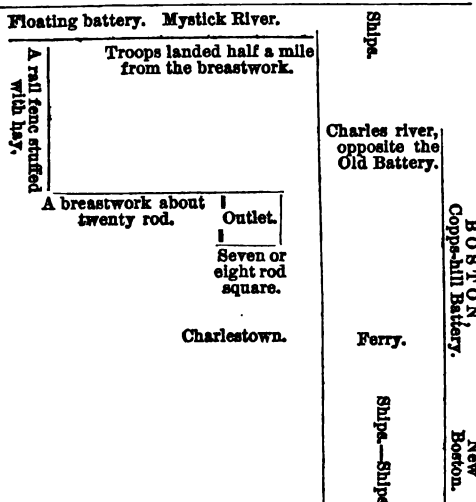
J. PALMER, *per order*.

28.—*Another account of the late Action at Bunker's Hill.*

[From *Bivington's Gazetteer, or the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, No. 190, New York, Thursday, August 3, 1775.]

As to camp news, I was there for the first time last Saturday. Our people appear hearty and very happy. The great numbers who crowd to view it, and see their friends, and the parading of the regiments upon the commons, make a grand appearance. The famous Prospect-hill is just by the stone house, on the left hand as you go to Charlestown. I believe the regulars will hardly venture out, for they must lose a vast many men if they should, and they cannot afford to purchase every inch of ground, as they did at Charlestown. The number the regulars lost, and had wounded, you have seen in the account taken from the orderly-serjeant, which agrees pretty nearly with a variety of accounts we have received from people, who have come here from Boston, in fishing boats. They must have suffered greatly, for the fire continued with small arms sixty one minutes, and great part of the time very close fighting. My class-mate Col. —, was in the intrenchment, and was wounded in the head and leg. He says there was no need of waiting for a chance to fire, for as soon

as you had loaded, there was always a mark at hand, and as near as you pleased. His description of the intrenchment, etc., was this.



The square, or fort, had about one hundred and fifty men in it. The breastwork about two hundred. The rail fence stuffed with straw four or five hundred. The reason why the square was so thinly manned on the side toward Boston, was because the fire from Cop's-hill poured in so thick that there was no living in it. The regulars when they found the fire slacken for want of ammunition, pushed over the walls with their guns in their left hand, and their swords in the right, for it was such an unfinished piece of work that they ran over it. Part of them had come round on the side next Charlestown, so as to fire on the back of our people when they began to leave the intrenchment, and it was then we lost our men. The ships and floating batteries prevented any assistance, or support of consequence, being given to our men; the fire from Cop's-hill ceased when that with small arms began, but that from a ship off New Boston killed and raked our men quite up to the Sun tavern.—thinks there was more than three thousand of the regulars landed. They advanced in open order, the men often twelve feet apart in the front, but very close after one another in extraordinary deep or long files. As fast as the front man was shot down, the next stepped forward into his place; but our men dropt them so fast, they were a long time coming up. It was surprising how they would step over their dead bodies, as though they had been logs of wood. Their officers, it is said, were obliged to push them on behind, notwithstanding which they once ran and filled some of the

boats, the fire was so hot. One of ———'s captains told me he fired about thirty five times, and after that threw stones. ——— says when they pushed over the breastwork, what with the smoke and dust, it was so dark in the square that he was obliged to feel about for the outlet, the earth, which they threw up for a breastwork, being very dry and loose, for they had only one of these short nights to execute it in.

29.—Colonel Prescott's Letter to John Adams.

[From Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 325, 326.]

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, August 25, 1775.

SIR: I have received a line from my brother, which informs me of your desire of a particular account of the action at Charlestown. It is not in my power, at present, to give so minute an account as I should choose, being ordered to decamp and march to another station.

On the 16 June, in the evening, I received orders to march to Breed's Hill in Charlestown, with a party of about one thousand men, consisting of three hundred of my own regiment, Colonel Bridge and Lieut. Brickett, with a detachment of theirs, and two hundred Connecticut forces, commanded by Captain Knowlton. We arrived at the spot, the lines were drawn by the engineer, and we began the intrenchment about twelve o'clock; and plying the work with all possible expedition till just before sun-rising, when the enemy began a very heavy cannonading and bombardment. In the interim, the engineer forsook me. Having thrown up a small redoubt, found it necessary to draw a line about twenty rods in length from the fort northerly, under a very warm fire from the enemy's artillery. About this time, the above field officers, being indisposed, could render me but little service, and the most of the men under their command deserted the party. The enemy continuing an incessant fire with their artillery, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the seventeenth, the enemy began to land [at] a north-easterly point from the fort, and I ordered the train, with two field-pieces, to go and oppose them, and the Connecticut forces to support them; but the train marched a different course, and I believe those sent to their support followed, I suppose to Bunker's Hill. Another party of the enemy landed and fired the town. There was a party of Hampshire, in conjunction with some other forces, lined a fence at the distance of three score rods back of the fort, partly to the north. About an hour after the enemy landed, they began to march to the attack in three columns. I commanded my Lieut.-col. Robinson and Major Woods, each with a detachment, to flank the enemy, who, I have reason to think, behaved with prudence and courage. I

was now left with perhaps one hundred and fifty men in the fort. The enemy advanced and fired very hotly on the fort, and meeting with a warm reception, there was a very smart firing on both sides. After a considerable time, finding our ammunition was almost spent, I commanded a cessation till the enemy advanced within thirty yards, when we gave them such a hot fire that they were obliged to retire nearly one hundred and fifty yards before they could rally and come again to the attack. Our ammunition being nearly exhausted, could keep up only a scattering fire. The enemy being numerous, surrounded our little fort, began to mount our lines, and enter the fort with their bayonets. We were obliged to retreat through them, while they kept up as hot a fire as it was possible for them to make. We having very few bayonets, could make no resistance. We kept the fort about one hour and twenty minutes after the attack with small arms. This is nearly the state of facts, though imperfect and too general, which, if any ways satisfactory to you, will afford pleasure to

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

To the Hon. JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

30.—*Extracts from President Stiles's Diary.*

[From the original manuscript, in the Library of Yale College, now first printed, by especial permission of President Woolsey.]

[Vol. v. page 198.] 1775. JUNE 18 - - - At IX o'Clock this Evng a Gentleman came to Town from the Camp which he left this Morn'g & informs that the Troops came over to Charlesto yesterday Morn'g, set fire to Town by Canonade which began at XI A M & continued till IX at Night—that Charlesto is in Ashes—that Col Putnam is encamped at Charlesto on Bunkers Hill & has lost one of his best Captains, but is determined to Stand his Ground having Men enough—that our pple had begun a Canonade from Dorchester Hill—that the Fire was renewed this Morn'g before he came away. So that it is doubtless a bloody Scene: tho' I believe the Regulars will not venture further out than Charlestown.

[p. 194] 1775 JUNE 19. - - - Everyone filled with the greatest Sollicitude & Anxiety for the Event of Things at the Army as a Battle is certainly begun. The Town of Charlesto is in Ashes—it might consist of about 250 Dwelling-houses—the Inhabitants had removed with their Effects some Weeks ago. We have various Acco^{ts}—some that Gen Putnam is surrounded & taken by the Kings Troops—some that he repulsed them & had by assistance of others coming up, placed the Regulars between 2 fires. At X o'Clock at Night the news was that Gen Putnam was forced from his Trenches on Bunkers Hill & obliged to retreat

with the loss of *fourty men killed & an hundred wounded*, & that Dr Warren president of the Congress was among the *slain*.

20. - - - Mr. Wm. Ellery came in last Evng from Providence & shewed me a Copy of his Excellency Gen Wards Letter of Saturday Morn'g last to the Congress informing the Landing of the Kings Troops—also of a Letter from the *Chamber of Supplies* & another from Gen Green to Lieut Gov Cook dated on Ldsdy giving an Account of the Battle. Gen Green says Gen Putnam with *three hundred Men* took possession & entrenched on Bunkers Hill on friday night 16th Inst. The Chamber of Supplies says that Saturday Morn'g early the Kings Troops land on the back of that Hill under Discharge of Canon from 3 Ships of the Line drawn up before Charlesto & from the Battery on Copps Hill in Boston. That afterwds they attacked Gen Putnam who [p. 195] defended himself with Bravery till overpowered & obliged to retreat—that the Loss was not ascertained but that more of the Enemy was killed than of us. Gen Green says that Gen Ward had published from Head Quarters that our Loss was about (40) fourty killed and 100 wounded & that the Enemys Loss was judged three times as much. Green seemed to doubt this at first, but from after Inquiry & consid^g that Putnam fired from the Trenches & that it was said the dead of the Enemy covered an Acre of Ground, Gen Green seemed rather to credit the Estimate of the superior Loss of the Regulars.

Upon the News of the Action or Landg the Congress instantly broke up & those who had arms repaired to the Field of Action—hence Dr Warren's being in the Action where he fell dying gloriously:—others went off each way into the Towns to rally & convene the Militia which poured in in vast Multitudes to sustain the Army if necessary. A Canonade was also begun from the Neck firing redhot Balls &c upon Roxbury. And this Fireing was continued all Saturday Ldsdy & yesterday & was heard at Dighton Warren &c. Mr Cook of Tiverton came from the Camp, where he yesterday Morn'g was on Winter Hill & there saw Genl Putnam entrenching & in good Spirits being fully reinforced. All are Expecting another Action.

[p. 200] 1775, JUNE 23. - - - Messrs Ellery, Chang &c returned here from a Visit to the Camp which they left Wedneday last. They spent an hour with Gen Putnam in his Tent on Prospect Hill about half way between Cambridge & Charlestown. The General gave them an acco of the Battle last Saturday, said the Number lost on our Side was not ascertained, but the nearest Account was that we had about fifty (not sixty) killed & about 20 wounded: We lost few till the Retreat; We repulsed the Regulars three Times, fought four hours, the small Arms & six Field

pieces made great Havock among the Regulars till our Powder failed. Gen Putnam said by Acco^{ts} from within B^o the regulars confessed their Loss of killed wounded & missing was about one Thousd. Our Body on Bunkers Hill where was the Action was fifteen hundred at first & 700 afterwds, Putnam says he judged the Regulars were Three Thousand. There was a Reinforc^t within ^{pp}haps half a Mile & ought to have come up to their Assist^a but they must pass an open Causg where the Regulars kept up a heavy Fire from floating Batteries. Putnam was not at Bunkers hill at the begins but soon repaired thither & was in the heat of the Action, till towards Night when he went away to fetch across this Reinforcem^t which ought to have come before. Soon after & before he could return, our Men began to retreat. For some imprudently call out the powder is gone — [p. 201.] the Regulars heard it, & rallied again & came on with Fury & forced the Trenches & then our pple retreated, leav^g the Heroic General Warren mortally wounded in the Trenches. Dr. Warren was made a General but the thursdy. before by the prov Congress — he was buried in Boston. It is sd the Regulars had Eighty Officers killed. The Army are in high Spirits. They consider this scarcely a Repulse consid^g the Damage they did to the Enemy: — & indeed if with the Loss of 50 or 60 killed our pple killed & damaged the Regulars near one thousd it is wonderful Providence. The Troops landed under fire of the Shipps, then set fire to Charlesto in which were three hundred Houses, all which but ^{pp}haps two or three were reduced to Ashes & Ruins—then about One or Two o'clock PM. they marched for the Attack & continued it four hours till near night.

[p. 203.] JUNE 28. - - - The B^o Gazette of 26th Inst says of the Action 17th Inst — “the ministerial Troops about *five Thousand* in Number were commanded by Ld. Howe, & by the most favors Acco One *Thousand* of them among whom were *Eighty four* Officers were killed & wounded. — By many ^{pp}sons of undoubted Veracity, that were in B^o during the late Battle & were soon after in the Field of Action, we learn that the Enemy sustained a [p. 204.] greater Loss than was at first apprehended.—The Enemy re-treated twice before they carried the Intrenchm^{ts} which were the Works of a Night. — About *seven hundred Americans fought the Battle*, the Residue of the Army from Cambridge, not have recovered Bunkers Hill timely eno^t to reinforce our brave men. The Loss on our side is not yet ascertained, but at the most is supposed to be from 150 to *Two hundred* killed & wounded. Major General Warren, late Presid^t of the Prov Congress was among the slain & was buried by his Friends at Charlestown. Col. Parker of Chelmsford & twenty-

“seven privates from different Towns are Prisoners in Boston Goal. The officers of the Regulars acknowledge that they have dearly purchased the hill, & say that the Rebels fought more like Devils than Men. Charlesto contains about *three hundred* Dwelleshouses & 150 or 200 other Buildg^s was laid in Ashes.” - - - Extracted fr B^o Gaz printed at Waterto.

[p. 206.] 1775 JUNE 30. - - - Revd Mr Martin visited me, & gave me an acco of the Battle at Charlesto, 17th Inst which he was in.

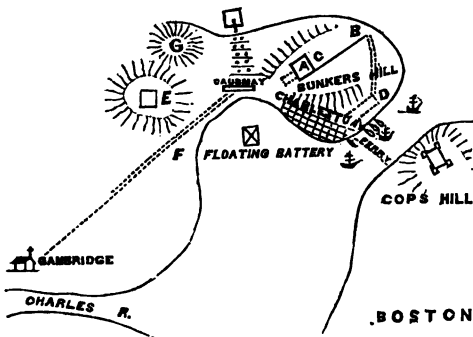
Mr Martin was in the whole affair from the first taking possession of Bunkers Hill to the End of the Battle, as Chaplain. From his Draughts & Convers^s I collect the following Account. He says that about 1500 went on friday Night & took Possession of Bunkers Hill under the Command of Col. Prescott. — The Engineer Mr Gridley, plan'd a square about 100 yds more or less,* in each Corner were Canon. The Entrenchm^t around this square was on one side extended into a long Line. [p. 207.] The Men dug in the Trenches one hour & then mounted Guard & were relieved by others. That about one thousd wrote in the Trenches all night. A little after^t dallight the Ships began to fire upon them — distant about three* quarters of a Mile. Then a Cessation, & perparation for a Debark^a in Boats. Col. Gridley taken ill & left the Works in the Morning, comitting the oversight of the finish^g the Trenches to Mr Martin. Thus about 1000 Men were commanded by him while at Labor, & commanded by Col. Prescott when on Guard & military Duty. A fire from Corps Hill on Boston side $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile distant. Mr Martin ventured down to Charlesto Ferry & with a spy Glass viewed the Shipping & observed their preparations of floating Batteries & Boats filling with Soldiers. There were now in Charlesto a consider^a number of pple, Mr Martin judges 100 or 200 or more Men & Women, not yet removed, tho' the Body of the pple & Effects were gone. While he called in at a house for a Drink of Water, a Canon Ball from the Shipping past thro' the House — he ^{pp}sued the Inhab to depart — but they seemed reluctant. He assured them it could be warm Work that day. Returns to the Hill, he ^{pp}sued Col. Prescott to send for Reinforcem^t of Men & Artillery assuring him their would be warm Work, & that the Hill was not tenable without more force. Col. Prescott & he differed even to Quarrel. About noon or before [p. 208.] Mr Martin went down into To a 2d Time. Mr Cary & so on still at their own house urged him to take some Refreshm^t & Rest as he had been been fatigued all night. He lay down at Mr Carys about Ten Minutes when a

* Over the words “100 yds more or less,” are interlined the words “ten Rods long & Eight Rods wide.” Ed. Hist. MAG.

† Over “three” is interlined “two.” Ed. Hist. MAG.

Ball came thro' the house. He rose & returned, & then the Tro' evacuated with all hast. He still urged Col. Prescott to send for Gen Putnam & a Reinforc^t but without Effect. He then ordered one of the men off himself & dispatched him the General Ward at head Quarters at Cambridge. This bro't Col. Putnam & a large Reinforcmt about Noon a little before or after.

The Troops landed between I & II nearly II. PM. of 17th Inst & drew up at D in a Battalion 12 deep & Mr Martin then estimated them four thousand, tho' he since learns they were 5000. They began the attack about II^h and the whole affair lasted till between V & VI. between 3 & 4 hours, tho' the hottest of the Action was from about III^h o'Clock for one hour & an half.* Their first Fire was at a Distance, & upon receivg our Fire they affected a Retreat—but this was discerned & the word Policy went thro' our Army, & they were not drawn forth of their Trenches. Gen Putnam was now at A: and soon after Gen Warren was at C where he fell. The Connecticut Forces were towds & at the End of the Line B. The Regulars then cast themselves into an extended Line from D towds B with a view of coming [p. 209] round B. At length a heavy fire & Action took place from C to B on our sides & D to B on the other, so that the Regulars being below the hill were repulsed or stopt.



PLAN OF THE GROUND.

A few of our men being slain Mr Martin undertook the kind office of taking care of & carrying off the killed and wounded. He was obliged to leave the Trenches and pass the Causey thro' the fire of the Enemy's floats Battery & go 2 m. to Head Quarters at Cambridge—where he received Orders from Gen Ward to press & employ

what Waggon & men he needed. He returned & spent the rest of his Time in the heat of Action in passing along the Lines & pickg up & carrying off the killed & wounded. I think he carried off about dead. After the fire became very heavy a consider^a body of the Mass Troops retired & went off in Shoals, but others came up. At length the Welch fusileers (7th 300) marchg from D round behind the Troops came furiously round to B to enter there, & at the same Time a Column advanced up to A. The Action at both Ends of the Lines was obstinate & furious: it was longest at B chiefly between the Welch fusileers & some Irish Troops on one side—& the Connect Troops & Irish intermixd on the other. All the Welch were slain but six Men. Our men repulsed them vigorously & drove them, & the Irish pursued round B till the Range of their Fire came to our Lines. When Mr Martin (an [p. 210,] Irish Gent) called to his Countrymen in Irish to return. The Connect. Men tho't the unknown Tongue betrayed Treachery, but it was soon rectified. They fought on. The Column had penetrated the sq^a A & Putnam & Warren were deeply engaged with them—Orders being given to a body to go to B & relieve the Connect. Men & for them to retreat—the Word RETREAT all at once went thro' the Army, a Retreat began & could not be recovered. At this Moment the Troops rushed round at B where Mr Martin happened to be. They damned him for a clerical Dog & fired at him & said they would have his Life. The soldier after firg rushd on him with his Bayonet. Mr Martin drew his Irish long sword & defended himself, thrust & killed his Adversy by letting out his Bowels. Another fired and attacked him with the broad Sword. Mr Martin learned the Sword—defended himself & killed his Advy by a stroke on the Neck. He brot off his wounded. And between V & VI the Retreat was finished—the Enemy captivatg between 20 & 30. Mr Martin had hitherto received no Wound, tho' the sword came so near his Bowels as to take off a Coat Button—but hav got to F they stopt, & he was kindly endeavg by Lint & bandages to stop the Effusion of Blood of one of the Wounded, when a Canon Ball came by his Breast (but without Toutchg) he fell instantly & was senseless, the Force so great. [p. 211.] They let him blood & he recovered, tho' he vomited or raised much Blood & is still in pain at his Breast.

Gen Putnam imedy encampt at E on Prospect hill & the Hampshire Forces at G. During the whole or most of the Action Col. Gerrish with 1000 men was at the Bottom of Bunker Hill & ought to have come up but did not. I asked Mr Martin how many of our Forces were at any and all Times that day on Bunker's hill?—he sd between 2 & 3000 nearly three thousand—how many

* Over the words "one hour & an half" are interlined "fourty minutes." Ed. Hist. Mag.

the most there at any one Time? about Two Thousd, of which about fifteen hundred fought well, the rest were cowards. Col. Prescott fought bravely. There was great Havock among the Regulars. Mr Martin says there are now about six Thousd encampd at Cambridge & so along towds Charlestown. One Connect man killed above twenty of the Welch fusileers. Col Gridly the Engineer served one of the Canon himself well. Gen Ward was in ill health. I askt Mr Martin, whether he appeared timid & terrified, whether he was a Coward? he said no. Much other Convers^a passd—he told the Number bro't off dead, & Wounded, captivd* by the Enemy: that the Total Loss was - - - say - - - about 170 or 180 which was about 20 more than they could account for as *killed, wounded, Captives*—these 20 he supposed have deserted. I think the killed were about 40 or 50, wounded of wc 5 or 6 died of their Wounds, Captivated & carried to B about 26.

[p. 218] JULY 4. - - - - - The Accounts of the Loss in the [p. 219] Action at Charlesto 17th Inst are greatly increased. The Post brings up the following Minute

Return of the Regulars killed

92 Comission Officers: includs 3 Majors, 2 Colonels
102 Sergeants
100 Corporals
700 Privates

994. Total killed. 1047 killed & died of Wounds

Provincials

138 killed & missing; 28 of which are in Prison in Boston and 20 more were Cowards & Runaways.

292 Wounded

430

It is reported that Gen Burgoyne is killed; but this is a Mistake. It is remark^a that Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn are among the slain, as they were the first that fired & began hostilities at Lexington 19th April last. The Battle was more heavy on both sides than was judged at first. Six of the 28 Captives died & some others died of the Wounds—so that of the above 138 Provincials, the killed may be called one hundred, or about one Tenth as many as the killed of the Regulars.

As 96 [Prov] killed:† 292 wounded :: 994 [Regulars] killed :‡ 3022 Wounded If 3000 Regulars are

* Over the word "captived," are interlined the words "died of Wounds." ED. HIST. MAG.

† Over "96 killed," is interlined the word "Prov." ED. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

‡ Over "994 killed," is interlined the word "Regulars." EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

wounded & 1000 killed: it is a Detriment to 4000 out of the 5000 that landed. A Battle indeed!

[p. 228] [Extract from a letter of Rev. Dr. Stiles to Rabbi Carigal of Barbadoes.] - - - "Hostilities were comenced at Lexington 15 Miles from Boston 19th April last. A second considerable Action was at Noddle Isld on 27 May. But a third & far the greatest was at Charlesto on 17th June. You will see & hear very various & differing accounts of them all. With all the Candor I can, I will give you an Estimate of the Losses on both sides—tho' it is difficult to obtain the exact Truth. . . .

[p. 229] "The 3d & most heavy Battle was at Charlesto 17th June, between four or five Thousd of the Kings Troops on one side actually landed & engaged—and fewer than Two Thousd of the Provincials at Bunkers Hill, which 1500 provincials only went and took possession of the preceds night. After an obstinate Battle of two hours or more, the provincials gave way were repulsed & retreated one Mile to an Eminence between Camb & Charlesto where they are entrenching having there & within two Miles around about Eleven Thousd Provincials encampd at this Time, as by a List before me. . . . Great pains are taken by the Regulars & their Connexions to represent this as a complete Victory over the Rebels, of whom they say they have killed in this Action Three Thousd, tho' there never were 2000 on Bunkers Hill or within their Reach. We have 4 diff Acc^o of this Battle given by the Regulars & friends of Govt as they are called —all calculated to render the Truth obscure [p. 230] "& dark & difficult to find out, Several psons who came out of B^o since the action assure me that they were told by the Regulars themselves that they had above One Thousd killed: perhaps they meant that their Loss of Damage of killed & wounded was a Thousd.

"Return of the Regulars killed June 17: 1775

"92 Comission Officers includs 3 Majors & 2 Colonels

"102 Serjeants. 100 Corporals. 700* [753] Privates. Tot. 994† [1047] killed.

"Another Return says 1084 killed

"No Acc^o of the Wounded. Usually twice or 3 Times the No killed.

"Return of the Provincials

"138 Killed & missing of which 28 were captivated, 20 Deserted

"292 Wounded true No killed fr. 90 & not to exceed 100.

"430 Killed of Regulars 994

* Over the figures "700" are interlined "753." EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† Over the figures "994" are interlined "1047." EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

"Killed of Provincials 91
 "one of whom was Major
 "Gen. President WARREN.

"Thus this Victory was so ordered by providence as to prove a Tenfold Loss to the Kings Troops. It is however only a Repulse. It has neither intimidated nor dispersed the Rebel Army, which sticks so close to them as Phaps not to be very easily shaken off, as they are in great Spirits & of an intrepid Resolution, and animated by their Generals with the same Spirit as that with which the Patriot Nehemiah animated Gods chosen People of old, Neh. iv. "14."

[p. 232.] - - - Gen Gage's Letter to Ld Dartmouth, Boston June 25, 1775

"Ten Companies of the Grenadiers, ten of "Light Infantry, with the 5th 38, 43d, and "52d Battallions, & a Proportion of Field Artillery under the Comand of Major Gen Howe & "Brig Gen Pigot, were embarked with gt Expedition & landed on the Peninsula without Opposition:—The Light Infy posted on the "right & the Gren on the left. The 5 & 38 Batt. "drew up in the rear of those Corps & 43 & 52 "made a third Line.—Reinforced with some "Comps of Light Infy & Grenadiers, the "47th Batt. & the 1st Batt. of Marines; the whole "when in Conjunction making a Body of something above *Two Thousand Men*. These Troops "advanced, formed in two Lines—advancing "slowly & frequently halting:—defeated above "three Times their own Number, strongly posted &c." "Loss of the Rebels—near one hundred buried the day after, & 30 found wounded in the field."

Lond. Mag. Aug. 1775.

[pp. 243, 244.] JULY 17 - - - - Another Return of the Battle at Charlesto 17 June

Regiments	Killed & missing Wounded		
Col. Starke's Reads	} N. Hamp	15	45
Gen. Ward's		1	6
Coi. Scamon's	} Massach	2	Regts
Bridge's		15	29 Prescott's
Gerrish's		3	2 Fry's
Prescott's		42	28 Nixons
Whitcomb's		5	8 went on
Fry's		15	31 over
Brewer's		7	11 night
Nixon's		3	10
Little's		7	23
Woodbridges		1	5
Gardners		6	7
Doolittles			9
Gridleys			4

Gen. Putnams }
 Capt Coits } Connect. 15 30
 Chesters }

About 30 of the missing since
 returned - - - - - 30

105
 250

Tot. Killd Wounded & missing 355

As there were certainly between 20 & 30 of our pple taken captives, say 26, so our killed were nearest 80.

In a return of the Regulars now before me are the very names of the Comissioned officers that suffered & the Regts particularly

Another Acco
 Comissioned Officers killed - - 31 24
 Comised Off — wounded - - 59 68

90 92
 See p. 257 & 279
 Serjeants - } - - - - - 102
 Corporals } killed - - - 100
 Rank & file } - - - - - 753

955
 31 Officers

Total killed - - - 986
 Wounded - - - - - 504

1490

Extracted fr. Provid. Gazette 15 July

[p. 245] Here I remark. 1. That I take the Acco for the officers to be nearly just, the other Phaps nearly just also, tho' it is very remark that there shd be 231 Officers of all sorts to 753 privates. 2. At bottom is added Wounded, but dont say Total wounded—the Number is but 504 in an open field fight—incredible. But then the 59 are omitted. So that here is designed Concealment. 3. However the true Number of Wounded among the Comission Officers is given 59 which may help us in estimating the proportion of the Wounded in the privates. The proportion may be stated both from that among the Colonists & also the Regulars in the same Battle. In round Numbers the killed were nearest 1000 Regulars & 100 Provincials

Wounded
 As 100 killed : 250 wounded :: 1000 : 2500
 As 31 . . . 59 . . . : 986 : 1876
 I judge from these Data, which have escaped Concealments, that the Kings Troops had 1000 Killed & 2000 Wounded.
 Kings Troops . . 3000. Total killed wounded & missing
 Colonists . . 355 Do

Regt	4th	killd	Wound.	died of Wounds
	5	4	3	
	10	.	5	1
	14	1	2	
	18	1	3	
	35	3	2	
	38	1	4	
	—	3	7	
	47	2	6	
	52	5	5	
	59	0	1	
	62	2	6	
	67	1	0	
Marines	6	13		1
	29	61		
	2	2		
	31	59		

[p. 257] 1775 JULY 25. . . . It is very difficult to ascertain the Loss of the Kings Troops at Bunkers Hill 17th last month. The later the Lists the more are dead & every way the Loss greater than at first supposed. In the Cambridge paper of 18th Inst tho 3 W. after the Battle, we have a Return probably as it stood imedy after the Battle. (as it stood July 11.)

" Wounded

" 4th Regt Captains Balfour & West. Lieut^s Batron & Brown

" 5th Reg. Major Mitchel. Capt^s Jackson & Marsden. Lieut^s Croker, and M'Clintock. Ensigns Charelton & Balaguire.

" 10th Reg. Capt^s Fitzgerald & Parsons. Lieut^s Pettigiew, Hamilton, & Vernon. (Vernon dead wounds)

" 14th Regt Ensign Hasket

" 18th Reg. Lt Richardson

" 25th Reg. Capt Blakeney, Lt^s Cochran, Beckwith, & Lenthall

" 35th Reg. Capt Drew. Lt^s Campbell & Massey (Drew died of Wounds)

" 38th Reg. Major Bruce. Capt^s Boyd & Coker. Lt^s Christie, House, Myers, & Swiney. Qu^r Master Mitchel

" Ensign Mitchel. Major Short died of the Wounds

" 43a Reg. Major Spendlove. (died) Lt^s Robertson & Dalrymple.

" 47th Reg. Major Smith. Capt England, Craig & Alcock. Lieut England.

" 52 Reg. Capt^s Nelson, Thompson, & Crawford Higgins. Ensigns Chetwynd & Crame (Crame died)

" 59th Reg. Lieut Haynes

" 63 Reg. Capt^s Horsford & Foiller.

[p. 258.] " 65th Reg. Capt Sinclair, Lieut^s Paxton, Smith, & Hales.

" Marines. Capt^s Lemoine, Huddleston, Logan,

" Chudleigh, & Johnson. Lieut^s Pitcairn, Shotworth, Campbell, Brisbane, Averno, Rag, Dyer. Engineer Page, Lt Jardin, Secy to Gen (died)

" Wounded " Howe.

" 68

" Killed

" 5th Reg. Capt. Downes.

" 14th Reg. Lt Bruen.

" 22d Reg. Lt Col, Abercrombie.

" 39th Reg. Capt Lyon; Lieut Bard.

" 38th Reg. Lt Dutton.

" 43d Reg. Capt M'Kenzie.

" 47th Reg. Lt^s Gould, Willard and Hill. "yer.

" 52d Reg. Major Williams, Capt^s Addison, Davison, Smith and Higgins.

" 63d Reg. Lt Dalrymple.

" 65th Reg. Capt Hudson

" Killed 67th Reg. Capt Sharwin, * [Shamoin]

" 24

" Aid de Camp to Gen Howe

" 92

" Marines. Major Pitcairn, Capt Campbell, & Ellis. Lt^s Finney, Gardner, & Shea.

" Major Spendlove, Lt Vernon, & Lt Jar-

" din Secrety to Gen Howe, with many

" others, have already died of their

" Wounds. And a great part of those

" who are alive are mortally wounded."

See p.

[p. 262] JULY 27. - - - Read a Letter dated Cambridge June 25 1775 from Peter Brown of Westford to his Mother in Newport. He was in the Battle of Concord: immediately enlisted into Col Prescotts Regt and is Clerk of a Comp^s and was in the Lines on Bunkers Hill in the Battle of Charlesto 17th ult.

He says " Fryday the 16th of June we were ordered &c—the whole that was called for was these three Col Prescotts, Frys & Mickson's Regt—About 9 o'clock at night we marched down on to Charlesto Hill against Cox Hill in Bo where we entrenched, & made a Fort of about Ten Rod long, eight wide, with a Breast Work of about Eight more. We worked there undiscovered till about 5 in the Morn^s before we saw our Danger being against Eight Ships of the Line & all Boston fortified against us.

" The Danger we were in made us think there was Treachery, & that we were brot here to be all slain. and I must & will venture to say there was Treachery Oversight or Presumption in the Conduct of our Officers. And about half after 5 in the Morn^s, we not having above half our Fort done, they began to fire (I suppose as soon as they had Orders) pretty briskly, for a

* Over "Sharwin" is interlined the word "Shamoin."—Ed. HIST. MAG.

"few Minutes, then stopt, then again to the Number of twenty or more. They killed one of us, then ceased till about Eleven o'Clock, when they began to fire as brisk as ever, which caused some [p. 263] of our Young Country pple to desert, apprehending the Danger in a clearer manner than the rest, who were more diligent in digging & fortifyng ourselves against them, &c &c. They fired very warm from Boston & from on board till about 2 o'Clock, when they began to fire from the Ships in ferry Way, & from the Ship that lay in the River against to stop our Reinforcemts we they did in some Measure, one Canon cut off 3 men in two on the Neck. Our Officers sent time after Time after the Canon from Cambridge in the Mornng & could get but four, the Capt of which fired but a few times, & then swang his Hat round three Times to the Enemy, then ceased to Fire, it being about 3 o'Clock Cessation of the Canons Roaring, soon after we espied fourty Boats or Barge, comg over full of Regulars, it is supposed there were about *three Thousand of them*, and about *seven hundred of us* left not deserted, besides *five hundred* Reinforcemt, that could not get nigh to do us any good, till they saw that we must all be cut off, or some of them, so they advanced. When our Officers saw that the Regulars intended to land they ordered the Artilly to go out of the fort & prevent their Landg, if possible, from whence the Artilly Capt took his Pieces & went right home to Cambridge fast as he could, for which he is now confined & we expect he will be shot for it. The Enemy Landed & fronted before us & formed themselves in an Oblong sq [p. 264] "Square, so as to surround us we they did in part. After they were well formed they advanced towds us in order to swallow us up, but they found a Choaky Mouthful of us, tho' we could do nothg with our small Arms yet for Distance, & had but *two Canon & no Gunner*. And they from Bo & fr. the ships firg & throws Bombs keeps us down till they got almost round us. But God in Mercy to us fought our Battle for us, & tho' we were but a few & so was suffered to be defeated by the Enemy, yet we was preserved in a most wonderful Manner far beyond or Expectation, & to or Admiration, for out of our Regt there was but *thirty seven killed four or five taken captive*, about fourty seven wounded.—If we shd be called to Action again I hope to have Courage & Strength to act my part valiantly in Defence of our Liberties & Country, trusting in him who hath yet kept me & hath covered my head in the day of Battle, & tho' we have lost four out of our Compa & some taken Captives by the cruel Enemies of America, I was not suffered to be touchted, altho' I was in the fort

"when the Enemy came in, & jumped over the Walls, & ran half a Mile where Balls flew like Hailstones, & Canons roared like Thunder."

[p. 278] AUG. 15. - - - Mr Burt was in To yesterday. He tells me that Mr Williams a Math Inst Maker living on the Long Wharf in Bo counted thirty three hundred Troops which embarked at the Long Wharf & went over to Charlesto on 17th June to the memorable Bunkers Hill Fight. That besides these a Number of Troops just arrived disembarked from the Transports at Charlest that day. These may well be supposed 1000 Men. Besides these a Number probly the main body of Marines went from the Ships to Charlesto also directly. These may have been 700 as it is sa that was the No of Marines on board the Ships. So that the whole might compose a Body of Five Thousd. This is the best Estimate I can yet form for the Number of the Kings Troops in that Action. These were fought by only 6 or 700 Provincials or Colonists.

[p. 279] 1775 AUG. 17. - - - In the Bo Gazette 14 Inst.— "A very intelligent Soldier belongs to the 23d Regt who deserted from the Enemy last Week, & who is known by several Gent in our Army, made Oath before his Excellency Gen Washington, that accordg to the most exact Acco there were killed of the Enemy at the Battle at Bunkers Hill & since died of their Wounds then received, *six field Officers, thirty two Captains*

"6 Field Officers
"32 Captains
"52 Subalternes
"55 Serjeants
"13 Drumers
"800 Privates

p 292

"1057

"In the whole when he left the regular Army "1057; and that it was tho't three hundred more Officers & Privates would die of their Wounds."

Rem. 1. Accounts given the latter End of June & within ten days after the Battle, the Loss was given out between 900 & 1000 dead, & soon became 1040 or thereabouts. And of this 1040 there have been sundry [p. 280] Modifications—sometimes it is *killed & wounded* all together; at other Times the *dead* only, but then joyned with 450 or 500 wounded only. And here the Tories rest the Account about 14 or 1500 *killed & wounded*— & then in a way of Inference speak of the killed as about 400 only—& some of the Whigs rest in this last Estimate. Rem. 2. I think the Harvest of Death among those who died of their Wounds must have been over within the first fourt'night. And from that Time to this there has been a Bruit of 1000 Dead. Now whence shd

this arise within Boston? If the Regulars intended this shd contain killd & wounded why have they, as they & their friends certainly have, talked of 14 & 1500? There may be some yet ill of their Wounds that may die. But not 300. However probly there are 300 still ill of their Wounds. Rem. 3. However take this Soldiers Acco & suppose the Total Loss in that Action & its Consequences to be 1300 finally dead—would not this justify a much higher Estimate of the Wounded of that day than has ever been imagined by the most sanguine Estimators? Rem. 4. I am apprehensive after all that the 90 Officers contained killed & wounded: designedly to render the whole dubious. This Account is doubtless that handed about in the Army in Boston, because we have had it come from them so many Times. I suppose it was constructed for the Army account as to the Substance of it. If it be said 1000 were killed by your own Acco—officers may deny it—& upon [p. 281] being referred to their own Acco circulated & given by themselves in the Army; they may shew or affect to shew a fallacious Misapprehension, by alledging that the Wounded as well as killed were given with the Officers: & so overthrow the Credit of the whole. We see such incessant insidious Stratagems & Delusions practised by the Army & Navy & Tories to make up the Mind & Judgt of the public ready to their Hands, & justifies such an Apprehension. It requires a great deal of Discernment to separate the Truth from Error—to take a Tory or Ministerial Account and deduce the *Truth* from the designed Concealment. Rem. 4. Tho' I dont believe that last Week there were 300 wounded left who shall die of Wounds; yet the Soldier may know, for this may come well within his Observs that there then remained 300 not cured of their Wounds six Weeks after the Action. Now, are not three quarters of the Wounded usually cured in 6 or 7 Weeks? Dont this imply above 500 (the Tory Acco) Wounded? Rather does not the 1000 Dead & 300 wounded *now* remaining imply at least 3000 Affected in the Action?

[p. 291.] (Aug. 21) Gen Gages Return of Bunke^r Hill June 17—Battle

	Officers to fifers		Privates	
	K	W	K	W
Roy. Regt Arty -	0	4	0	8
4th of Foot -	1	7	13	29
5th -	0	22	1 dead	22
10 -	2	8	5	39
18 -	-	1	3	7
22 -	-	1	1 dead	-
23 -	3	8	11	35
35 -	1	18	9	41
38 -	3	14	23	69
43 -	2	11	20	77
47 -	1	10	2 dead	15
52 -	4	14	1 dead	20

59 -	0	1	6	25
63 -	2	5	7	25
65 -	2	7	8	25
1st Batt Marines -	5	7	1 dead	15
2d Do. -	2	4	5	29
	28	142	182	600*
Officers attendg on Gen Howe) -	-	-	80	153
	2	10	-	-
	30	152	212	753

Yet he makes Officers killed 35 priv do 191—226. Tot. killed

Wounded as on next page

[p. 292] Aug. 24. - - - Gen Gage's Acco sent to the King

Field Officers -	3	killed	3	wounded
Capt's & Lieut -	16	-	27	& 32 L ^s
Ensign -	0	-	8	-
Serjeants -	15	-	40	-
Drumers -	1	-	12	-
Rank & file -	191	-	706	-

died of wounds }	226	796
24 June }	2	226

1022

- - - - - This day I conversed with young Mr Vassal who came out of Bo a fo'rtnight ago. He estimated the Loss of the Regulars at Bunkers Hill about 4 or 500 Killed & Wounded, & judgd the killed under 200, perhaps, he said, 180. What different Representations? Another Tory told me to day, Things had been all along very quiet at N. York, no Tumults &c, except a Trifle abot Lex affair.

[p. 334] 1775 Oct. 27. - Extract of a Letter from an Officer on board one of the Kings ships at Bo to his Friend in London dated June 23. last, giving Acco of the Battle at Bunkers Hill 17 June.

"—early on the 17th.—: we were imedy ord
"to land some Battalions, & in the mean Time
"or Great Guns were fired agt those who appeared
"to be busily employd at the Battery: whether
"or shot did not reach far eno' to create any
"Confusion among them, or it was owing to their
"Resolution I cannot say; but certain it is, that
"the moment they discovd the Lands of or Troops,
"they formed in Order of Battle; and so far
"fr. Retreats as we expected, they marched to-
"wards us with the utmost Coolness & Regu-
"larity. Nothing could exceed the Panic &
"apparent Dislike of most of the Kings Troops
"to enter into this Engagment; even at their
"Lands several attempted to run away & five
"actually took to their Heels in ord^r to joyn the
"Americans, but were presently bro't back, &

* Sic. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

"two of them hung up in Terrorem to the rest. —The Generals perceivg the Strength & Order of the Provincials, ordered a Reinforcmt to joyn the Troops already landed, but before they came up, the Canonads on both sides began. The *provincials poured down like a Torrent, & fought like Men who had no Care for their Persons*; they disputed every Inch of Ground, & their Numbers were far superior to ours. The Kings Troops gave way several Times, & it required the utmost Efforts of the Generals to rally them: at the beging of the Engagt many of them absolutely turned their Backs, not expectg so hot a fire from the Americans:—the latter feigned [p. 335] a Retreat, in order as we suppose to draw or Troops after them, & by that means to cut them in Pieces: & we are informed that Gen Ward had a Reserve of upwds of 4000 men for that purpose. The Kings Troops conclude that the Americans quitted the field thro' fear, pursued them under that apprehension, but did not proceed far eno' to be convinced by that fatal Experience, w^e was, as we hear, designed for them, of their Mistake. *The Engagemt lasted upwards of four hours & ended infinitely to our disadvantage.* The Flower of our Army are killed or wounded. During the Engagt Charlesto was set on fire by the Kings Troops, in order to stop the progress of the Provincials, who after their sham Retreat returned to attack them, but I think it was a wanton Act of the Kings Troops, who certainly after they had joyned the main body of o^r Army had no Occasion to take that Method of retarding the Return of the Americans, who upon perceivg that Gen Ward stood still with his Reserve, laid aside their Intentions. —:—The Americans are not those poltroons I myself was once taught to believe them to be; they are men of liberal & noble Sentiments, their very Characteristic is the Love of Liby, & tho I am an Officer under the King of G. B. I tacitly admire their Resolution & Perseverance agt the present oppressive measures of the Brit Government. —: I heartly wish myself with you & the rest of my Friends, & the first oppo^t that offers I will sell out & return: for at the best only Disgrace can arise in the service of such a Cause as y^t in w^e we are engaged." —

[p. 340.] Nov. 10. - - - In Bo Gazette 6th Inst printed at Waterto we have a Letter "from a Gen^l in America [p. 341.] (suppose Dr Franklin) to his Friend in London" — "Tell our dear friend Dr Price, who sometimes has doubts about our firmness, that Amer is determined & unanimous, a very few Tories excepted, who will probly soon export themselves. Britain at the Expence of three Millions has killed 150 Yankees this Campaign, w^e is £20,000 a head: and at *Bunkers Hill* she gained a Mile of Ground, half of which

"she has since lost again by not taking Post on *Plough'd Hill.*" - - -

[p. 347.] (Nov. 28) Gen Burgoyne in a Letter from Boston June 25 to a noble Ld gives an Acco of the Battle at Charlestown, the 17th June "On 17th at dawn of day we found the Eny had pushed Entrenchm^{ts} with gt Diligence durg the Night on the Heights at Charlesto. How as second in Comand was detachd with *about Two Thousand Men*, & landed &c—He had under him B. Gen. Pigot; Clinton & myself took our stand (for we had not any fixt post) in a large Battery directly opposite Charlesto—Howes Disposition was exceedg soldierlike in my opin it was pfect. As his first arm advanced up the Hill, *they met with 1000 Impediments from strong fences, & were much exposed.* They were also exceedingly hurt by Musquetry fr. Charlestown." (*Lie!*) "tho' Clinton & I did not perceive it till Howe sent us Word by a Boat, & desired us to set fire to the Town, which was immediately done; we threw a parcel of Shells, & the whole was instantly in flames. Our Batt^y afterwds kept an incessant Fire on the Heights, it was [p. 348.] seconded by a No of frigates, floats Batteries & one ship of the Line. And now ensued one of the greatest Scenes of War that can be conceived: if we look to the Height, *Howes Corps ascending the Hill*, in the face of Entrenchments, & a very disadvantageous Ground, *was much engaged*: to the left the Enemy pouring in fresh Troops by Thousands over land, and in the Arm of the Sea our Ships & floats Batt canonading them: strait before us a large & noble Town in one great Blaze; the Chh Steeples being of Timber, were great Pyramids of Fire above the rest: behind us the Chh Steeples & Heights of our own Camp covered with Spectators of the rest of our Army; the Hills round the Country covered with Spectators, the Enemy all in anxious suspense; the roar of Canon, Mortars & Musquetry, the Crush of Charches" (*N. B. only one*) "Ships upon the stocks, & whole streets fall together in ruins to fill the Ear: the storm of the Redoubts, with the objects above described to *fill the Eye*, & the Reflexion that Pheps a Defeat was a final Loss of the B. Emp. in America, to *fill the mind, made the whole a Picture & a Complication of Horror & Importance* beyond any Thing that ever came to my Lot to be Witness of. I much lament Toms absence—it was a *sight for a young Soldier that the longest Service may not furnish again.* - ——— A moment of the day was critical, *Howes left were staggered, two Battalions* had been sent to reinforce them, but we perceivd them on the Beach seemg in Embarrasm^t w^t way to march; *Clinton* then next for Business took the part without waitg for orders to throw himself into a Boat to

"head them. He arrived in Time to be of Service, the day ended with Glory, & the Success [p. 349] "was most important, consid^r the ascendy it "give the regular Troops; but the Loss was uncommon in Officers for the Numbers engaged."

Remark 1. If the Reinforc^{mt} of 2 Batt consisted of 7 or 800 each, the whole was between 3 & 4000 as our pple judged. The least reck^d is above 3000, which Burgoyne ought to have said were twice repulsed by 700 Colonists only. 2. The strong fences were the least Embarras^{mts}. 3. How large did our Reinforc^{mt}s appear to the Eye of a Regular General, when 1500 were multiplied into Thous^{ds}? 4. And really does the Conquest of a handful of Yankees, figure in his picturesque Description of military Horrors, as the greatest Action of War Gen Burg ever saw, or will ever again be seen in the longest service? It was indeed a horrible scene. But it shews that the Conquest of Amer is not to be carried without Horror. 5. He glides over the critical description of the Action itself—only Clinton was of service & the day ended in Glory, tho' there was a moment of Anxiety (not expected in London) thro' Danger of a Defeat.

* * * * *

31.—Colonel Scammans and the Battle of Bunker's-hill.*

[From *The New-England Chronicle: Or, The Essex Gazette*. Vol. VIII. Numb. 896. Cambridge, February 29, 1776.]

MR. HALL,

I observed when you published Dr. Church's letter, that my name was mentioned to my disadvantage: Therefore, in justice to my character, I am constrained to request that you would give the proceedings of a General Court Martial, held at Head-quarters, in Cambridge, by order of his Excellency George Washington, Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of all the American Forces, (with some remarks upon the depositions then taken), a place in your useful paper; that the public may judge how far I deserve the defamation given by the said Doctor. In granting

* Colonel Scammans was from Biddeford, Maine; and is said to have been "well fitted to shine in the military profession; possessing vigor of mind and body and a gaiety of temper which secured the good-will and attachment of all such as were under his command."—*Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford*.

After the events of the seventeenth of June, 1775, attempts were made, notwithstanding the decision of the Court Martial, to injure his reputation; and at the close of the year, he resigned. He then engaged in trade, in Biddeford, in connection with his brother, Nathaniel; and he died there, in 1804, aged sixty-four years.

His tomb is inscribed with the following lines:

"A man of infinite jest; of most excellent fancy.

"This stone, to strangers, may impart,

"The place where Scammans lies;

"But every friend consults his heart,

"For there he never dies."

this request, you will oblige many of your constant readers, and in particular,

Your humble servant,

JAMES SCAMMANS.

[MINUTES OF THE COURT, WITH COMMENTS BY COLONEL SCAMMANS.]

General Court Martial held July 13th, 1775. Col. Nixon, President; with one Lieut. Colonel, one Major, and ten Captains.

William Tudor, Judge Advocate.

The Court being duly sworn, proceeded to the trial of Col. Scammans of the Massachusetts forces, who was bro't before the Court, and accused of disobedience to orders and backwardness in the execution of his duty, in the late action on Bunker's-Hill at Charlestown, on the 17th of June last.

The prisoner being arraigned on the above complaint, pleads not guilty.

The Court postponed the examination of the witnesses to Friday, 14th of July, at eight of the clock, to which time the Court was adjourned.

FRIDAY, July 14th. The Court being met according to adjournment; present all the members as yesterday.

Lieut. James Donnell deposed, about noon we marched to Lechmere's-Point, where we remained one quarter of an hour. Going from the Point, Charlestown was set on fire. Whilst at the Point, General Whitcomb ordered Colonel Scammans to march to the hill. The deponent understood the Hill meant was Bunker's-Hill. Col. Scammans then marched to a small hill, about a mile distant from Bunker's-Hill. Col. Scammans sent two serjeants to Bunker's-Hill, to know if his regiment was wanted. We remained on the small hill three quarters of an hour, during all which time there was a smart fire on Bunker's-Hill, from small arms and cannon. After three quarters of an hour we marched to the hither edge of Bunker's-Hill, where the shot flew very thick. Before we got to the top of the hill, Col. Scammans ordered a retreat; immediately there was a general retreat of our regiment. Every one made the best of his way off. We were no time that day near enough to engage the enemy. The witness does not know any distinction between Bunker's and Brewer's-Hill.—[*Let it be observed, that this and the foregoing deponent, belonged to Old York.*]

Ensign Joshua Trafton deposed, about two of the clock (afternoon) we marched from Cambridge to Lechmere's-Point, where we found Gen. Whitcomb who expressed much surprize at finding Col. Scammans take post there. We remained on the Point fifteen minutes, and then marched to a small hill below Prospect-Hill: We continued on the small hill about half an hour or more; during which time Col. Scammans sent two Serjeants to Bunker's-Hill, to know if his

regiment was wanted. We took the nearest road to Bunker's-Hill, as I suppose; and before we got to the top of the hill, Colonel ordered a retreat. I cannot say whether the breast-work was forced or not at this time. We saw many men retreating down the hill, who said they had spent all their ammunition; some told us that the enemy had retreated, and begged us to push on. As we turned off the small hill, a regiment marched by us towards Bunker's-Hill. As we marched from Cambridge we heard the regulars were landing at Lechmere's Point, and at Charlestown. Col. Scammans made the greatest dispatch from the small hill to Bunker's-Hill. I saw no other instance of backwardness in Colonel Scammans, except his long stay at the small hill, which appeared to me unnecessary. As we retreated a number of men advanced up in an irregular manner.

Ensign Nathan Lord deposed, we were one quarter of an hour near Lechmere's-Point; we then marched to a small hill below Prospect-Hill, where we tarried a quarter of an hour, then marched to Bunker's-Hill, the nearest way and with as much dispatch as we could go. We stayed 20 minutes on the small hill, whilst the fire continued on the further part of Bunker's-Hill we got to the top of Bunker's-Hill: After which Gen. Putnam came up, and ordered the regiment to advance, within hearing of Col. Scammans; part of the regiment then advanced, but the deponent does not know if Col. Scammans was with them. I heard several persons, whom I took to be officers, order a retreat before Col. Scammans did. After we got over Charlestown-Neck, going up Bunker's-Hill, Col. Scammans cried, come my Yorkshire lads, now let us shew our bravery; the deponent does not know a distinction between Bunker's and Brewer's-Hill.

Major Daniel Wood deposed, we marched from near Lechmere's-Point, to a small hill, nearly opposite to Prospect Hill, where we remained near three quarters of an hour, during most of the time, we were on that Hill, there was a smart fire on what I take to be the easterly part of Bunker's-Hill. [REMARKS, *That the Major could not say any more upon the case, for he was not so happy as to reach Bunker's-Hill for the whole day.*]

Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan deposed and said, we continued on the small hill half an hour; some considerable part of the time we were there, there was a very heavy fire from the further part of the hill in Charlestown. After we retreated, Col. Scammans encouraged the men to advance. The regiment was not near enough to engage the enemy.

Capt. Philip Hubbard deposed, the reason of our going to Lechmere's-Point was, because we met expresses, who told us the regulars were landing at that place; when we got to Lechmere's-

Point, Gen. Whitcomb told Col. Scammans, he had better go and watch the floating batteries, and then marched to the small hill, where we stayed half an hour. As soon as Col. Scammans discovered Charlestown meeting-house on fire, he marched the regiment, with all possible dispatch, towards Bunker's-Hill, we met great number's retreating down. The confusion was so great before he got to the top of the hill, it was impossible to form. I saw nothing of irresolution or backwardness in Colonel Scammans, any time of the day.

Lieut. Cuzons deposed, that at Lechmere's-Point, Gen. Whitcomb told Col. Scammans he had better go to that hill, meaning, as the deponent took it, the small hill, which they marched to, and watch the motions of the floating batteries. As soon as Colonel Scammans heard the firing of the small arms, at the hill in Charlestown, he said he would stay there no longer, and ordered the regiment to march for Bunker's-Hill, which he did. I know nothing of Col. Scammans's behaviour at Bunker's-Hill.

Lieutenant Morgan Lewis deposed and said, I saw nothing of cowardice or backwardness in Col. Scammans that day.

Lieut. Thomas Cutts in substance as Lieut. Lewis.

Serjeant Amaziah Goodwin agrees with Lieut. Cutts.

Serjeant Samuel Goodale deposed, that General Whitcomb ordered Col. Scammans from Lechmere's-Point, to take possession of the small hill, and watch the motions of the floating batteries; I was sent by Col. Scammans to General Putnam, to know if his regiment was wanted; and before I got back, Col. Scammans was upon his march towards Bunker's-Hill. I saw Colonel Scammans two thirds of the way up the hill, but know nothing of his conduct there.

John Littlefield deposed, that as we marched down, we heard the regulars were landing at Lechmere's-Point. I know nothing of Col. Scammans's behaviour.

Jonathan Love deposed and said, when we were upon Bunker's-Hill, an officer ordered us to retreat, as the enemy had forced the entrenchment, after which Col. Scammans ordered us to retreat.

Joseph Parson, drummer, deposed and said, we were three quarters of an hour on the little round hill, and the firing of the small arms lasted half an hour, when we marched off towards Bunker's-Hill. I know nothing of Col. Scammans's behaviour at Bunker's-Hill.

The Court then called on Col. Scammans to make his defence, upon which the following evidence was produced.

Capt. Jeremiah Hill deposed and said, that down by the bridge near Lechmere's-Point, we met Gen. Whitcomb, who told Col. Scammans

that he was sufficient to guard that Point and told Col. Scammans that he had better go round to the little hill and watch their motions there, we accordingly went and stayed there half an hour.

Col. John Whitcomb, who is stiled by the foregoing deponents, General, deposed and said, I met Col. Scammans with his regiment about fifty rods from Lechmere's-Point. I asked him what brought him there, he replied by asking me where he should go. I told him where he could do the most service. I am positive I never ordered him to the little hill, if my memory serves me, because men could be of no service in such a place except in the night.

[*N.B. Colonel Whitcomb then acted "as" a general officer, and as there was then no general officer that commanded on Bunker's-Hill, was it not his duty to have been there? We may also observe, that he is positive if his memory served him, which (by the depositions of others) did not.*]

The Court then adjourned till Saturday morning, 8 o'clock.

SATURDAY. A.M. The Court met according to adjournment.

Col. Scammans begged liberty to produce the four next witnesses, who were admitted and sworn accordingly.

Henry Foss, drummer, deposed, that as we marched down Cambridge road, we met two men on horseback, who told us the regulars were landing at Lechmere's-Point. We then marched very fast, towards the point where we met Gen. Whitcomb, who told Col. Scammans to go round to the hill, which hill I understood to mean the little round hill, we marched to. I was within ten feet of General Whitcomb, when these orders were given.

Ichabod Smith deposed and said, I was about ten feet from General Whitcomb, at Lechmere's-Point, when I heard him desire Colonel Scammans to march round, and observe the motions of the floating batteries which lay near the little hill. We marched to the little hill and continued there about twenty minutes. As soon as Col. Scammans found out where the firing of the small arms was, he immediately marched the regiment towards Bunker's-Hill, with the utmost dispatch.

Samuel Hubbard deposed and said, I was within ten feet of Gen. Whitcomb, and heard him order Col. Scammans to go to the hill. But the deponent does not know what hill. I heard Colonel Scammans ask the General if he could go across the marsh, which was the nearest way to the little hill. Gen. Whitcomb replied, that he could not, but must go up, and round by the road.

Frethy Spencer agrees with Hubbard exactly, being close to him during the conversation between General Whitcomb and Col. Scammans.

Adjutant Marsden was sworn at the desire of the complainants and deposed, that we were three quarters of an hour on the little hill, and continued about twenty minutes after we heard of the firing on the hill in Charlestown. I went half way up Bunker's hill with Col. Scammans when I left him and went to the breast-work, where I got before the enemy forced it; the confusion was so great when we got to Bunker's-Hill we could not form the regiment.... [*It is observable that the Adjutant would insinuate by his deposition that the regiment arrived at Bunker's-Hill time enough to reinforce the breast-work before it was forced by the enemy, but if the public will only consider that those regiments which were stationed only two miles distance, did not arrive seasonable enough, and that the deponent had heretofore perjured himself by his desertion from the enemy, and by his common deportment discovers no regard to the Deity, his deposition will have but little weight with them.*]

The prisoner then made a few remarks on the evidence and withdrew.

The Court being cleared, entered upon the examination of the evidence collectively, and after debate, adjourned to Monday, 17th July, eight o'clock A.M.

[MONDAY] JULY 17th. The Court being met according to adjournment, and resumed the consideration of the case of Col. Scammans, and having duly weighed the allegations and proofs brought against the prisoner with his defence and evidence, are of the opinion that the said Col. Scammans is not guilty of the charge brought against him.

A true copy of the proceedings.

JOHN NIXON, President.

Attest.

WILLIAM TUDOR, Judge Advocate.

32.—Major-general Henry Dearborn's "Account of the Battle of Bunker-Hill."

[From *The Port Folio*, for March, 1818,—Volume V Pages 178—182.]

On the sixteenth of June, 1775, it was determined that a fortified post should be established at or near Bunker's-hill.

A detachment of the Army was ordered to advance early in the evening of that day, and commence the erection of a strong work on the Heights in the rear of Charlestown, at that time called Breed's-hill; but, from its proximity to Bunker's-hill, the Battle has taken its name from the latter eminence, which overlooks it.

The work was commenced and carried on under the direction of such Engineers as we were able to procure, at that time. It was a square redoubt, the curtains of which were about sixty or

seventy feet in extent, with an entrenchment, or breast-work, extending fifty or sixty feet from the northern angle, towards Mystic-river.

In the course of the night, the ramparts had been raised to the height of six or seven feet, with a small ditch at their base; but it was yet in a rude and very imperfect state. Being in full view from the northern heights of Boston, it was discovered by the enemy, as soon as day-light appeared; and a determination was immediately formed by General Gage, for dislodging our troops from this new and alarming position. Arrangements were promptly made for effecting this important object. The movements of the British troops, indicating an attack, were soon discovered; in consequence of which, orders were immediately issued for the march of a considerable part of our Army to reinforce the detachment at the redoubts on Breed's-hill; but such was the imperfect state of discipline, the want of knowledge in military science, and the deficiency of the materials of war, that the movement of the troops was extremely irregular and devoid of every thing like concert—each Regiment advancing according to the opinions, feelings, or caprice of its commander.

Colonel Stark's* Regiment was quartered in Medford, distant about four miles from the point of anticipated attack. It then consisted of thirteen Companies, and was probably the largest Regiment in the Army. About ten o'clock in the morning, he received orders to march. The Regiment being destitute of ammunition, it was formed in front of a house occupied as an arsenal, where each man received a gill-cup full of powder, fifteen balls, and one flint.

The several Captains were then ordered to march their Companies to their respective Quarters, and make up their powder and ball into cartridges, with the greatest possible despatch. As there were scarcely two muskets in a Company of equal caliber, it was necessary to reduce the size of the balls for many of them; and as but a small proportion of the men had cartridge-boxes, the remainder made use of powder-horns and ball-pouches.

After completing the necessary preparations for action, the Regiment formed, and marched about one o'clock. When it reached Charlestown Neck, we found two Regiments halted, in consequence of a heavy enfilading fire thrown across it, of round, bar, and chain shot, from the *Lively*, frigate, and the floating batteries anchored in Charles-river, and a floating battery laying in the

river Mystic. Major M'Clary went forward and observed to the commanders, that if they did not intend to move on, he wished them to open and let our Regiment pass: the latter was immediately done. My Company being in front, I marched by the side of Colonel Stark, who, moving with a very deliberate pace, I suggested the propriety of quickening the march of the Regiment, that it might sooner be relieved from the galling cross-fire of the enemy. With a look peculiar to himself, he fixed his eyes upon me, and observed with great composure, "Dearborn: one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones;" and continued to advance in the same cool and collected manner. When we reached the top of Bunker's-hill, where General Putnam had taken his station, the Regiment halted for a few moments for the rear to come up.

Soon after, the enemy were discovered to have landed on the shore of Morton's-point, in front of Breed's-hill, under cover of a tremendous fire of shot and shells from a battery on Copp's-hill, in Boston, which had opened on the redoubt at day-break.

Major-general Howe and Brigadier-general Pigot, were the commanders of the British forces which first landed, consisting of four Battalions of Infantry, with a train of Field-artillery. They formed as they disembarked; but remained in that position, until they were reinforced by another detachment.

At this moment, the veteran and gallant Colonel Stark harangued his Regiment in a short but animated address; then directed them to give three cheers, and make a rapid movement to the rail-fence which ran from the left, and about forty yards in the rear, of the redoubt, towards Mystic-river. Part of the grass having been recently cut, lay in windrows and cocks, on the field. Another fence was taken up; the rails run through the one in front; and the hay, mown in the vicinity, suspended upon them, from the bottom to the top, which had the appearance of a breast-work, but was, in fact, no real cover to the men: it however served as a deception on the enemy. This was done by the direction of the "Committee of Safety," of which William Winthrop, Esq., who then and now lives in Cambridge, was one, as he has within a few years informed me.

At the moment our Regiment was formed in the rear of the rail-fence, with one other small Regiment from New Hampshire, under the command of Colonel Reid, the fire commenced between the left wing of the British Army, commanded by General Howe, and the troops in the redoubt under Colonel Prescott; while a column of the enemy was advancing on our left, on the shore of Mystic-river, with an evident intention of turning our left wing; and that veteran and most excellent Regiment of Welsh Fusiliers, so distinguished for its gallant conduct in the battle of Minden, advanced in

* This distinguished veteran is still alive, in the ninety-first year of his age, and resides in the State of New Hampshire.

He is one of the only three surviving general officers of the Revolutionary War. The other two are Major-general St. Clair, who lives in the interior of Pennsylvania, and Brigadier-general Huntington of Connecticut. H. D.

column directly on the rail-fence; and when within eighty or an hundred yards, displayed into line, with the precision and firmness of troops on parade, and opened a brisk but regular fire by platoons, which was returned by a well-directed, rapid, and fatal discharge from our whole line.

The action soon became general, and very heavy, from right to left. In the course of ten or fifteen minutes the enemy gave way at all points, and retreated in great disorder; leaving a large number of dead and wounded on the field.

The firing ceased for a short time, until the enemy again formed, advanced, and recommenced a spirited fire from his whole line. Several attempts were again made to turn our left; but the troops having thrown up a slight stone wall on the bank of the river and laying down behind it, gave such a deadly fire as cut down almost every man of the party opposed to them; while the fire from the redoubt and the rail-fence was so well-directed and so fatal, especially to the British officers, that the whole Army was compelled a second time to retreat with precipitation and great confusion. At this time the ground occupied by the enemy was covered with his dead and wounded. Only a few small detached parties again advanced, which kept up a distant, ineffectual, scattering fire, until a strong reinforcement arrived from Boston, and advanced on the southern declivity of the hill, in the rear of Charlestown. When this column arrived opposite that angle of the redoubt which faced Charlestown, it wheeled by platoons to the right, and advanced directly upon the redoubt without firing a gun. By this time our ammunition was exhausted. A few men only had a charge left.

The advancing column made an attempt to carry the redoubt by assault; but, at the first onset, every man that mounted the parapet was cut down by the troops within, who had formed on the opposite side, not being prepared with bayonets to meet a charge.

The column wavered for a moment, but soon formed again; when a forward movement was made with such spirit and intrepidity as to render the feeble efforts of a handful of men, without the means of defence, unavailing; and they fled through an open space, in the rear of the redoubt, which had been left for a gate-way. At this moment, the rear of the British column advanced round the angle of the redoubt and threw in a galling flank-fire upon our troops, as they rushed from it, which killed and wounded a greater number than had fallen before, during the action. The whole of our line, immediately after, gave way and retreated with rapidity and disorder, towards Bunker's-hill; carrying off as many of the wounded as possible, so that only thirty-six or seven fell into the hands of the enemy, among whom were Lieutenant-colonel Parker and two or

three other officers who fell in or near the redoubt.

When the troops arrived at the summit of Bunker's-hill, we found General Putnam with nearly as many men as had been engaged in the battle; notwithstanding which no measures had been taken for reinforcing us, nor was there a shot fired to cover our retreat, nor any movement made to check the advance of the enemy to this height; but, on the contrary, General Putnam rode off with a number of spades and pick-axes in his hands and with the troops that had remained with him, inactive, during the whole of the action, although within a few hundred yards of the battle-ground, and no obstacle to impede their movement but musket-balls.

The whole of the troops now descended the northwestern declivity of Bunker's-hill and recrossed the Neck. Those of the New Hampshire line retired towards Winter-hill; and the others on to Prospect-hill.

Someslight works were thrown up in the course of the evening,—strong advance pickets were posted on the roads leading to Charlestown; and the troops, anticipating an attack, rested on their arms.

It is a most extraordinary fact that the British did not make a single charge during the Battle, which, if attempted, would have been decisive and fatal to the Americans, as they did not carry into the field fifty bayonets. In my Company, there was not one.

Soon after the commencement of the action, a detachment from the British force in Boston was landed in Charlestown; and, within a few moments, the whole Town appeared in a blaze. A dense column of smoke rose to a great height; and there being a gentle breeze from the South-west, it hung like a thunder-cloud over the contending Armies. A very few houses escaped the dreadful conflagration of this devoted Town.

From similar mistakes, the fixed ammunition furnished for the field-pieces was calculated for guns of a larger caliber, which prevented the use of Field-artillery on both sides. There was no Cavalry in either Army. From the ships of war and the large battery on Copp's-hill, a heavy cannonade was kept up upon our line and redoubt, from the commencement to the close of the action, and during the retreat; but with very little effect, except that of killing the brave Major Andrew M'Clary, of Colonel Stark's Regiment, soon after we retired from Bunker's-hill. He was among the first officers of the Army. Possessing a sound judgment, of undaunted bravery, enterprising, ardent and zealous, both as a patriot and soldier, his loss was severely felt by his compatriots in arms, while his country was deprived of the services of one of her most promising and distinguished champions of Liberty.

After leaving the Battle, I met him and drank

some spirits and water with him. He was animated and sanguine in the result of the conflict for Independence, from the glorious display of valor which had distinguished his countrymen on that ever memorable day.

He soon observed that the British troops on Bunker's-hill appeared in motion and said he would go and reconnoitre them, to see whether they were coming out over the Neck; at the same time, directing me to march down the road towards Charlestown. We were then at Tuft's house, near Ploughed-hill. I immediately made a forward movement to the position he directed me to take; and halted while he proceeded to the old pound, which stood on the site now occupied as a tavern-house, not far from the entrance to the Neck. After he had satisfied himself that the enemy did not intend to leave their strong posts on the Heights, he was returning towards me; and when within twelve or fifteen rods of where I stood, with my Company, a random cannon-shot, from one of the frigates laying near where the centre of Craige's bridge now is, passed directly through his body and put to flight one of the most heroic souls that ever animated man.

He leaped two or three feet from the ground, pitched forward, and fell dead upon his face. I had him carried to Medford, where he was interred with all the respect and honors we could exhibit to the manes of a great and good man. He was my bosom friend: we had grown up together on terms of the greatest intimacy; and I loved him as a brother.

My position in the Battle, more the result of accident than any regularity of formation, was on the right of the line, at the rail-fence, which afforded me a fair view of the whole scene of action.

Our men were intent on cutting down every officer whom they could distinguish in the British line. When any of them discovered one, he would instantly exclaim "There:" "See that officer:" "Let us have a shot at him:" when two or three would fire at the same moment; and as our soldiers were excellent marksmen and rested their muskets over the fence, they were sure of their object. An officer was discovered to mount near the position of General Howe, on the left of the British line, and ride towards our left, which a column was endeavoring to turn. This was the only officer on horse-back during the day; and as he approached the rail-fence, I heard a number of our men observe, "There:" "There:" "See that officer on horseback:" "Let us fire:" "No, not yet:" "Wait until he gets to that little knoll." "Now:" when they fired, and he instantly fell dead from his horse. It proved to be Major Pitcairn, a distinguished officer. The fire of the enemy was so badly directed, I should presume that forty-nine balls out of fifty passed from one

to six feet over our heads; for I noticed an apple-tree, some paces in the rear, which had scarcely a ball in it, from the ground as high as a man's head, while the trunk and branches above were literally cut to pieces.

I commanded a full Company in action, and had only one man killed and five wounded, which was a full average of the loss we sustained, excepting those who fell while sallying from the redoubt, when it was stormed by the British column.

Our total loss, in killed, was eighty-eight; and as well as I can recollect, upwards of two hundred were wounded. Our platoon officers carried fuses.

In the course of the action, after firing away what ammunition I had, I walked on to the right, in rear of the redoubt, with an expectation of procuring from some of the dead or wounded men who lay there, a supply. While in that situation, I saw, at some distance, a dead man lying near a small locust-tree. As he appeared to be much better dressed than our men generally were, I asked a man who was passing me if he knew who it was. He replied "It is Doctor Warren."

I did not personally know Doctor Warren; but was well acquainted with his public character. He had been recently appointed a General in our service; but had not taken any command. He was President of the Provincial Congress, then sitting in Watertown; and having heard that there would probably be an action, had come to share in whatever might happen, in the character of a volunteer; and was unfortunately killed early in the action. His death was a severe misfortune to his friends and country. Posterity will appreciate his worth and do honor to his memory. He is immortalized as a patriot who gloriously fell in the defence of freedom.

The number of our troops in action, as near as I was able to ascertain, did not exceed fifteen hundred. The force of the British, at the commencement of the action, was estimated at about the same number; but they were frequently reinforced.

Had our ammunition held out, or had we been supplied with only fifteen or twenty rounds, I have no doubt but that we should have killed and wounded the greatest part of their Army, and compelled the remainder to have laid down their arms; for it was with the greatest difficulty that they were brought up the last time. Our fire was so deadly, particularly to the officers, that it would have been impossible to have resisted it, but for a short time longer.

I did not see a man quit his post during the action; and do not believe a single soldier who was brought into the field fled, until the whole Army was obliged to retreat, for want of powder and ball.

The total loss of the British was about twelve hundred—upwards of five hundred killed and between six and seven hundred wounded. The

Welch Fusileers suffered most severely: they came into action five hundred strong; and all were killed or wounded but eighty-three.

I will mention an extraordinary circumstance to show how far the temporary reputation of a man may affect the minds of all classes of society.

General Putnam had entered our Army, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, with such an universal popularity as can scarcely now be conceived, even by those who then felt the whole force of it; and no one can at this time offer any satisfactory reasons why he was held in such high estimation.

In the Battle of Bunker's-hill he took post on the declivity towards Charlestown-neck, where I saw him on horseback as we passed on to Breed's-hill, with Colonel Gerrish by his side. I heard the gallant Colonel Prescott (who commanded in the redoubt) observe, after the War, at the table of his Excellency James Bowdoin, then Governor of this Commonwealth: "that he sent three messengers during the Battle to General Putnam, requesting him to come forward and take the command, there being no general officer present, and the relative rank of the Colonel not having been settled; but that he received no answer; and his whole conduct was such, both during the action and the retreat, that he ought to have been shot." He remained at or near the top of Bunker's-hill until the retreat, with Colonel Gerrish by his side: I saw them together when we retreated. He not only continued at that distance himself during the whole of the action; but had a force with him nearly as large as that engaged. No reinforcement of men or ammunition was sent to our assistance; and, instead of attempting to cover the retreat of those who had expended their last shot in the face of the enemy, he retreated in company with Colonel Gerrish, and his whole force, without discharging a single musket; but, what is still more astonishing, Colonel Gerrish was arrested for cowardice, tried, cashiered, and universally execrated, while not a word was said against the conduct of General Putnam, whose extraordinary popularity alone saved him, not only from trial, but even from censure. Colonel Gerrish commanded a Regiment; and should have been at its head. His Regiment was not in action, although ordered; but as he was in the suite of the General, and appeared to be in the situation of Adjutant-general, why was he not directed by Putnam to join it, or the Regiment sent into action under the senior officer present with it?

When General Putnam's ephemeral and unaccountable popularity subsided or faded away, and the minds of the people were released from the shackles of a delusive trance, the circumstances relating to Bunker's-hill were viewed and talked of in a very different light; and the selec-

tion of the unfortunate Colonel Gerrish as a scape-goat, was considered as a mysterious and inexplicable event.

I have no private feelings to gratify by making this statement in relation to General Putnam, as I never had any intercourse with him, and was only in the Army, where he was present, for a few months; but, at this late period, I conceive it a duty to give a fair and impartial account of one of the most important Battles during the War of Independence, and all the circumstance connected with it, so far as I had the means of being correctly informed.

It is a duty I owe to posterity and the character of those brave officers who bore a share in the hardships of the Revolution.

Nothing like discipline had entered our Army at that time. General Ward, then Commander-in-chief, remained at his Quarters in Cambridge, and apparently took no interest or part in the transactions of the day.

No general officer, except Putnam, appeared in sight; nor did any officer assume the command, undertake to form the troops, or give any orders, in the course of the action, that I heard, except Colonel Stark, who directed his Regiment to reserve their fire on the retreat of the enemy, until they advanced again.

Every platoon officer was engaged in discharging his own musket, and left his men to fire as they pleased, but never without a sure aim at some particular object, which was more destructive than any mode which could have been adopted with troops who were not inured to discipline, and never had been in battle, but who still were familiar with the use of arms, from boyhood; and each having his peculiar manner of loading and firing, which had been practised for years, with the same gun, any attempt to control them by uniformity and system would have rendered their fire infinitely less fatal to the enemy. Not an officer, or soldier of the Continental troops engaged was in uniform, but were in the plain and ordinary dress of citizens; nor was there an officer on horseback.

H. DEARBORN.

33.—*Major-general Henry Dearborn's "Remarks on M. de Bernier's Plan of the Battle."*

[From *The Port Folio* for March, 1818—Volume, V., Pages 182-184.]

The road should run as marked with Red.

The redoubt should front Copp's-hill, as marked with Red. The breastwork which ran from the redoubt, was not as long as laid down, in that direction; but as marked with Red.

NOTE 1.* The first position, before any attack,

* See the Margin of the Map. H. D.

after moving from Morton's-point, and the reinforcements joined, was marked with Red, F. P.

NOTE 2. The second position was as marked with Red, the right having been thrown forward, and the left back. General Howe was near where the words "*General Pigot*" are marked, during the whole action; and never was in front of the "*Rail-fence*." The line marked Red on the left of the "*Grenad.*," was the Regiment of Welsh Fusileers, which was reduced from five-hundred to eighty, during the action; and nearly all the Light-infantry which attempted to turn the left of the line, at the rail-fence, were killed or wounded.

NOTE 3. The troops which had been engaged in front of the "*Redoubt*" and "*Rail-fence*," and on the beach of Mystic-river, had been repulsed a number of times, and were so broken and cut up, that they did not assist in the assault on the "*Redoubt*," which was stormed by a column that came out of Charlestown, or from that direction, and entered on the side as marked Red; when the Americans retreated out, through a gateway in the rear, towards Bunker's-hill, as marked with Red, and received the fire of the rear of the column, which wheeled up as marked with Red, and threw in a heavy flank-fire. Here most of the Americans were killed or wounded that fell during the action.

The troops under Generals Howe and Pigot did not get formed and again advance, until the redoubt was stormed; when the troops at the rail-fence gave way, not in consequence of the force opposed to them, as none appeared but a few detached parties, but because their ammunition was expended.

NOTE 4. The cannon on Morton's-point are represented as firing. Not a shot was fired from those pieces. The fixed ammunition sent with them was for larger cannon, and therefore could not be used.

NOTE 5. The "*Breast-work*" was simply a "*Rail-fence*," with "*hay*" hung on it. There were no "*pickets*," nor "*stones*," except on the beach, at the extreme left, where a slight stone-wall was thrown up during the action. There were no "*cannon*" at the "*Rail-fence*," nor in action any where.

NOTE 6. The ship K, instead of being in that position, was where a Red ship is placed; which, with the floating battery, kept up a fire across the Neck, when the American went over it and on their retreat.

NOTE 7. There was but *one* gondola, or floating battery, where *two* are placed—the other was in Mystic river, as marked with Red.

NOTE 8. There were no "*rebels*" in action, except those at the "*Rail-fence*" and in the "*redoubt*." There were no trees on the whole peninsula, except some half-a-dozen locusts, as

many soverns, and a few apple-trees. It appears by the Plan that there were rows of trees on each side of the road, all over Bunker's and Breed's-hills, and on most of the peninsula: they should be left out.

NOTE 9. There were no American troops at P; and the Grenadiers were opposite the left of the "*Rail-fence*."

The Red W is where General Warren was killed, early in the action, near a small locust-tree, where I saw him laying just before the redoubt was stormed.

Breed's hill, in the Plan, is called "*Bunker Hill*." I have marked them both with Red-ink. The redoubt is on *Breed's-hill*.

The Red lines G P, over the breast-work marked T, thrown up by the British after the retreat, are where the troops under General Putnam took post, and who did not go into action, but remained there during the whole time, and retreated with those who had been engaged.

+ This mark is where Pitcairn was killed, as he was going from the left of the British line, as marked with Red, with Orders from General Howe for the Light-infantry, on the shore of Mystic-river.

R S. These Red lines, in rear of the rail-fence, mark the position of Stark's and Reid's Regiments.

The troops in the redoubt were commanded by Colonel Prescott.

Boston, 27th December, 1817.

34.—Colonel Daniel Putnam's Reply to General Dearborn's "Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill."

[From *The Port Folio*, for July, 1818—Volume VI, Pages 4-18.]

SIR: It was not until the twenty-ninth of April, that I saw a publication, entitled, "*An Account of the Battle of Bunker-hill*," written for the *Port Folio*, at the request of the Editor, "by H. Dearborn, Major-general U. S. Army."

This production, as unworthy of the rank you bear as it is void of truth in some of its most prominent parts, I have read with mingled emotions of indignation and contempt.

What, Sir, could tempt you at this distant period to disturb the ashes of the dead, and thus, in the fact of truth, to impose on the public such a miserable libel on the fair fame of a man who "exhausted his bodily strength and expended the vigor of a youthful constitution in the service of his Country?" What, above all things, could induce you to assail the character of General Putnam, in a point most of all others, perhaps, unassailable; and to impeach with cowardice, a man always foremost in danger? a man,

of whom it was proverbially said, as well by British as Provincial officers, that in a service of great peril and hardship, from 1755 to 1763, "He dared to lead where any dared to follow?"

It was from a full conviction of this truth in the public mind, and from a confidence in his experience, patriotism, and fidelity to his Country, that "General Putnam entered our Army at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, with such an universal popularity as can scarcely now be conceived, even by those who then felt the whole force of it." But, however "universal," however "extraordinary," however "unaccountable," may have been this "popularity" to a mind jaundiced by envy and smarting under the sting of popular odium, even while loaded with Executive favor, it was not quite so "ephemeral," nor did it so soon "fade away," as you would now fain make the public believe. On the contrary, it was his lot, while in service, generally to have the post of danger and importance assigned him.

When the British Army left Boston, in the Spring of 1776, he was ordered to New York, for the defence of that city; Major-general Lee, who had been sent there, the January preceding, having gone on to South Carolina. I am unwilling to swell this letter by introducing any thing not directly in point; but, since it can hardly be supposed that the "extraordinary popularity" of General Putnam should have so entirely imposed on the discriminating mind of WASHINGTON, after a daily and most familiar intercourse from July to March, as to have led him to commit the defence of that important post to the Coward of Bunker's-hill, I take the liberty of inserting the following

"Orders and Instructions for Major-general Putnam.

"As there are the best reasons to believe that the enemy's fleet and army, which left Nantasket-road last Wednesday evening, are bound to New York, to endeavor to possess that important post and, if possible, to secure the communication by Hudson's river to Canada, it must be our care to prevent them from accomplishing their design. To that end, I have detached Brigadier-general Heath, with the whole body of riflemen and five Battalions of the Continental Army, by way of Norwich, in Connecticut, to New York. These, by an express arrived yesterday from General Heath, I have reason to believe are in New York. Six more Battalions, under General Sullivan, march this morning by the same route, and will, I hope, arrive there in eight or ten days at the farthest. The rest of the Army will immediately follow, in Divisions, leaving only a convenient space between each Division, to prevent confusion and want of accommodation upon their march.

"You will, no doubt, make the best despatch in getting to New York. Upon your arrival there, you will assume the command and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the plan, proposed by Major-general Lee, for fortifying that city and securing the passes of the East and North-rivers. If, upon consultation with the Brigadier-generals and Engineers, any alteration in that plan is thought necessary, you are at liberty to make it, cautiously avoiding to break in too much upon his main design, unless where it may be apparently necessary so to do, and that by the general voice and opinion of the gentlemen above-mentioned.

"You will meet the Quarter-master-general, Colonel Mifflin, and Commissary-general, [Colonel Trumbull] at New York. As these are both men of excellent talents in their different Departments, you will do well to give them all the authority and assistance they require; and should a Council of War be necessary, it is my direction they assist at it.

"Your long service and experience will, better than my particular directions at this distance, point out the works most proper to be first raised; and your perseverance, activity, and zeal, will lead you (without my recommending it,) to exert every nerve to disappoint the enemy's designs.

"Devoutly praying that the Power which has hitherto sustained the American arms may continue to bless them with the Divine protection, I bid you farewell.

"Given at Head-quarters, in Cambridge, this 29th March, 1776.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

The faithful execution of the duties here enjoined were acknowledged by the Commander-in-chief, after his arrival in New York; and his thanks were publicly expressed in General Orders.

Two days before the Battle of Flat Bush*, in consequence of the sickness of that excellent officer, Major-general Greene, who had commanded on Long-island, General Putnam was ordered to the command of that post, and assisted in the arduous and complicated difficulties of that masterly retreat.

In the memorable and distressing flight of the American Army through New Jersey, in 1776, General Putnam was always near—always the friend, the supporter, and confidant of his beloved Chief; and the moment after reaching the western bank of the Delaware, with the rear of the Army, he was ordered to Philadelphia, to fortify and defend that City, against a meditated attack, concerning which General Washington thus expressed himself in a letter to General Putnam, dated the twenty

* Now known as "The Battle of Long-island." EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

third of December, 1776: "If I had not been well convinced, before, of the enemy's intention to possess themselves of Philadelphia, as soon as the frost should form ice strong enough to support them and their artillery across the Delaware, I have now obtained an intercepted letter which places the matter beyond a doubt."

On the evening preceding the surprise of the Hessians, at Trenton, and while the Army was paraded for that object, the writer was dispatched by the Commander-in-chief, with a confidential message to General Putnam, apprising him of the pending event and requiring him to be in perfect readiness to move at a moment's warning, wherever directed; and, immediately after the action of Princeton, he was ordered to pass the Delaware with what force he had, to Crosswix, and, soon after, to repair to Princeton, where he continued through the Winter, within sixteen miles of the Head-quarters of Lord Cornwallis, and covering a large extent of country with but a handful of men, and those almost entirely composed of New Jersey militia, who had but a short time previous, in despair at the aspect of public affairs, received written Protections from the enemy, which they were now required, by Proclamation of WASHINGTON, to give up, and to subscribe allegiance to the United States. It is a fact, that during one whole week of this time, General Putnam had no military force with him, at Princeton, but a fine independent Company from Baltimore, under Captain Yates.

In the Spring of 1777, the important post of the Highlands on the Hudson was committed to the defence of General Putnam; and though the loss of Fort Montgomery was among the disasters of that Campaign, yet a Court of Enquiry, upon mature deliberation and with a full knowledge of the facts, reported "*the loss to have been occasioned by want of men and not by any fault in the Commander.*" It evidently was not productive of any diminution of confidence in WASHINGTON; for the correspondence between him and General Putnam had been diffuse on the subject, in which it was expressly declared by the latter, "that he would not hold himself responsible for the post committed to his care, with the small number of men left for its defence;" and when he had determined to erect another fortification for the defence of the river, he left it wholly to the judgment of General Putnam to fix the spot, who decided in favor of West-point; and, as his biographer has remarked, "It is no vulgar phrase to say that to him belongs the glory of having chosen this rock of our military salvation."

When the three armies, which had the preceding year acted separately, united at White Plains, under WASHINGTON, General Putnam was called to the command of the right wing.

But why need instances be multiplied to show
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that he, who now held the second rank in the American Army, retained the confidence of him who in all points was deservedly acknowledged the first? I forbear to draw a comparison between his standing, in the estimation of the American Chief, and that of your's in the War Department, through a succession of Secretaries who directed the military operations of the late War. If a retrospect of facts and events brings not a blush to your cheek, it must be that you are below shame.

It has been reserved for you, Sir, after a lapse of forty-three years, and when you probably supposed the grave had closed on all who would contradict your bold assertions, that you have thus, like an assassin in the dark, cowardly meditated this insidious blow against a character as much above your level as your base calumny is beneath a gentleman and an officer.

There yet lives one who not only feels indignant at such unmerited abuse of his father's name, but who has, also, a personal knowledge of most of the military concerns of General Putnam through the Revolutionary War, having been, the greater part of that time, attached to his family and in possession of his confidence. Regardless of consequences, he will not shun to declare the truth, though it bear hard on the licentious assertions of Major-general Dearborn.

You commence your work by saying that "*On the sixteenth of June, 1775, it was determined that a fortified post should be established at or near Bunker's-hill.*" This determination was made in a Council of War at which General Putnam assisted; and (without asserting, what cannot now be proved, that the proposition for occupying that post originated with him) he it was, who went on with the first detachment and commenced the work; he was the principal agent or "Engineer," who traced the lines of the redoubt; and he continued most, if not all, the night with the workmen. At any rate, he was on the spot before sunrise in the morning; and had "taken his station," as you say, "on the top of Bunker's-hill, where the Regiment of Colonel Stark halted a few moments for the rear to come up." Here, you roundly assert, he "*remained during the whole action, with nearly as many men as had been engaged in the Battle, notwithstanding which, no measures had been taken for reinforcing us, nor was there a shot fired to cover our retreat, nor any movement made to check the advance of the enemy; but, on the contrary, General Putnam rode off WITH A NUMBER OF SPADES AND PICK-AXES IN HIS HANDS AND THE TROOPS THAT HAD REMAINED WITH HIM INACTIVE.*"

When a man undertakes to deviate from truth, he should endeavor to veil falsehood with at least some appearance of probability. Was it,

then, cowardice or treachery that kept General Putnam in this disgraceful situation during the Battle? If the former, can it be conceived that, under the galling fire of a pursuing enemy, he would thus encumber himself with such a load? "A NUMBER of *spades and pick-axes*" would be no very convenient appendage for a flying coward, who had to pass the same "*galling cross-fire of the enemy*" which caused the dauntless Captain Dearborn, but a few hours before, to urge Colonel Stark "*to quicken his march*." If treachery were the cause, is it not surprising that he should have retained the confidence of his Country and Commander to the close of the War?

My object, Sir, is to elicit Truth and correct misrepresentation; and if in the course of this investigation it should be found that General Putnam was not "*inactive*" during the whole of the "*action*" at Bunker's-hill, but that he participated in the *danger* as well as the *glory* of that day, I hope it will detract nothing from your *courage*, whatever it may do from your *veracity*.

It would seem, from your statement, that little was done in that action, but by the Regiments of Stark and Reid; that it was these *alone* which lined the "*rail-fence*" and repelled the repeated assaults of British veterans.

But where was the brave Captain Knowlton, with a detachment under his command, who first took possession of the ground; who worked all night in raising the redoubt; and to whom as large a share of glory as to any other force of equal number is justly due? The Honorable Judge Grosvenor, who was a wounded officer of that detachment; who entered the service one grade below you and left it, at the Peace of 1783, your *senior* in rank; and whose character, as a citizen or an officer, will never suffer in comparison with your's, shall be heard on this subject.

"POMFRET, April 30th, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR:—In conformity to your request, I now state what came under my observation at the Battle of Bunker's-hill, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, and with as much precision as possible, at the distance of time that has intervened.

"Being under the command of General Putnam, part of our Regiment, and a much larger number of Massachusetts troops under Colonel Prescott, were ordered to march, on the evening of the sixteenth of June, 1775, to Breed's-hill, where, under the immediate superintendence of General Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. On the following day, the seventeenth, dispositions were made to deter the advance of the enemy, as there was reason to believe an immediate attack was intended. General Putnam during the period was extremely active, and directed principally the operations.

"All were animated; and their General inspired confidence by his example. The British Army, having made dispositions for landing at Morton's-point, were covered by the fire of shot and shells from Copp's-hill, in Boston, which it had opened on our redoubt early in the morning and continued the greatest part of the day. At this moment, a detachment of four Lieutenants (of which I was one) and one hundred and twenty men, selected the preceding day from General Putnam's Regiment,* under Captain Knowlton, were, by the General Order, to take post at a rail-fence on the left of the breast-work, that ran North from the redoubt to the bottom of Breed's-hill. This Order was promptly executed; and our detachment, in advancing to the post, took up one rail-fence and placed it against another, (as a partial cover) nearly parallel with the line of the breast-work, and extended our left nearly to Mystic-river. Each man was furnished with one pound of gun-powder and forty-eight balls. This ammunition was received, however, prior to marching to Breed's-hill.

"In this position, our detachment remained until a second Division of British troops landed, when they commenced a fire of their field-artillery of several rounds, and particularly against the rail-fence; then formed in columns, advanced to the attack, displayed in line at about the distance of musket-shot, and commenced firing. At this instant, our whole line opened upon the enemy; and so precise and fatal was our fire, that, in the course of a short time, they gave way and retired in disorder out of musket-shot, leaving before us many killed and wounded.

"There was but a short respite on the part of the British, as their lines were soon filled up and led against us, when they were met as before, and forced back with great loss.

"On reinforcements joining the enemy, they made a direct advance on the redoubt; and being successful, which our brave Captain Knowlton perceiving, ordered a retreat of his men, in which he was sustained by two Companies, under the command of Captains Clark and Chester.

"The loss in our detachment, I presume, was nearly equal. Of my own immediate command of thirty men and one subaltern, there were eleven killed and wounded; among the latter was myself, though not so severely as to prevent my retiring.

"At the '*rail-fence*,' there was NOT posted any corps save our own under Knowlton, at the time the firing commenced; nor did I hear of any other being there till long after the action:

* The general officers from Connecticut, in the Campaign of 1775, had each a Regiment, with Lieutenant-colonels under them.

"Other troops, it was said, were ordered to join us, but refused doing so.

"Of the officers on the ground, the most active within my observation were General Putnam, Colonel Prescott, and Captain Knowlton; but no doubt there were many more equally brave and meritorious, who must naturally have escaped the eye of one attending to his own immediate command.

"Thus you have a brief statement of my knowledge of the action, without descending to minute particulars. To conclude, it is matter of surprise, even of astonishment, to me, my dear Sir, that I am called on to state my opinion of the character of your honored father, General Putnam; who was ever the first, in public life, at the post of honor and danger; and who, in his private conduct, was excelled by none. Look but at his services in the French and Indian Wars, from 1755 to 1768, and, finally, at those of the Revolution, and you will need no proof to refute the calumny of common defamers.

"With respect, I am, Yours, truly,

"THOS: GROSVENOR.

"Colonel DANIEL PUTNAM"

This statement, from a gentleman of truth and honor, differs essentially, in many points, from that made by you. It contradicts your assertion that there was no field-artillery used by the British Army. It contradicts the assertion which, to military men, would hardly need contradiction, that the position at the "*rail-fence* was taken by the *direction of the Committee of Safety*." It makes void the insinuation that Stark's and Reid's Regiments were the only troops posted at the "*rail-fence*;" and it even makes it doubtful if they were there at all. That they were not, when the firing commenced, Colonel Grosvenor states clearly; and those who know the modest, unassuming deportment of this respectable man and his cautious character, will be sure that he says nothing positively, but what he knows fully and recollects distinctly. It shows too, and that pretty clearly, that either Captain Dearborn, with his "*full Company*," (consisting at that time of ninety-six) were very fortunate in escaping the British fire, or that they were less exposed to it than Knowlton's detachment, which had about one-third of its number killed and wounded, while of Captain Dearborn's, only six were hurt. It shows, if you were on the ground and had the knowledge of facts which you claim to have, that you have done injustice, not only to General Putnam, but to the Companies of Clark and Chester, both of whom were known to suffer loss in covering the retreat from the "*rail-fence*." It shows that orders were given and dispositions for defence made, by other officers than Colonel Stark and Captain Dearborn. It shows, in fine, that nearly your whole statement

of the transactions of that memorable day must have resulted either from ignorance or misrepresentation.

Let nothing which is here or elsewhere said be construed into a wish of the writer to detract in any way whatever, from the merits of the veteran, General Stark. He honors his name, his patriotism, and his important services to his Country, in that War which gave it Freedom and Independence; and is thankful to that BENEVOLENT who has given him a heart to rejoice in the honest fame of others, without coveting one jot or tittle of their merited applause. He hopes this aged and long-devoted servant of the public may be permitted to descend to his grave in peace and honor; and that no ruthless hand may be found, after a rest of more than forty years, to drag before the tribunal of a succeeding generation and to couple with infamy and dishonor, a name so long renowned for valor!

I beg pardon, Sir, for this digression—it was an apostrophe not to be resisted,—and I now proceed to lay before you further evidence on the subject; for I had scarce gone through the reading of your ridiculous tale, before a letter was put into my hand, by Charles H. Hall, Esq. from Colonel John Trumbull, of New-York, an officer of distinction in the Revolutionary War, and now a celebrated historical painter, employed in his profession by the Government of the United States.

As this letter affords some evidence of the "*station*" of General Putnam, during the action; and does not fully coincide with your account of the death of the immortal WARREN, I shall by his permission, make use of it in this place.

"NEW YORK, 30th March, 1818.

"DEAR SIR:

"Mr. Hall has just shown me *The Port Folio* of last month, containing an account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill which appears to have been written for the mere purpose of introducing a most unjustifiable attack upon the memory of your excellent father.

"It is strange that men cannot be contented with their own honest share of fame, without attempting to detract from that of others; but, after the attempts which have been made to diminish the immortal reputation of WASHINGTON, who shall be surprised or who repine at this enviable attendant on human greatness?

"In all cases like this, perhaps, the most unquestionable testimony is that which is given by an enemy.

"In the Summer of 1786, I became acquainted, in London, with Colonel John Small, of the British Army, who had served in America many years; and had known General Putnam intimately, during the War of Canada, from 1756 to 1763. From him, I had the two following anecdotes

"respecting the Battle of Bunker's hill ;—I shall nearly repeat his words :—Looking at the picture which I had then almost completed, he said : *'I don't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend PUTNAM ; you have not done him justice. I wish you would alter that part of your Picture, and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with the other officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men : we had advanced very near the works, undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a feu-de-joie, was poured in upon us : it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back ; and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing : I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men levelling their pieces at me ; I knew their excellence as marksmen ; and I considered myself gone. At that moment, my old friend PUTNAM rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out, For God's sake, my lads, don't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother. We were so near each other, that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed : I bowed, thanked him, and walked away unmolested.'*

"The other anecdote relates to the death of General Warren.

"At the moment when the troops succeeded in carrying the redoubt, and the Americans were in full retreat, General Howe (who had been hurt by a spent ball which bruised his ankle,) was leaning on my arm. He called suddenly to me : Do you see that elegant young man who has just fallen ? Do you know him ? I looked to the spot towards which he pointed—Good God, Sir, I believe it is my friend, WARREN. Leave me then instantly—run—keep off the troops, save him if possible.—I flew to the spot, My dear friend, I said to him, I hope you are not badly hurt :—he looked up, seemed to recollect me, smiled, and died ! A musket-ball had passed through the upper part of his head."

"Colonel Small had the character of an honorable, upright man, and could have no conceivable motive for deviating from truth in relating these circumstances to me ; I therefore believe them to be true.

"You remember, my dear Sir, the viper biting the file. The character of your father for courage, humanity, generosity, and integrity, is too firmly established by the testimony of those who *did* know him, to be tarnished by the breath of one who confesses that he *did* not.

"Accept, my dear Sir, this feeble tribute to your father's memory, from one who *knew* him,

"*respected* him, *loved* him—and who wishes health and prosperity to you and all the good man's posterity.

"JOHN TRUMBULL.

"DANIEL PUTNAM, Esq."

I shall make no comment on the first anecdote by Colonel Small, except that the circumstances were related by General Putnam without any essential alteration, soon after the Battle ; and that there was an interview of the parties, on the lines, between Prospect and Bunker's hill, at the request of Colonel Small, not long afterwards.

Respecting the death of WARREN, there is a trifling disagreement. In the one case, we are to understand that, after having expended your ammunition—during the height of conflict, and while the redoubt was still possessed by the Americans,—you left your post, and deliberately traversed the field of slaughter, to rifle the dying and the dead of such portion of their "gill-cup" of powder, as they had not been spared to use, when you saw Warren dead by a small locust tree !

In the other case, it is asserted, (with something like the appearance of truth, indeed,) that, he fell at the moment the redoubt was gained by the British ; that he was seen by General Howe to fall ; and was yet alive when spoken to by Colonel Small, after the retreat of the Americans.

Both statements cannot be true. You, perhaps, better than I, know to which the truth belongs.

You have undertaken, Sir, to inform many who never saw General Putnam, and some, probably, who never before heard his name, of the public estimation in which he was held at the "commencement of the Revolutionary War ;" and it is no trivial consolation to the writer, after the unworthy means you have used to defame his character, that he is able to show, from an authentic source, in what light he was viewed at the close of that War, by HIM who had the best means of knowing, and, of all other men, the best talents for judging, of the merits and services of officers under his command.

Let the "FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY" be heard—for though dead, he yet speaketh ; and his testimony will be respected when the name and character of the subject of this address, shall be no longer remembered.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 2d June, 1783.

"DEAR SIR :—Your favor of the 20th of May, I received with much pleasure. For I can assure you, that, among the many worthy and meritorious officers with whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service through the course of this War, and from whose cheerful assistance in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, the name of a PUTNAM is not forgotten ; nor will it be, but with that

"stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues through which we have struggled for the preservation and establishment of the rights, liberties, and independence of our Country.

"Your congratulations on the happy prospect of Peace and independent Security, with their attendant blessings to the United States, I receive with great satisfaction; and beg you will accept a return of my gratulations to you, on this auspicious event—an event in which, great as it is in itself, and glorious as it will probably be in its consequences, you have a right to participate largely, from the distinguished part you have contributed towards its attainment.

"But, while I contemplate the greatness of the object for which we have contended, and felicitate you on the happy issue of our toils and labors, which have terminated with such general satisfaction, I lament that you should feel the ungrateful returns of a Country* in whose service you have exhausted your bodily strength, and expended the vigor of a youthful constitution. I wish, however, that your expectations of returning liberality may be verified. I have a hope they may; but should they not, your case will not be a singular one. Ingratitude has been experienced in all ages; and republics in particular have ever been famed for the exercise of that unnatural and sordid vice.

"The Secretary at War, who is now here, informs me that you have ever been considered as entitled to full pay since your absence from the field;† and that you will be considered in that light till the close of the War; at which period you will be equally entitled to the same emoluments of half-pay or commutation as other Officers of your rank. The same opinion is also given by the Paymaster-general, who is now with the Army, empowered by Mr. Morris for the settlement of all their accounts; and who will attend to yours whenever you shall think proper to send on for that purpose—which it will probably be best for you to do in a short time.

"I anticipate with pleasure the day, (and I trust not far off,) when I shall quit the busy scenes of military employment and retire to the more tranquil walks of domestic life. In that, or whatever other situation Providence may dispose of my future days, THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE MANY FRIENDSHIPS AND CONNECTIONS I HAVE HAD THE HAPPINESS TO CONTRACT WITH THE GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMY, WILL BE ONE OF MY MOST GRATEFUL REFLECTIONS.

* Alluding to the public dissatisfaction in Connecticut; and the clamor about half-pay and commutation.

† General Putnam had a paralytic stroke in the year 1796, (occasioned by long exposure to extreme cold weather,) which disabled him from service ever after.

"Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of benevolence and regard, I commend you, my dear Sir, my other friends, and, with them, the interests and happiness of our dear Country, to the KEEPING AND PROTECTION OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

"I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"To the Hon. Major-general PUTNAM."

Here, Sir, is unequivocal evidence, either that WASHINGTON was a man of guile, who said what he believed not and commended whom he approved not; or that, penetrating as his mind was, it still remained fettered with "*the shackles of a delusive trance*," which "*the PEOPLE were released from, when General Putnam's ephemeral and unaccountable popularity subsided or faded away*"!!

But when did this happen? When were "*the minds of the People released from the shackles of this delusive trance*"? When were "*the circumstances relating to Bunker's-hill VIEWED and TALKED of in a very different light*"? When was "*the unfortunate Colonel Gerrish*" considered "*as the scape-goat*" on whose head was laid the cowardice of General Putnam? His name has rested in peace and honor now thirty years undisturbed by the sacrilegious pen of calumny and not, till your "*mysterious and inexplicable account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill*" found its way into the *Port Folio*, was the public sentiment changed concerning him. Why else, was this publication so imperiously called for, that it became a "DUTY YOU OWED TO POSTERITY AND THE CHARACTER OF THE BRAVE OFFICERS WHO BORE A SHARE IN THE HARDSHIPS OF THE REVOLUTION," to publish such a disgraceful libel, and that too, "*without any private feelings to gratify*"?

Sir: this veil is too thin to hide the malignity of your heart or the selfishness of your views. The truth, however you may strive to disguise it, is this: as "Commander-in-chief," your "*bed*" of military honor "*is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it*;" and the "*covering*," for disgrace, "*narrower than that you can wrap yourself in it*." Hence, resort has been had to a fictitious tale of the Battle of Bunker's-hill, coupled with which, it is questionable if Captain Dearborn's name was ever found, till you made yourself the hero of your own romance.

You might have sounded the trumpet of your own fame undisturbed by me, till you had wearied yourself with the blast. But 'tis the command of God that we honor our Father; and "while I live, I'll speak" when any shall wantonly and maliciously endeavor to cast dishonor on his name.

That you have done so, is the sole cause of drawing this letter from one who lives in retire-

ment, without any immediate concern in public affairs, nor any wish regarding them but that the country of his birth and best affections may long continue to enjoy the blessing of HEAVEN in such wise and virtuous councils, as will, by a just dispensation of the benefits of a free Government, ultimately unite all hearts in its support; from one who has no personal knowledge of you; and who, though constantly with the Army of the Revolution, from 1775 to '80, hardly recollects to have heard your name, till announced at the head of the War Department. His impressions of your character, from that time to the present, have been drawn from public opinion, and not from party prejudice nor private animosity. It was not necessary in this letter, to state these impressions fully; nor has it in any case been done, but by comparison with the character you have unjustly assailed, and in seeking a motive for the cruel assault.

If, in doing this, any thing has escaped his pen bordering on severity, the provocation must be his excuse: and where that is impartially weighed, the blame, if any, will rest, not on him, but on yourself.

There is yet one more passage to notice; and I have done. I allude to the declaration which you ascribe to Colonel Prescott, as having been made "at the table of the late Governor Bowdoin."

It is not possible for me to prove that Colonel Prescott did not make such a declaration. But I have proved that what you allege to have been said by him could not be true. It is well known that Colonel Prescott sustained a high and honorable reputation; and that he was well acquainted with General Putnam, and must have known the opinions which the distinguished men of the Revolution entertained of his individual and military character. It must, therefore, be left to the public to decide, whether it is most probable that Colonel Prescott made the assertion which you have imputed to him; or whether, like many other representations you have made, it has no foundation in fact.

Many other mis-statements in your book might be noticed and refuted; but I am weary and disgusted with the pollution of its pages; and, as my sole object has been to vindicate a slandered character, I hasten to give you the name of

DANIEL PUTNAM.

BROOKLYN, CONNECTICUT, 4th May, 1818.

35.—Major-general Henry Dearborn's Vindication.

[From *The Boston Patriot*, Vol. III., No. 321, Boston, June 15, 1818.]

As it appears from various publications, that attempts have been made to invalidate the account which I have given of the Battle of

Bunker's-hill, and thus to produce an excitement against me, not warranted by facts, I have been induced to have the following documents made public.

If there are any persons of candid and unprejudiced minds, who have conceived there were some grounds for doubting the general correctness of my observations in relation to that memorable event, the concurring declarations of many highly respectable characters may afford them satisfaction.

H. DEARBORN.

BOSTON, June 10, 1818.

[DOCUMENTS.]

A.—A Letter from General M. M'Clary, United States Marshal for the State of New Hampshire.

EPSOM, May 10, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the first instant I received yesterday. Sometime in the last of April, at Portsmouth, a gentleman there informed me that your father had published a narrative of what is generally called, Bunker's-hill Battle; and a few days previous to receiving your letter, I saw in *The New Hampshire Patriot*, the account published, which, to the best of my recollection, is correct.

I was in the Battle from its commencement to the end, and have no recollection of seeing General Putnam in the Battle, nor near it. I was, the principal part of the time the Battle continued, near to Colonel Stark, who commanded the Regiment to which I belonged; and, on our retreat from Breed's-hill, in ascending Bunker's-hill and arriving on its summit, I well remember of seeing General Putnam there, on his horse, with an iron spade in his hand, which was the last I saw of him on that day. Being an officer in the Company under the command of your father, I had an opportunity of knowing the circumstances generally attending the Battle; and if General Putnam had been there, I should have known it.

I am, Dear Sir,

with sentiments of friendship and esteem,
Your obedient servant,

MICHAEL M'CLARY.

Brig. Gen. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

B.—A Letter from General Benjamin Pierce of Hillsborough, New Hampshire.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. H., May 17, 1818.

MUCH RESPECTED GENERAL:—I have read your "Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill," and consider it to be more like the thing itself, than any statement I have ever seen. I think our

Army broke ground on the evening of the 16th of June; and the Battle was on the 17th. I went on to the Hill about eleven o'clock, A. M., on the 17th; when I arrived at the summit of Bunker's-hill, I saw two pieces of cannon there standing, with two or three soldiers standing by them, who observed they belonged to Captain Callender's Company, and said that the Captain and his officers were cowards, and that they had run away. General Putnam there sat upon a horse; I saw nobody at that place when I arrived there, but the General and those two or three soldiers. General Putnam requested our Company, which was commanded by Captain John Ford of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, to take those two pieces of cannon, and draw them down; our men utterly refused, and said they had no knowledge of the use of artillery, and that they were ready to fight with their own arms. Captain Ford then addressed his Company in a very animated, patriotic, and brave strain, which is the characteristic of the man; the Company then seized the drag-ropes and soon drew them to the rail-fence, according to my recollection, about half the distance from the redoubt on Breed's-hill to Mystic-river. I think I saw General Putnam at that place, looking for some part of his sword; I did not hear him give any orders nor assume any command, except at the top of Bunker's-hill, when I was going to the field of battle. I remained at the rail-fence, until all the powder and ball were spent. I had a full view of the movements of the enemy; and I think your statement of the order of the day and of the two contending armies, is correct and cannot be denied with the semblance of truth.

Excuse an old soldier.

I am, Sir, with homage of the highest respect and esteem, your very humble servant,

B. PIERCE.

Maj. Gen. HENRY DEARBORN.

C.—*The Statement of Captain S. R. Trevett.*

I commanded a Company of Artillery from the Town of Marblehead, attached to Colonel Richard Gridley's Regiment, stationed at Cambridge.

About one o'clock in the afternoon of the seventeenth of June, 1775, I left Cambridge with my Company, for Bunker's-hill. When about a quarter of a mile from the College, I saw General Putnam pass upon a horse, towards the Town of Cambridge; and, in fifteen or twenty minutes, I saw him pass, in like manner, towards Charlestown. When I arrived at Bunker's-hill, on the North-west side, I there saw General Putnam dismounted, in company with several others. I halted my Company, and went forward to select a station for my pieces; and on my return saw

General Putnam as before; the American and English forces being then engaged. I proceeded on with my Company, and, soon after joining the American force at the rail-fence, towards Mystic-river, the Americans commenced a general retreat. As I was descending the North-west side of Bunker's-hill, I again saw General Putnam in the same place, putting his tent upon his horse. I asked him where I should retreat with the field-piece I had brought off; he replied to Cambridge; and I accordingly marched my Company to Cambridge.

I have read "An Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill, by Major-general Dearborn;" and, as far as circumstances come within my knowledge, I am confident his statements are correct. The day after the Battle, I had an opportunity of conversing with several officers who were in the action: all spoke of Colonels Prescott and Stark as the most active officers—the former in the redoubt, and the latter at the lines;—and one mentioned seeing General Putnam with the troops engaged; several saw him at the North-west side of Bunker's-hill; and the prevailing opinion was, that he was not in the action. In the month of May or June, 1795, being in the Island of Guernsey, I had occasion, in the course of business, to call upon Major (alias Colonel) Small, the Governor. After closing my business with him, he remarked that my countenance was not new to him; and inquired where he had seen me. I replied that it must have been at Colonel Ingersoll's Tavern, in Boston; and that I had once been opposed to him in action. He immediately entered into a free and general conversation on the Battle of Bunker's-hill; but he made no inquiry after General Putnam; nor did he, in any way, either directly or indirectly, allude to him, either as a friend or an officer.

SAMUEL R. TREVETT.

BOSTON, June 2, 1818.

D.—*A Letter from Isaac Hill, Esq., of Concord, New-Hampshire.*

CONCORD, N. H. May 18, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—Immediately on receiving yours of the thirteenth, I addressed a note to Major Stark; and, on the following day, received his answer, enclosing the correspondence between himself and General Wilkinson, in 1815, which is conclusive on the point. We can procure from twenty to fifty similar Certificates, if necessary. I have just conversed with Robert B. Wilkins, an intelligent man, who was wounded in the Battle of Bunker's-hill, and who saw Gerrish and Putnam, both in going to, and returning from, the battle-ground.

All who know anything of the Battle coincide

in your father's statement. All, without any previous concert, agree in the principal facts, which I, myself, had from the mouth of General Stark, eight years ago.

Respectfully, your friend,
ISAAC HILL.

Brig. Gen. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

[A.—LETTER FROM MAJOR CALEB STARK, SON OF
GENERAL STARK, TO ISAAC HILL, ESQ.,
REFERRED TO BY MR. HILL.]

PEMBROKE, May 16, 1818.

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of last evening was delivered this morning. I had, a few days ago, read General Dearborn's "Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill," and cannot render you a more powerful proof of corresponding knowledge and sentiments, than by enclosing a letter from General Wilkinson upon the subject, addressed to me when preparing material for his History, and a rough draft of my answer.

It was the first Battle that I was in; and I recollect substantially all that General Dearborn has written. When I arrived near the top of Bunker's-hill, I saw Colonel Gerrish (whom I had seen before) and General Putnam standing near each other. I learned who the latter was by enquiry, not having, to my knowledge, seen him before. I cannot recollect whether I saw them on my return or not; but I well remember when Colonel Gerrish's conduct was arraigned, it was a subject of conversation, why General Putnam was not called to trial as well as he. At that time, I could hardly form an excuse; but I am inclined to think that his reputation for hardy, uncultivated bravery, and his great popularity in Connecticut, operated as an efficient cause for the measure taken. Indeed, it might have had a material effect on the recruiting service in his State.

In haste, your friend,
C. STARK.

[a.—LETTER FROM GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON
TO MAJOR CALEB STARK, REFERRED
TO BY THE LATTER.]

GERMANTOWN, PA. Oct. 27, 1815.

DEAR SIR:—Will you suffer a brother-in-arms of 1777, to intrude himself upon your time? If old wine be acceptable to delicate palates, so recollection of juvenile associations, in scenes of common sufferings and perils, yields pleasure to the bosom of sensibility. It is with this sentiment I claim your attention to incidents contemporaneous with our youth.

The maxims of Montesquieu, in relation to republican gratitude, have been verified in my person: after almost forty years service, I have been obliged to put up my sword, and have drawn my pen in the cause of the Commonwealth and for the benefit of posterity.

My desire to correct the folly and prejudice of preceding historians, in their accounts of the incidents of the Revolutionary War and of the merits of the conspicuous actors in times which "tried men's souls," induces me to seek information wherever it may be obtained; and with this view I address myself to you.

The Battle of Breed's-hill, the first well-tried day, has been grossly misrepresented; and, as I consider it not only one of the most splendid combats, but the most impressive feature of the Revolution, I am anxious to obtain every detail of that operation which can be collected; and on this specific point I ask your assistance. The enclosed Prospectus indicates a view of that transaction very different from the accounts of Gordon, Warren, Ramsay, and Marshall. My objects are truth and justice to the living and the dead.

The morning after the evacuation of Bunker's-hill, I accompanied your father and Colonel Reid to the field of battle; the vestiges of the post-and-rail-fence, and a breast work of stones which your father had ordered to be thrown up on the beach of Mystic-river, were then obvious; and I received, at that time, on the spot, from those Gentlemen, details of the action which can never be effaced from my memory; and which have enabled me to give a better account of it than I have since read or heard.

The enclosed delineation is from memory: will you give it accuracy, and post the Provincial corps as they were ranged in order of battle. General Dearborn informs me he crossed the Neck with your father; that the corps took their position without order; and that his Company occupied the ground between the angle of the post-and-rail-fence and the redoubt; that General Putnam was fuming and vociferating on Bunker's-hill, sixty or eighty rods in the rear; and, although invited, did not come up to the fire—that he was on horseback with a parcel of entrenching tools, slung. Eustis, who was in the redoubt, informs me that Colonels Prescott and Brewer commanded there; that Doctor Warren did not join them till late in the day; and then, to a question of Prescott, "Doctor Warren do you come to take the command?" he replied, "No; I come to assist you and to let those rascals see the Yankees can fight." Eustis further stated, that a boy who had mounted the breastwork and was scoffing the enemy, was killed by a cannon-shot from one of their ships. He added, and General Dearborn is of the same opinion, "That General Warren fell in the retreat by a shot through the head, some distance in rear of the redoubt." Your father informed me that a column of the enemy advanced on the beach of the Mystic, but received so deadly a fire from the stone-wall he had thrown up, that it fell back in disorder, and joined the corps, in the rear, on the high ground. I give you these details

to assist you in any inquiries you may think proper to make ; and I suggest the enclosed interrogatories for answers, which may assist me in framing my narrative. If you approve the object of my labors, you will oblige me by promoting the subscription,* &c. With a pleasing recollection of former times, I am, with unfeigned respect and regard,

Your old fellow-soldier,
JAS: WILKINSON.

[b.—QUERIES TO MAJOR STARK, REFERRED TO BY GENERAL WILKINSON.]

- 1.—From what States were the Provincialists who fought the Battle of Breed's-hill ; and what were the numbers of the general corps, and by whom commanded ?
- 2.—Were any Provincialists thrown into the buildings of Charlestown ; and were the enemy annoyed from that quarter ?
- 3.—Had the Provincialists any cannon ; and if so, what number, and of what calibre ?
- 4.—Was not the first movement of the enemy's columns made on the beach and the bank of the Mystic-river ; and was it not after their repulse, at those points, that they changed their direction to the attack of the redoubt ? [*Yes.*]
- 5.—Did not this movement expose their right flank to the galling fire of the Provincialists, from the post-and-rail-fence ?
- 6.—Was not a simultaneous attack made against the redoubt, in front and on the right, by a reinforcement from Boston ?
- 7.—How often were the enemy repulsed at the post-and-rail-fence ; and were they repulsed from the redoubt ?
- 8.—How were the Provincialists posted ; and at what hours of the day did they reach their respective positions ?
- 9.—Was there any general commander ; or did the commanding officers of Regiments and Corps exercise their discretion in respect to the manner of concert ? [*No commander, and no concert.*]
- 10.—At what time did General Warren arrive on the ground ? What part did he act, and where was he killed ?
- 11.—What station did Colonels Prescott and Brewer occupy in the action ; and what was the extent of their command ?
- 12.—What part did General Putnam perform in the operation at Breed's-hill ; and where was his station ? [*Nothing. Bunker's-hill.*]
- 13.—Were there any Provincial troops in the vicinity of the action ? From what States were

they ? What were their Corps and numbers, and by whom commanded ?

14.—Why were not those Corps brought up to support the action ?

15.—Did not the first men of the enemy, who gained the redoubt, enter it by the retrenchment which had been opened from the left of the redoubt, in a direction to the river Mystic ?

16.—Did the Provincialists retire before the enemy had forced the redoubt, and did the enemy pursue ?

17.—Where did General Warren fall ?

18.—What was the number, rate, and station of the enemy's armed vessels ?

19.—In what order did the Provincialists retreat ; and where did they rally ?

20.—The details of General Stark's affair at Bennington will be most acceptable, as to numbers, equipments, nature of the ground, plan of the attack, and circumstances of the action and the time it occupied.

21.—How long did the Battle of Breed's-hill continue after the firing of small-arms commenced ?

Any incident of the Revolutionary War, personal, political, or military, will be gratefully acknowledged.

I shall be glad to have brief biographical sketches of Generals Stark and Reid, and Colonels Prescott and Brewer, with any other worthies of those days.

Your answer by the first of January will be in season.

JAS: WILKINSON
GERMANTOWN, PA. Oct. 27, '15 }
C. STARK Esq. }

[c.—EXTRACTS FROM MAJOR STARK'S ANSWER TO GENERAL WILKINSON'S LETTER AND QUERIES.]

PEMBROKE, N. H. Nov. 1815.

DEAR SIR:—Your esteemed favor of the 27th Oct., came to hand in due time ; but, owing to sickness and extreme domestic affliction, has laid unanswered until now. To prepare, or assist in preparing, materials for history is so foreign from my usual pursuits, that I shall certainly make a very awkward figure in the attempt. I shall not, however, refuse contributing my mite to assist your labors, as far as my limited military and political knowledge may be useful.

Your remark on republican gratitude is no novelty. Ancient history abounds with the bloody and poisonous rewards bestowed on the bravest Generals, most faithful Patriots, and upright Jurists. Modern republics have, in some measure, refined on the ancient system. In room of furnishing poison and halters to their old and faithful servants, they have charitably turned

* General Wilkinson was engaged, at the date of this letter, in writing his *Memoirs of my own Times*, published in 1816 ; and the information sought from Major Stark and the "subscription" referred to, undoubtedly related to that enterprise. Ed. Hist. Mag.

† The words in *Italics*, enclosed in brackets, are evidently Major Stark's answers. Ed. Hist. Mag.

them out on a barren common, in the December of life, indifferent whether they starved in the first of the month, or picked up a miserable subsistence to the end of it. But I will wave reflection, and attend to the more apposite subjects of your letter.

The Battle of Breed's-hill commenced about the middle of the afternoon, by a furious attack on the left of the rail-fence, manned by the New Hampshire militia, commanded by Colonel Stark. Three times the enemy advanced within eight or ten rods of the fence, and were as often defeated. They then abandoned the project of turning by their right, and bent their force against the redoubt, which was carried: but so ill was the co-operating arrangement planned, that the soldiers at the fence were very loath to leave their ground, as they could not see that the redoubt was in possession of the enemy, and that they were hastening to close upon the rear. They were, however, convinced soon enough for most of them to escape.

John Winslow (who, afterwards, was employed in the Quarter-master's Department, and has since been made a general officer in the Massachusetts militia) was in Boston, at the time of the action; and, on the day following, visited the field. He told me that he counted ninety-six men dead on the beach, that had not been removed when he arrived, which was pretty far in the day.

At the time of the Battle of Bunker's-hill, the New Hampshire troops were not organized, nor regimented. Such as ran to arms at the Battle of Lexington, rendezvoused at Medford, and chose John Stark, for their Colonel, Isaac Wyman, Lieutenant-colonel, and Andrew McClary, Major, who immediately issued "listing orders," and formed Companies according to the system of 1775. I believe that neither Colonel Reid nor Colonel Poor was in the action, nor about the Army at the time. I think they, together with their field-officers, were in the interior, preparing recruits. They appeared soon after the action, when the Hampshire forces were divided into three Regiments, in the same manner as they were when you joined General Sullivan, below Winter-hill. I am inclined to think that General James Reid (although doubtless a brave man) was never in action during the War. You know that he was struck with blindness, in 1776, from which misfortune he never recovered. McClary lost his life after the action. He had retreated out of danger; but, either led by unwarrantable curiosity or to collect the scattered troops, he ventured too near the Neck, when a cannon-shot from one of the boats, put a period to one of the most active and brave defenders of our liberties that New England ever produced. He resided in Epsom, about twelve miles from this place;

and it will not escape your History, that he was the planner and principal actor in removing the cannon and military stores from the Castle, at Portsmouth, in the beginning of the disturbance.

I presume that General Ward was the planner of the expedition, or at least it must have been done with his approbation, as he was nominal commander; but I never could learn that there was any officer appointed to the general command. I have understood that General Ward was a very honest man, of little activity, and not much military skill. The expedition under consideration is good evidence of this, as it would appear at the first glance of a military man, that there ought to have been a simultaneous occupancy of Bunker's as well as Breed's-hill, in order to secure a retreat should it become necessary. And had the British, in room of landing in front of the redoubt and fence, made only a feint on that side, and at the same time marched their forces up Charlestown street, and either occupied the Neck or Bunker's-hill, every man that was on Breed's-hill must have been lost. This project would have been very feasible, as the boats on each side, raking the Neck so effectually as to prevent the militia from preserving any order in crossing it, would, at the same time, have given a safe passport to the English Army.

These remarks are too general for history; and my juvenile years did not entitle me to any better than common-place information. My post in the action was near Mystic-river.

General Heath was then an officer of high standing, and continued so during the War. He was always celebrated for minute details; and as he has published his *Memoirs*, I think you may probably obtain more correct information from that work than any other extant. It is some years since I read them; and I have either forgotten or never knew how he disposed of this transaction.

With respect to the exact spot where Warren fell, I am inclined to think it cannot be ascertained by any new light. Our countryman, Trumbull, in his elegant painting of the Battle, seems to have fixed it in the redoubt. From what source he derived his information, I am a stranger. Eustis, if there, ought to have known.

Charlestown could give no cover nor annoyance, during the action, as it lay under the hill and out of sight of the Battle: in addition, it was in flames about the time that the Battle began; and with the exception of some ten or twelve houses near the Neck, was all destroyed that day. The remainder were burnt, one dark night when (I believe) you was with the Army, in the winter following.

Your account of Putnam corresponds with what I have always understood of his conduct

that day; only I have some vague impression that he had some tent-poles and other camp equipage in addition to his entrenching tools. His station was nearly a mile from the theatre of action.

I should expect that General Dearborn could give you a more accurate account of the arrangement on the hill than my limited knowledge will enable me to do. His management at the time, and his respectable standing, together with the confidence that his Country has placed in his military and political capacity, would make me blush if I were to attempt calling them in question, or to contradict any thing he should assert of his own knowledge.

Your map of the scene of action is substantially correct, with the exception of distance and proportions, which I will endeavor to alter and forward from Boston, in a few days, when I will forward your Queries with such answers as I can fill up or obtain from others.

I never knew Colonel Prescott. Brewer was a Sergeant in the Ranging service, and I believe in Captain Stark's Company. He left the Revolutionary service early. If I can obtain any account of either of these gentlemen, I will forward it as early as I can.

Wishing you all possible success in your literary, as well as other labors,

I am, with respectful sentiments,

Your friend and very humble servant,

C. STARK.

Gen. WILKINSON.

E.—*A Letter from Isaac Hill, Esq.*

CONCORD, June 1, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed I send you the declaration of Captain Robert B. Wilkins.

In the year 1810, a biographical sketch of General Stark was published in *The New Hampshire Patriot*, giving the same account of General Putnam as that of your father. This sketch was at that time republished in several of the papers. Why did not the friends of General Putnam, then discover their tender sensibilities?

With much esteem,

Your obedient servant and friend,

ISAAC HILL.

Gen. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

[CAPTAIN WILKIN'S DECLARATION, REFERRED TO BY MR. HILL.]

I, Robert Bradford Wilkins, of Concord, County of Rockingham, and State of New Hampshire, do testify and say, that I acted as a private soldier in the Battle of Breed's-hill, otherwise called the Battle of Bunker's-hill, on the seventeenth of June, 1775; that I was attached to

Captain Levi Spaulding's Company, of Colonel James Reid's Regiment; that I was on that day stationed in Charlestown, below the Neck, and on the main street; that our Company proceeded from thence on to Bunker's-hill, over the hollow and on Breed's-hill; that after our Company arrived at the works, near Mystic-river, I was sent back on an errand, by the Captain, to the house where he had been stationed; and on returning by a route, nearer the Neck than that we first passed, I saw General Putnam with Colonel Gerrish, as near as I should judge, one hundred rods from the line and troops I had left; that the firing with small-arms commenced after I returned the second time; that, in the action, the enemy were three times repulsed; that in the interval between the second and third repulses, I received a severe wound from a musket-ball in my right elbow-joint, for which wound I have since received a pension from the Government of the United States; that I then left the field of battle just before the retreat of the Americans from the fort, and passed on to Bunker's-hill, where I found General Putnam and Colonel Gerrish in nearly the same place where I first saw them; that I was then almost exhausted from the loss of blood; that Colonel Gerrish gave me some refreshments and bound a handkerchief around my arm, at the place of my wound, and sent two men to assist me over the Neck, who left me before I had cleared the Neck, and I fell and lay on the ground, until nearly all the Americans had retreated from the hill, when I was helped off.

QUESTION. Did you know, or did you ever suppose, that General Putnam was near the line, or in the engagement at Breed's-hill?

ANSWER. I did not know, and have no reason to suppose, that he took any active part in that action.

QUESTION. Did you in conversation with any person who was in the action, ever understand that General Putnam took any part in that action?

ANSWER. I did not.

QUESTION. How long did you serve in the War of the Revolution; and did you ever act in any other capacity than that of a Private?

ANSWER. I served from the commencement to the close of the Revolutionary War; and acted successively as a private, a Sergeant, Ensign and Lieutenant.

ROBERT B. WILKINS.

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE,
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, ss.

CONCORD, May 30, 1818.

The foregoing declaration sworn to before me.

SAMUEL GREEN,
Justice of the Peace.

F.—A Letter from the Rev. William Bentley, of Salem.

SALEM, May 20, 1818.

WORTHY SIR:—I was with General Stark on the thirty-first of May, 1810. I always had a deep interest in the man; and usually kept a notice of the subject of our conversation. I found him in great good humor, and soon upon his old war stories, which I did not take care minutely to preserve, because Major Caleb Stark had told me he was collecting everything worthy to meet the public eye and to be published after his father's decease, and in due honor of his memory. As, among other objects, I intended to get a likeness, and was uncertain of success, among the maps, prints, and papers I carried him, were some portraits; and among them was one of General Putnam. I recollect, upon the sight of the head of General Putnam, he said, "My Chaplain," as he called me, "you know my opinion of that man. Had he done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his Country in the first action." He then proceeded to describe to me the scene of action, and the "pen," as he called the inclosed works and breastwork; and gave his reasons for not entering it; and the want of judgment in the works. He then told me the place in which he saw General Putnam, and what was done on the occasion; and his remarks were as severe as his genius and the sentiments of ardent patriotism could make them. Upon reading the letter of your worthy father, I recollected immediately much of the conversation with General Stark; and as General Stark always used the same language on the subject, it will be recollected by many of his friends.

When I consider the integrity of General Stark, I am sure that no good citizen will attribute his opinion to prejudice, but will believe it was the result of his full conviction, from facts as they appeared to his own mind.

With esteem and affection,

Your devoted servant,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

GEN. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

G.—A Letter from Abel Parker, Esq., Judge of Probate.

MESSRS EDITORS:—As I was in the Battle on Breed's-hill, otherwise called Bunker's-hill, on the seventeenth day of June, 1775, and there received one ball through my leg, another having passed through my clothes, all accounts of that Battle, which I have seen published, have been to me extremely interesting. But I have never seen any account which I considered in any degree correct, until the one published by General Dearborn. On perusing that account with the utmost atten-

tion, I could discover but one mistake; and that related to his assertion, "that there was not a man 'who flinched,' or to that effect, for his narrative is not now before me; and, even in that case, I believe the General's assertion may be strictly true, if his meaning be confined to the time after his arrival on the hill. Previous to that, there were many who left the ground at the fort, particularly at the landing of the British troops; but, after the commencement of the Battle, with small-arms, I know of no man's leaving his post, until the order to retreat was given by Colonel Prescott. But, notwithstanding the correctness of General Dearborn's description of that Battle, some persons seem to have been much exasperated by it, in particular as to what he asserted with regard to General Putnam. As long as they confined themselves to mere declamation, without bringing forward any evidence to disprove the General's assertion, I deemed it unnecessary for me to appear in vindication of the General's statement. But, on perusing a letter from Colonel Trumbull to Colonel Putnam, wherein mention is made of a conversation with Colonel Small, in London, I concluded, not withstanding my aversion to taking any part in a newspaper discussion, that to remain any longer silent would be absolutely criminal. I shall, therefore, in as concise a manner as possible, state what I know relating to that memorable Battle.

Immediately after the Battle of Lexington, I engaged in the service of my Country, in Captain John Nutting's Company, in the Regiment commanded by Colonel William Prescott. Both of these officers belonged to the Town of Pepperell, where I then lived. I was, at this time, a little more than twenty-two years of age. On the sixteenth day of June following, Colonel Prescott's Regiment, with two or three others, were ordered to march and take possession of Bunker's-hill. On our arrival at the place called Charlestown-neck, a halt was made; and Captain Nutting's Company, with ten of the Connecticut troops, were detached to proceed into the Town of Charlestown, as a guard: the remainder marched to the hill, which, in fact was Breed's, and not Bunker's-hill, where they commenced building a small fort. In the morning, not far from sun-rising, the alarm was fired from the British vessel lying in the river. Sometime after this, Nutting's Company left the Town, and marched to join the Regiment on the hill. When we arrived there, the fort was in considerable forwardness; and the troops commenced throwing up the breast-work mentioned by General Dearborn. We had not been long employed in that work, before the cannon-shot from a hill in Boston and the vessels lying in the rivers were poured in upon us in great profusion. However, the work progressed until it was thought it would answer the purpose for which it was designed. But the firing from the British

artillery continued with unabated fury. Sometime before this, there were brought to the fort several brass field-pieces, one of which was actually fired towards Boston; but the ball did not reach the Town. It had this effect, however, on the British, that it made them double their diligence in firing upon us. In the time of this heavy fire, I, for the first time that day, saw General Putnam standing with others, under cover of the North wall of the fort, where, I believe, he remained until the British troops made their appearance in their boats. At this time, the artillery was withdrawn from the fort; but by whose order I know not; and General Putnam, at or near the same time, left the fort. The removing of the artillery and General Putnam's departure took place a little before (if my memory be correct) the New Hampshire troops made their appearance on the hill. I saw them when they arrived; and witnessed their dexterity in throwing up their breast-work of rails and hay. When the British first made their attack with small-arms, I was at the breast-work, where I remained until I received my wound from the party who had flanked it. I then went into the fort, where I remained until the order to retreat was given by Colonel Prescott. After my arrival at the fort, I had a perfect opportunity of viewing the operations of the day; and distinctly noticed Colonel Prescott as the only person who took upon him any command. He frequently ordered the men from one side to the other, in order to defend that part which was pressed hardest by the enemy; and I was within a few yards of him, when the order to retreat was given; and I affirm, that at that time General Putnam was not in the fort, neither had he been there at any time after my entering the same; and I have no hesitation in declaring, that the story, told by Colonel Small to Colonel Trumbull, concerning General Putnam's saving him from the fire of our men at that time, is altogether unfounded.

Much has been said by General Dearborn's opponents, in order to discredit his statement as to General Putnam's not being called upon to answer for his conduct that day, as well as Colonel Gerrish. The solution of that problem is easy. In the first place, there never has been, to my knowledge, any evidence that General Putnam was ordered to take the command; and, in my opinion, his appearance there at all was only as a volunteer. For who was at that time in the Army, that had a right to order him there? The Legislature of Connecticut had appointed him commander of their troops; but I do not know that it has ever been asserted that they directed him to obey the orders of General Ward, who was Commander of the troops raised by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. But, provided he had been ordered to take the command by Gen-

eral Ward, is it at all likely, in that State of confusion and perplexity, that a man of his rank, and belonging to another State, would have been arrested? There was, I believe, (for I cannot speak with certainty, as I left the camp on account of my wounds for about two months) no officer brought to trial for misconduct on the day of that Battle, until after the arrival of General Washington, who had been (and I believe after the Battle) appointed Commander-in-chief of all the American troops, by Congress. And is it probable that any person would have presumed to complain to him of General Putnam, who had just received a commission of Major-general from the same Congress?

I know it may, and probably will be, said, how came this young man to know General Putnam? If that should be the case, my answer is, I had been stationed in Cambridge from the day after the Battle of Lexington, a very few days excepted, until the Battle of Bunker's-hill; and had frequently seen General Putnam, and could as easily recognize him as I could any officer in the Regiment to which I belonged. As for General Dearborn, I never saw him, to my knowledge, and have nothing to induce me to make a misstatement in his favor; but as I believe his narrative of the proceedings of that day to be substantially correct in all its parts, I cannot feel myself justified in withholding my evidence of that correctness.

ABEL PARKER.

JAFFREY, N. H. May 27, 1818.

H.—*A Letter from the Hon. Thomas Kittredge, of Andover, who was a Surgeon in Frye's Regiment.*

BOSTON, June 10th, 1818.

SIR:—I received your letter of the 8th, in due season, in which you request me to answer certain questions respecting the Battle of Bunker's-hill, so called. I was Surgeon to Frye's Regiment, and marched with the troops on the evening of the sixteenth of June, 1775, which consisted of three Regiments, according to the best of my recollection,—Frye's, Prescott's, and Bridge's. Colonel Frye being confined with the gout, the command of the Regiment devolved on Lieutenant-colonel Bricket; and Colonel Prescott was considered Commander of the whole detachment. We arrived at the hill, late in the evening; our troops immediately commenced throwing up works for our defence. I continued with the troops until about twelve o'clock at night; and then went to a house not far distant from the fort, and slept until light. Just after light, I returned to the fort and continued there until about eleven o'clock. You request to know where I was stationed during the Battle. I had

no particular station assigned me : I left the hill with the first who was wounded ; and passed over Charlestown-neck, where I proceeded to dress his wounds. You further ask whether I saw General Putnam on that day, and where ? I saw him only once, as I came off, at the foot of the lower hill, between where the Battle was and Charlestown-neck ; he was under a tree with, as I supposed, about thirty or forty men. I made a halt when I came against him, of three or four minutes ; and, while I was there, I heard General Putnam request some of the men to go up to the fort and see if they could get some of the entrenching tools. I immediately left them ; went over the Neck ; and there continued dressing the wounded until the engagement was over, and did not see General Putnam again for the day.

I am, Sir, with high esteem,
your most obedient servant,

THOMAS KITTREDGE.

Gen. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

L.—Certificate of the Rev. Daniel Chaplin, D.D., of Groton, and the Rev. John Bullard, of Pepperell.

This may certify the public, that we whose names we have given, were in habits of intimacy with Colonel W. Prescott, of Pepperell, a man of the strictest integrity, during most of the period after he left the Revolutionary Army until his death ; that, at sundry times, in conversation with him about the War, particularly about the Battle of Bunker's-hill, so called, he uniformly told us that Major-general Warren came to the fort, on Breed's-hill, which had been formed the night preceding, a little before the British made an attack on the works ; that he, Colonel Prescott, said to General Warren, "I am happy to see you, General," or using words to the same effect, "for you will now take command, and I will obey your orders, and am relieved." Said General Warren to him, in reply, "I have no command here, Colonel Prescott. I am a volunteer. I came here to learn actual service." Prescott said, "I wish then you would look at the works we have thrown up ; and give your opinion." Warren replied, "You are better acquainted, Prescott, with military matters than I am." After which, they immediately parted, and met not again. Colonel Prescott further informed us, repeatedly, that, when a retreat was ordered and commenced and he was descending the hill, he met General Putnam, and said to him, "Why did you not support me, General, with your men, as I had reason to expect, according to agreement?" Putnam answered, "I could not drive the dogs up." Prescott pointedly said to him, "If you could not drive them

"up, you might have led them up." We have good reason to believe, further, from declarations of some of our parishioners, men of respectability, whose veracity cannot be doubted, who belonged to Colonel Prescott's Regiment, and were present through the whole service, that General Putnam was not on Breed's-hill the night preceding, nor on that day, except that just before the attack was made, he might have gone to the fort and ordered the tools to be carried off, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, in the event of his carrying the works and holding the ground ; and that he and his men, with Colonel Gerrish, remained on the side of Bunker's-hill, towards the Neck, during the whole action.

DANIEL CHAPLIN.

JOHN BULLARD.

J.—Declaration of Deacon Samuel Lawrence, of Groton.

GROTON, June 5. 1818.

I, Samuel Lawrence, of Groton, Esquire, testify and say, that I was at the Battle of Bunker's-hill, (so called) in Colonel William Prescott's Regiment ; that I marched with the Regiment to the point on Breed's-hill, which was fixed on for a redoubt ; that I assisted in throwing up the breastwork and in forming a redoubt, under Colonel Prescott, who directed the whole of this operation. The work was begun about nine o'clock in the evening of June 16th, 1775. I was there the whole time, and continued in the redoubt, or in the little fort, during the whole Battle, until the enemy came in and a retreat was ordered. General Putnam was not present either while the works were erecting, nor during the Battle. I could see distinctly the rail-fence and the troops stationed there during the Battle ; but General Putnam was not present, as I saw. After the retreat was ordered, the troops retreated towards Bunker's-hill, and continued over and on the side of the hill (I was on the side of the hill) towards Charlestown-neck.

Just before the Battle commenced, General Warren came to the redoubt. He had on a blue coat, and white waistcoat, and, I think, a cocked hat, but of this I am not certain. Colonel Prescott advanced to him ; said he was glad to see him ; and hoped he would take the command. General Warren replied, No : he came to see the action but not to take command ; that he was only a volunteer on that day. Afterwards, I saw General Warren shot : I saw him when the ball struck him ; and from that time until he expired. I knew General Warren well by sight ; and recollected him perfectly when Colonel Prescott offered him the command ; and was sorry to see him so dangerously situated, as I knew him to

be a distinguished character ; and thought he ought not to have risked his life without command on that occasion. No British officer was within forty or fifty rods of him, from the time the ball struck him, until I saw he was dead. I have read General Dearborn's account of the battle, and think it correct, particularly with regard to the occurrences at the gateway of the redoubt.

SAMUEL LAWRENCE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS :

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX. June 5, 1818.

Personally appeared Samuel Lawrence, Esquire, and made oath that the above declaration by him subscribed is just and true in all its parts, according to the best of his knowledge and belief. Before me,

SAMUEL DANA.

Justice of the Peace throughout said Commonwealth.

36.—*Hon. John Lowell's Review of General Dearborn's Defence of his attack on General Putnam.*

[From the *Columbian Centinel*, Nos 3573—3576. Boston, (Massachusetts) July 4—15. 1818.]

It is honorable to the moral feelings of the American people, that a general burst of indignation at the unwarrantable attack on the reputation of one of their earliest and ablest officers has compelled the accuser to put himself on trial. It is also a proof of his discretion, that he has thought it necessary to submit his conduct to public scrutiny. It argues a degree of sensibility to public opinion, which is certainly creditable to him ; and it proves that men have some security in their reputations, when their accusers are obliged to place themselves on their defence.

But General Dearborn has made as many mistakes in the mode of his vindication, as he did in his unjustifiable attack. He has mistaken entirely the public feeling, and the sentiment which his publication occasioned. It was not so much the contradiction of received opinion as to General Putnam's character, nor the total reversal of all the sentiments heretofore entertained, which caused the public excitement against General Dearborn ; it was the unmilitary and illiberal mode in which the question was brought forward. If the facts stated by General Dearborn had been true, which from abundant and better testimony we shall prove *they were not*, still nothing in military usage, still less anything in the common intercourse of society, could justify such an attack on the memory of an officer, so long consigned to the page of history.

If the pretence should be, that it was important to fix and settle the claims of merit on that eventful and honorable day, this might have been done by giving praise where it was due,

without stigmatizing the reputation of others who were thought less worthy of it.

If General Putnam had been alive, he would have been entitled to a trial by Court Martial ; and it is an example entirely without precedent, as well as against all honorable principles, to convict and sentence a man without a hearing. General Dearborn has erected himself into a tribunal ; and has disposed of the fame of General Ward and General Putnam, with an authority equal to that of a regularly constituted Court.

The unfairness and the danger of such a mode of proceeding would be obvious, if we were to suppose that General Scott or General Ripley were to accuse General Dearborn of cowardice before Little York, where, though all his troops landed, he complaisantly deferred the command to Brigadier-general Pike. If, upon his complaining of such treatment, General Scott should publish such a *farrago* of contradictory and loose testimony as General Dearborn has done, the case would be parallel, except so far as that General Putnam is no longer on the stage to solicit partizan testimony and to summon, from the shades, every loose opinion, and casual conjecture, and hearsay, which General Dearborn has had the industry, with little arrangement and judgment, to collect.

The great charge then against General Dearborn is, that, in despite of the honorable usages of military men, and in still further defiance of all the equitable principles which induce us to be mild and candid in our judgment of the *Dead*, he has really issued a decree, as Commander-in-chief, sentencing General Putnam to be shot for cowardice on the seventeenth of June, 1775, *before the enemy*.

This, to be sure, is pretty bold ground to take against a man whose very name had become almost a synonym for desperate courage—who, as a Lieutenant in the Expedition under Braddock, had silenced the pretensions of all his superiors ; and had been almost the only name, in the elder Wars, for twenty years, on the tongues of Americans—Washington is always understood to be excepted in these remarks.

That these rumors of his defection at Bunker's-hill should never have reached the ears of Congress nor of General Washington—that they should have remained buried and festering, for forty years, in the breasts of his rivals in the New-Hampshire line,—until they have now broken out with pestilent malignity from the ulcerous wound of General Dearborn, is certainly singular.

In this review, which will be very full and particular, and we hope satisfactory, we propose to abstain from all personalities ; but it is impossible not to recollect, in weighing the testimony, that whatever of reputation can be withdrawn from Putnam, Ward, and Warren, is to be bestowed on Stark and Captain Dearborn. Hence we shall

see what an abundant portion of the evidence may be traced to this source. It is also worthy of remark, that the author of this *Account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill*, is the same person who, at the expense of Governor Brooks, set himself up as the Hero of Saratoga. If the merit of the Battle of Bunker's-hill can also be transferred to the same laurelled brow, it will be easily conceived that the gratification will be extreme. In the collection and display of evidence, the General has been as much mistaken as he was in the estimate of the cause of public dissatisfaction.

It is not with an array of names, with loose incoherent hearsay testimony, nor evidence of a nature purely negative, that an intelligent public can or will be satisfied on a point, not affecting the character of one man only, but of many men, and of the Nation.

The correctness of historical facts is felt to be important. If Mr. Trumbull's picture of this Battle is erroneous and false, we ought to know it and to banish it from our parlors.

Unhappily for General Dearborn, his testimony is not well arranged, well selected, nor properly prepared. It proves a great deal too much as well as too little. The witnesses contradict each other. Some of his agents had too much zeal. They did not see "the whole ground," nor what other witnesses had stated.

Thus, it will be seen in the sequel of this Review, that not only the character of Putnam, but that of Ward and Warren, are attacked: that the veracity of Trumbull, and Small, and Grosvenor are drawn in question: that even Colonel Prescott, against whom no whisper has been yet heard, is sneered at. In short, it will appear that, if these witnesses are to be believed, who in the heat of battle appear to have had their eyes fixed on General Putnam, and, with the faculty of ubiquity and omnipresence, seem to have been able not only to decide where *he was*, but where *he was not*, there were no heroes that day but the friends of General Dearborn, with the exception of Colonel Prescott, to whom they are compelled to give a sideways sort of praise. All this parade will give way on approach.

It is not by loose surmises, nor by the hearsay testimony of men who have treasured up sentences dropping from the mouths of eye-witnesses, thirty years ago, that the reputation of any man, heretofore unsuspected, ought to be tried. Evidence, in such a case, ought to be full and complete; and as strict rules should be applied to it, at least, as would have been necessary on the trial of General Dearborn, had he obtained, what he earnestly sought, a Court Martial on his unhappy removal from the Army. He surely would have objected to such testimony as he has adduced against the venerable Putnam. He would not have admitted as of any force, the loose relation

of the Rev. Mr. Bentley of what General Stark *told him in conversation*; nor would he have assented to the testimony of Dr. Chaplin and Mr. Bullard, as to the expressions of Colonel Prescott.

It is a little curious, and worthy of prefatory remark, that General Stark figures through this whole defence as the principal witness; and it ought not to be forgotten, that on the depression of Putnam's character *his own must rise*. If Putnam deserted his duty at Bunker's-hill, and Stark performed his, it may have weighed with the General, in reflecting on that Battle, that Putnam had an "*undeserved popularity*," and was promoted, in consequence of it, to the rank of Major-general, while Stark was left in a subordinate station! General Stark appears to be the authority, and the only authority, in several of the affidavits or certificates. Thus, General Wilkinson, who knew nothing of the Battle, is introduced with great pomposeness to relate what General Stark *told him*, the day after the Battle. Whether the son, Major Stark's evidence, was in *any degree* derived from the same source, we cannot say; but the tendency of it certainly is to place, as we believe he deserves, in great relief, in the forward ground, Colonel John Stark. Mr. Bentley's unimportant testimony is wholly derived from the same source. It is obvious that all this evidence is nothing more than that of General Stark himself, who, as he did not arrive on the ground till one o'clock,* and was then engaged on the left on the declivity, towards Mystic-river, could not, unless by superhuman means, know what was passing in the fort. At any rate, it is only the testimony of one man, and that of a negative character; for he could not say more than that he did not see Putnam engaged.

With these prefatory remarks as to the testimony and the manner in which a *little* is made to seem a *great deal* by repetition, let us now examine the whole, with the care and judgment which would be exercised in a Court Martial or in any honorable Court.

The charge is, that General Putnam, whose *duty* it was to command and lead the troops, not only did not perform it, had no *personal* part in the action, but kept his *troops* inactive during the Battle.

If either part of this charge is untrue, then General Dearborn has done him gross and wanton injustice. If it was not his *duty to be there*, then General Dearborn ought to have ascertained the fact before he made the charge; and he is too much of a military man to censure an officer

* Captain Dearborn says, the Regiment did not march from Medford, nearly four miles from Breed's Hill, until about one o'clock; and adds, that the troops marched with "a deliberate pace," as it was a maxim with Stark that "one fresh man in action was worth ten fatigued ones."

for not being at a post to which he was not ordered, and where he had no command.

If his *troops* were in the Battle and in the hottest of the fight—if they suffered more from the enemy than even these of the gallant Stark's,—then the charge is rash and unsupported. Or if he was personally at the post of danger, and was among the last to retreat, the charge is equally unsustained and wanton.

We believe that all these points can be made out by evidence irrefragable; and that the testimony adduced by General Dearborn has no tendency to weaken its force. It will be found that, if examined by ordinary rules adopted on such occasions—rules founded in the highest equity and the soundest logic—none of General Dearborn's evidence has a legal bearing against General Putnam, on either of these *essential points*.

[I.—OF THE AUTHORITY EXERCISED BY GENERAL PUTNAM, IN THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S-HILL.]

As to the first point, it is a little, and indeed very, curious, and shows the utter want of judgment in General Dearborn and his friends, that they have endeavored to make it out that Putnam had no *legitimate command* on that great and memorable day. If this fact, which they have endeavored to prove in the loose and unsatisfactory way in which they have conducted the whole of this defence against the charge of calumny, be true, then General Putnam ought not to have been on the ground to take away the command from Colonel Prescott. It will be observed that we do not admit the fact to be so; but it goes to the credit of the defence; and shows of what weak and discordant materials it is composed. Let us now hear the witnesses to this point.

First, Major Stark, in his letter to Wilkinson, states that he never could learn that there was any officer appointed to the general command. He further remarks, that there ought to have been a simultaneous occupation of Bunker's-hill as well as of Breed's-hill, in order to protect the retreat of our troops. If Major Stark is a judicious military man and this opinion is sound, why undertake to censure Putnam for retaining his forces on Bunker's-hill? We deny the fact that he did; but, to those who censure him for it, it is surely a sufficient answer to say that his very accusers assert that it was a very suitable measure, and might have prevented, what Major Stark says would have been the ruin of the detachment, the occupation of Bunker's-hill, in the rear of our troops. Judge Parker, a New Hampshire Judge of Probate, a very flippant witness, says there was never any proof to his mind, that Putnam was ordered to take the command; and that he was only a volunteer, and, of course, in his ideas of military law, not subject to

a trial. In this way he accounts for no notice having been taken of the subject during the last century, and until the present is very considerably advanced. The very respectable gentlemen of the Clergy of Groton and Pepperell also confirm, from the testimony of their parishioners who were in the action, that General Putnam was not present, *either the night before or during the action*.

Now, though this is *directly opposed to the fact, sufficiently and perfectly proved*, (not, however affecting their veracity, as their testimony is derived from channels which may be incorrect) yet, *if true*, and General Dearborn adduces it as such, it proves that Putnam could not, without a dereliction of duty and violating the rights of others, have advanced from his position on Bunker's-hill.

We have shown the gross *inconsistency* of the General's evidence with his charge against the venerable Putnam. In his "Account of the Battle," he considers Putnam as having shamefully deserted his duty, *and as deserving to be shot*, or rather, he represents Colonel Prescott as having said so; and, in his *defence*, he proves by two witnesses, that Putnam had no command on that day, and of course could be liable to no censure for not undertaking to command Prescott and Stark, of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Lines. It is certainly true, as suggested by President Adams and Judge-advocate Tudor, that there could not, in the nature of the case, have been any authorized commander. The troops were volunteers from three different States, under probably Royal commissions, perhaps no commissions at all. The latter was certainly the case with Stark, who was chosen by his troops after their arrival at Medford. But, although Putnam could have no *legal* right to command, we shall show, in the sequel, that he was, *in fact*, the Commander of that detachment, and by his orders were the works executed; that they were obeyed as if he were the rightful Commander; and that Dearborn's own Regiment, (that of Colonel Stark,) acted and fought under his immediate command, and in his presence, that day. In short, before the evidence is half through, it will be seen that there is at present more proof of General Putnam's active, bold, courageous exertions in the hottest of that Battle, in the very front of danger, than there is that Dearborn, or even Colonel Stark, were in it.

It would not be in the power of Washington's friends to prove that he was at the Battle of Monmouth, by stronger or more complete evidence than General Putnam's friends can produce to establish his audacious gallantry and coolness on Breed's-hill. But this evidence I shall reserve till I take up the third point of Putnam's *personal conduct*.

[II.—ON GENERAL PUTNAM'S ACTIVITY, IN THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S-HILL.]

The second question regards the charge of having kept *back his troops* on Bunker's-hill, and not affording succor to the combatants on Breed's-hill. Although one of Dearborn's witnesses says this is precisely what ought to have been done, yet, as it was intended as a reproach, and is certainly untrue, we shall proceed to disprove it. The Honorable Judge Grosvenor, of Pomfret, in Connecticut, is a witness of irreproachable credit. In comparing his testimony with that of Dearborn's witnesses, we shall not undertake to say that he is a more credible witness, under equal circumstances, but we do venture to assert, that, if his situation be considered, his evidence is of greater weight than that of all the witnesses introduced by Dearborn, put together. General Putnam was the Commander of all the Connecticut troops, and the immediate Colonel of the Regiment in which Judge Grosvenor served as a Lieutenant. To the men of Stark's Regiment, who were then stationed at Medford, Putnam must have been less familiar than to his own neighbors and soldiers. When the Battle began, it was impossible for Stark's or Colonel Prescott's men to know what was doing by the Connecticut troops and their officers, as well as *they knew themselves*.

There could be no mere boasting in Judge Grosvenor's endeavoring to make it appear that he *was* stationed where he *was not*; because he was wounded in the shoulder, as he says himself and as will be proved by others, and lost *five times as many men* of his command, in proportion, as Captain Dearborn did, and a larger proportion, as will be shown, than even the gallant Prescott. Judge Grosvenor, in his letter heretofore published, of the thirtieth of April, 1818, states that a part of his Regiment, under Putnam's command, with a larger number of troops under Colonel Prescott, were ordered on the evening before the Battle of Bunker's-hill, to Breed's-hill, "where, under the *immediate superintendence of General Putnam*, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. "On the next day, dispositions were made to deter the advance of the enemy. General Putnam was extremely active, and directed principally the operations. All were animated; and their *General inspired confidence by his example*." He then proceeds to say, "that, after the British landed, a detachment of four Lieutenants and one hundred and twenty men, selected the preceding day, from General Putnam's Regiment, under Captain Knowlton, were by the *General ordered to take post at a rail-fence on the left of the breast-work*." [This is the very spot where Dearborn's friends claim all the honor.] He then describes the gallant conduct of the Connecticut troops, who opened a deadly fire on

the enemy and compelled them to retire with heavy loss. He adds, that he was sustained in his retreat by two *other Companies* of Putnam's Regiment. Out of *his own* command of thirty men, he had eleven killed and wounded, among the *rest, himself*.

"He saw no other troops at the rail-fence, at the time *the action begun*, nor till *long after*." [This agrees with Dearborn's witnesses, who intimate that the action began before they reached the fence.]

"Of the officers on the ground, the most active, within my observation, were General Putnam, Colonel Prescott, and Captain Knowlton; but no doubt there were many more, *equally brave and meritorious*, who must naturally have escaped the eye of one attending to his *own immediate command*."

"THOMAS GROSVENOR."

In this last sentence are displayed a candid spirit and a knowledge of human nature. He does justice to others besides his *own friends*; and he doubts the possibility of *any man*, who did his duty, knowing, in the heat of battle, what was done by any but those immediately connected with him.

Now, if Judge Grosvenor be believed, these two assertions, and round ones too, of General Dearborn, are proved to be untrue. The FIRST, "that no reinforcements were sent to the assistance of the combatants; and, SECOND, "that Putnam *re-treated with his whole force*, without discharging *a musket*." One hundred and twenty men of Putnam's force were in the whole action; were there before Dearborn was; suffered *greater loss*, and appeared to display at least as much gallantry; and two other Companies, "Clark's and Chester's," of Putnam's Regiment, were sent as a reinforcement.

But, it may be said, "here is one witness against a cloud." If it were true, if Dearborn's witnesses were not, as they are, many of them, men of buckram, tittle-tattle-men, yet as they testify only to what they did *not see*, and what they *did not know*, and what they *did not hear*, thousands of them would be set aside against one credible witness, who tells what his *eyes beheld* and his *ears heard*.

But Judge Grosvenor does not stand unsupported. We shall sustain his evidence by testimony which will make even the veteran Dearborn tremble, at his rash accusation of unquestioned valor and merit.

Abner Allen, of Western, in the County of Worcester, having applied for a pension under the late Act, and being found to have fought at Bunker's-hill, freely gave the following affidavit:—

"I, Abner Allen, of Western, in the County of Worcester, Yeoman, do testify and declare,

"that I enlisted as a soldier in the Company commanded by General Israel Putnam, of Pomfret, in Connecticut, and Thomas Grosvenor, as Lieutenant;" [meaning the Honorable Thomas Grosvenor, now Judge of Probate for the County of Windham] "that I was at the Battle of Bunker's-hill; and went on, *the night before the Battle*, and worked at the breast-work. Putnam was then and there called *General*, and acted as such; and the Company was commanded by Captain Knowlton, who was afterwards promoted to be Colonel, and killed at *Harlem Heights*, when I was with him.

"Our Company was posted at 'the rail-fence,' till we had orders to retreat. And *I do know* that General Putnam was in *this engagement*. I saw him on horseback, riding backward and forward, urging the men to fight with *great earnestness*; and, when some of the men appeared to flinch a little, he used this expression: '*God's curse you, drive on.*' He was as much exposed as *any man engaged*. Our Company fought at about the centre of the line, between the breastwork and the water; and I do know that General Putnam did, on that occasion, all that a soldier and brave man could do.

"ABNER ALLEN."

Taken before one of the Judges of our Supreme Judicial Court, on the Circuit.

Hard to digest as is the language of this brave veteran, it would seem, by his testimony, that Putnam fought as bravely that day as Captain Dearborn or Colonel Stark. Judge Grosvenor is thus fully supported in every point; and the two allegations of Dearborn, above referred to, are utterly disproved.

In the County of Berkshire, another witness volunteered to the same effect:—

"I, Josiah Hill, of Tyringham, in the County of Berkshire, do testify and declare that, in May, 1775, I enlisted in the Company of Israel Putnam, son of General Putnam. I was at the Battle of Bunker's-hill, on the seventeenth of June. *Part of the Connecticut troops* went on *over night*, and part in the morning. *I know* that General Israel Putnam was in that Battle. I was on the left wing. I know that he took part in the engagement; and was as much exposed as *any body in the Battle*.

"I then belonged to Coventry, in Connecticut.

"JOSIAH HILL."

Here, then, are three eye-witnesses all engaged in action, one of them wounded, who prove that the Connecticut troops were on the ground before the New Hampshire troops; that they sustained the brunt of the Battle; that they suffered loss; and that Putnam, so far from *keeping back his troops*, gallantly led them on and exposed himself to the greatest dangers. But we have

in reserve, some testimony still more calculated to gather paleness round the accuser's cheeks and substitute the lily for the rose—to wit, some of General Dearborn's old soldiers, who saw what *he could not*,—Putnam in the *heat of Battle*.

On the point of the activity of General Putnam's own troops, we have one other piece of testimony, highly deserving of credit, on this part of our subject. It was voluntarily sent by its venerable author, who appears to have been an eye-witness or early acquainted with the Battle. It was addressed to Messrs. Monroe & Francis; and the original is in our possession; but, at the request of the writer, his name is kept back, at present, though any person may satisfy himself of the truth that such a history exists, and from a highly respectable source, by applying to Messrs. Monroe & Francis. It seems to have been one of those generous, voluntary tributes to injured merit, of which this calumny has produced so many illustrious examples. It is entitled—

"Battle of Bunker Hill.

"On the evening of June 16, Colonel William Prescott and Colonel Bridge, with their Regiments, under the *direction of General Putnam*, took possession of Breed's-hill, and threw up a fort or intrenchment. The next forenoon, when it was perceived that the British were preparing to attack them, orders were given *to reinforce them*.

"General Putnam did all *that man could do to* induce the men to go on to the Hill. He led on Captain Knowlton, with a part of a Connecticut Regiment. Esquire Putnam has given a just account of the bravery of Knowlton and his men."—[*Alluding to the late account of Daniel Putnam, Esq.*]

The venerable author then proceeds to give the details of the Battle, not essentially differing from other accounts. He then adds:—

"The officers who distinguished themselves that day, were General Putnam, General Warren, Colonel Prescott, his Lieutenant-colonel, John Robinson, (the man who, with Colonel Buttrick, led the troops at Concord-bridge) Major Woods, Colonel Bridge, and his Lieutenant-colonel, Parker, who was wounded and carried into Boston, and died there. If the Returns of Killed and Wounded are preserved, they will show the Regiments to which they belonged, and to whom the honor of that memorable day is due. Colonel Prescott's loss was forty-nine killed and forty-five wounded, out of four hundred"—[*Nearly four times as great as Dearborn's, though rather less than that of the Connecticut line.*] "Colonel Bridge lost in the same proportion with Prescott. The writer of this article was the *intimate friend* of Colonel Prescott and Lieutenant-colonel Robinson; and

"from the mouths of those Heroes he had this account of the Battle. He does not recollect to have heard Captain Dearborn's name mentioned, at the time nor after. Sometime in May, (I believe) an armed schooner ran ashore not far from the ferry-ways, directly opposite the batteries on Copp's-hill. General Putnam, with a party of men with small-arms, attacked and drove the men from their quarters, and burnt her. When the Americans took possession of Dorchester Heights, officers were selected to go down Charles-river and land on Boston Common, if the British should attack Dorchester Heights. Putnam was appointed to the command, and was the foremost to move down to Sewall's-point. It is impossible for any man to show more activity and personal bravery than General Putnam did on every occasion, during the siege of Boston."

The venerable gentleman then expresses a doubt as to the story of Colonel Prescott's conversation at Governor Bowdoin's table. He says, as we believe, that there is a sad anachronism and mistake of dates. He doubts whether Colonel Prescott was in sufficient health to be in public company after 1785, when Bowdoin was appointed. We, too, have heard it doubted whether the constitutional prudence, wisdom, and candor, of Colonel Prescott, as respectable as a citizen as he was as a soldier, would have permitted him to use language as unbecoming the one character as the other, in public company. But—But—all these things are of little moment. It seems by this imposing and overwhelming testimony, that General Dearborn was sadly mistaken in charging General Putnam with keeping back his *whole force*, and that he sent no reinforcement, and that his troops did not discharge a musket in the action.

This is now *utterly*, and if this evidence is preserved, for ever, disproved. Were we the relations of Putnam, we should be grateful to *Heaven*, (if not to the imprudent accuser) that we had an opportunity to bring him out, like gold twice assayed in the furnace.

[III.—ON GENERAL PUTNAM'S PERSONAL CONDUCT AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S-HILL.]

We now pass to the *third and most essential point*:—THE PERSONAL CONDUCT OF GENERAL PUTNAM, AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S-HILL.

Already we have arrayed the formidable mass of testimony in the depositions and statements of Judge Grosvenor, Abner Allen, Josiah Hill, and our venerable friend—whose account is not anonymous because he is well known, and its authenticity may be settled by reference as above proposed. We shall pass by, for the present, the

unanswerable evidence of Colonel Trumbull as to Colonel Small's declarations, because, although we feel, as President Adams does, a sort of instinctive feeling of the truth of that anecdote; although it bears, on the face of it, evidence which thrills in the heart of every honorable man, yet there is a weakness too much cultivated in our country, which leads them to value less the testimony of an enemy, although no assignable motive could be invented for such a tale on the part of Colonel Small.

But let it pass in order to introduce some of General Dearborn's own comrades, in his own Regiment, fighting by his side, whose eyes were not so blinded but that they could see Putnam in the hottest of the fight, even ordering Dearborn's troops. Perhaps Putnam came there at the unlucky moment when Captain Dearborn, *quitting his soldiers, had retreated for the strange purpose of gathering up the scattered fragments of powder to recruit their ammunition*—a prudent and overflowing caution, which savors at least as much of discretion as of zeal. We take only his own account of it, that in the face of the enemy, and while actually pushed by them, he sauntered into the rear, inquired into the fate of Warren, and attempted to collect powder, leaving his troops without the example of his own determined and desperate courage.

Reuben Kemp, now of Brooklyn, in Connecticut, but formerly of Goffstown, State of New Hampshire, deposes on oath:

"That, in 1775, he was a soldier in Captain Samuel Richard's Company and Colonel Stark's [Dearborn's] "Regiment; that, being quartered at Mystic, on the seventeenth of June, an alarm was given, and the Regiment ordered to parade at the Colonel's Quarters, when ammunition was distributed, namely, ten bullets and a gill-cup of powder. We sorted our bullets as well as we could; and marched to Charlestown-neck. After we arrived at the high ground, over the Neck, we were ordered to parade our packs and guns, and put sentries over them. Here we were furnished with intrenching tools and began to throw up a breast-work; but we had not been more than ten or fifteen minutes at work before the drums beat, and we were marched immediately. An officer whom I had never seen," [He was in the condition of Dearborn and all Stark's troops, who never had seen Putnam] "and whom they called General Putnam, seemed to have the ordering of things. He charged the men not to fire till the enemy came close to the works; and then to take good aim, and make every shot kill a man. But there were a few pieces discharged before the order was given to fire. General Putnam appeared very angry; and passed along the lines quickly, with his sword drawn, and threatened to stab any man that

"fired without order. The enemy kept firing as they advanced, and when they had got pretty near the works we were ordered to take good aim and fire. *At this time*, General Putnam was constantly passing backward and forward, from right to left, telling us, the day was our own if we would stick to it; and it was not many minutes before the enemy began to retreat."

Upon being questioned whether he had afterwards known Putnam, and recognized him, to be the same officer who so gallantly distinguished himself, he said, "I saw him often after, for he commanded on Prospect-hill; and I knew him to be the same that was in the fight."

"REUBEN KEMP.

Sworn to before me

"JOHN PARISH,

"Justice of the Peace."

Pray where was Captain Dearborn, that he could neither see this gallant officer nor hear his orders to Dearborn's own Regiment?

To the host of unanswerable witnesses, already adduced, we add the following:—

"Isaac Bassett of Killingley, in the County of Windham, and State of Connecticut, deposes, that he was a private soldier in General Putnam's Regiment, in 1775. The day previous to the Battle of Bunker's-hill, a detachment had been made from that Regiment; and, under the command of Captain Knowlton, composed part of the force that first occupied Bredt's-hill. On the morning of the 17th June, another detachment from the same Regiment, under the command of Ensign Sprague, marched from Cambridge, either to relieve or reinforce the party which went on the hill over night. To this last detachment the deponent belonged, and arrived on the Hill, at the redoubt and breast-work, just as the action commenced. Here he saw General Putnam with his sword drawn, encouraging and animating the troops. One of the Company, Benjamin Grosvenor by name, was wounded in the shoulder; and the deponent's father, who was also a soldier in the same Regiment, was leading him from the field of action. General Putnam stopped him; and, pricking his arm with his sword, told him the wounded man could walk of himself, and not a soldier should leave the ground. This happened at the breast-work leading from the redoubt, where our party took post. I saw General Putnam in the hottest of the fight, calling on the men to stand their ground; and I am sure he was at this post when the enemy scaled the walls of the redoubt. I did not, myself, hear the order given; but it was often said by the soldiers of our Regiment, that General Putnam ordered them not to fire on the enemy till

"they should see the color of their eyes, and then fore every man to make sure of his mark."

"ISAAC BASSETT.

"Sworn to before me,

"JAMES DANIELSON,

"Justice of the Peace."

These orders were precisely in the character of the fire-devouring Putnam, of whose desperate valor and almost more than human courage so many anecdotes have been, for half a century, told. Here also is another positive eye-witness, who knew Putnam and could not be mistaken.

We have also a deposition of another of Dearborn's comrades in Stark's Regiment, who volunteered his testimony. Ebenezer Bean, of Conway, New Hampshire, says, "The following are the most prominent facts which came under my observation, at the Battle of Bunker's-hill, relative to the conduct of General Putnam in that action: I was a private in Captain Kinsman's Company, in Colonel Stark's Regiment. A detachment, under Captain Kinsman, was ordered on to the Hill, in the fore part of the day. We arrived at the redoubt about twelve o'clock; and continued there through the action. The rest of Colonel Stark's Regiment arrived on the Hill just before the action commenced. When we arrived at the redoubt, General Putnam was there, and very active: he was urging the men on, giving orders, riding from one end of the line to the other, as far as I could observe, and continued active through the action, and in my opinion fought with great bravery."

"EBENEZER BEAN.

"CONWAY, N. H. May 29, 1818."

Here is another contradiction of General Dearborn, by his own soldiers. This disproves two assertions:—"that Putnam remained inactive during the Battle," and that "no officer was mounted on that day."

Amos Barns, of the same Town, swears that he was in Captain Abbot's Company, in Stark's Regiment. "When we arrived at Charlestown-neck, we passed Gerrish's Regiment. Colonel Stark marched in front, over the Neck; and I was the third man from him. Captain Abbot marched next to Colonel Stark; and no other officer." [*This, though unimportant, contradicts General Dearborn, who says he marched in front with Stark. One of the witnesses must be mistaken. We may, hereafter, learn which; but it serves to show the confusion of the accounts of such battles.*] "When we got on to the top of the Hill, I saw one or two field-pieces which had ceased firing. Putnam was on his horse, near them; and when we passed him, he urged Col-

"onel Stark to urge on his men as fast as possible." [Dearborn says they were moving at a very moderate pace; which did not suit the impatient temper of Putnam] [These pieces were on Breed's-hill, as will appear by future evidence, particularly that of the Hon. James Winthrop.] "We marched down the Hill, by the redoubt; and after firing fifteen or twenty minutes, as nearly as I can recollect at this distance of time, Major McCleary ordered us to retreat. I continued in service till 1777; and, in 1778, entered again and continued till 1780; and never in my life heard a word said against the military character of General Putnam till I saw General Dearborn's statement.

"AMOS BARNES.

"CONWAY, N. H."

Thus it seems, that Colonel Stark's or Dearborn's own soldiers do not make so much of their exertions as their officers; and that this jealousy of Putnam's fame did not pervade the ranks so freely as in other places, in the New Hampshire Line. But private soldiers are not so apt to feel humiliations and disappointments. They expect only to bleed and suffer for their Country.

We have another piece of direct testimony from an eye-witness, Benjamin Putnam, Esq. of Dixmont, Maine, and Postmaster in that place, going to show the great energy of Putnam, on the day of Bunker's-hill; but as he only saw him "pushing on the men with great activity" (to use his own words) "and then galloping on towards Breed's-hill, the scene of action, from Bunker's-hill," we shall not insert it at large, though it is ready for the inspection of the curious.

[IV.—COMPARISON OF TESTIMONY ON ONE SIDE AND THE OTHER.]

If witnesses differ, the first rule of common sense is to reconcile them: if they cannot be reconciled, you must weigh their credibility. In weighing their credibility, you must compare their respective means and opportunities of knowledge, and the possible motives by which they may be actuated.

An eye or ear-witness is better than a reporter of other men's tales, because every remove from the first observer increases the chances of errors or wilful misrepresentation. Thus, if Wilkinson tells us of what General Stark told him, forty-three years ago, you have two chances against its truth; first, a mistake or misapprehension of Colonel or General Stark; then, a failure of remembering his precise words at the end of forty-three years by a man of sixty-five.

But we shall probably not be obliged to suppose any contradiction of testimony. The

whole of General Dearborn's testimony is of a nature called *probable only*, of which, says a great civilian, there are many grades. Some are extremely light, and of course of little or no weight—certainly of none against one positive witness, unimpeached.

Thus, General Dearborn's testimony goes to show not what General Putnam *did*, but what these witnesses apprehend he *did not, do*. They infer he did not do it, because they did not see him do it; and because they saw him in a situation which led them to think he did not do it. In other words, the strongest part of their testimony goes to prove what lawyers call an *alibi*, that is, that General Putnam was somewhere else than on the field, during the Battle.

Now it is true, that if *they had shown by witnesses that he was five miles off*, or five hundred miles, it would be so strong evidence, that, if a like number of witnesses, of equal credit, should swear he was in the Battle, you would only have to weigh their respective credibility.

But Captain Dearborn's witnesses raise no manner of presumption whatever against those of General Putnam's friends, who were ocular witnesses; because, (and we beg the attention of all men who have capacity to reason, and the rest we must yield to General Dearborn,) because, all that Dearborn's strongest witnesses say is, that they saw Putnam on Bunker's-hill before the Battle, and they saw him there on their return. They infer, therefore, that he had not been in action. Why? Because it was impossible? No, sure!—for they themselves had, in the same space of time, been able to march there, fight, and get back, *alive and sound, even on foot*. Why then could not General Putnam, who was mounted, and galloped on to Breed's-hill, have accomplished it as soon as General Dearborn, unless the latter General could beat a war-horse?

This review is altogether an unsolicited tribute to truth, by a person who has no connection, and has heretofore had no acquaintance, with either party. We confess that we were astonished at the novelty and audacity of the charge; but not half so much so as at the feebleness, want of discretion, and defect of proof, in "General Dearborn's Vindication." Where were his advisers and counsellors? Were they all asleep, or astounded at the general burst of indignation in every part of the country?

Before we make any minute remarks on the comparative weight of testimony, we think it proper to make some local descriptions for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the ground.

Breed's-hill, on which the Battle was fought, (which bears the name of Bunker's-hill, a large hill in the rear) is the smallest of the two and the

nearest to Boston.* It is important to know, and therefore we beg the attention of readers to it, that the distance from one hill to the other cannot exceed one hundred rods,—we should think it less. On the top of Breed's-hill was a small redoubt, planned by General Putnam, and executed chiefly by Colonel Prescott's troops; adjoining to this, on the *left*, was a simple breastwork of earth; and, further still to the left, was the rail-fence, so often spoken of. Much confusion has arisen from not attending to these distinctions. The redoubt and breastwork are frequently confounded; and, sometimes, the breastwork and rail-fence.

Putnam, who was in *fact*, if not *legally*, Commander of the whole, was stationed in the *centre*, (as he ought to be) at the breastwork, having Colonel Prescott and the Massachusetts troops, in the redoubt, on his *right*, and Stark's Regiment, with some Connecticut troops, particularly those commanded by Knowlton and Grosvenor, on his *left*.

With this view of the battle-ground, let us examine General Dearborn's evidence to prove his charge of inactivity, resulting either from *cowardice* or *treachery*, on the part of Putnam.

This consists of two descriptions. One, of the relations of persons present in the Battle: another, of *conversations* said to have been held with persons who were also present. The latter is, of course, the weakest; and is inadmissible in civil, criminal, or military tribunals.

The first class of witnesses, such as Dearborn, Stark, Trevett, Parker, and one or two others, allude only to the fact of having seen the General and *Commander-in-chief* on that day (Putnam) on Bunker's-hill, as they passed on to action, and also on the same spot as they returned; and that they did not see him *in action*. They therefore inferred he was not there. He was mounted; and the necessary time to enable him to reach Breed's-hill, (even if he did not move as he did when he plunged down the fearful precipice at Horse-neck,) might be two minutes, or about one-third of the time it would take the troops, under Dearborn, to march.

It was General Putnam's duty and the interest of the Army that he should stay as long as possible on Bunker's-hill, to urge on the lagging troops; that he did, which effectually, and with great spirit, is proved by all the witnesses we have adduced—some of whom were in Dearborn's own Regiment, which Dearborn admits required to be pressed on, as it was moving very moderately.

So, too, on the retreat, it was proper for Putnam to take his station on Bunker's-hill, to protect the retreating troops.

Now what colorable evidence is there that Putnam did not go into action in the interval, while these witnesses were fighting? It was as

practicable, nay, much easier, for him, than for Dearborn, because he was well mounted.

A light presumption is not then raised against Putnam from Dearborn's own testimony, suppose it were uncontradicted. If he could, with all his industry, have hunted up a witness, who would say that he saw Putnam, during the whole Battle, on Bunker's-hill, we should then have been obliged to prove the witness perjured, which would have been very easy, as we have eight eye-witnesses who saw him in action on *Breed's-hill*. But as it is, happily, all the witnesses may have spoken the truth; and yet General Dearborn's calumny be as utterly unfounded as it was astonishing. There is, in fact, no balance of testimony. The weight is all on one side. We have eight positive witnesses to Putnam's great gallantry on that day; and there are only four or five on the other side, who did not see him there. Now, these witnesses may be all correct, for all know that he never pretended to have been in the redoubt, after the action began.

Therefore, Colonel Prescott could not have seen him; nor was he far advanced on the rail-fence, on the left. He was principally employed in riding from one wing to the other, along the centre, stationed at the breastwork. Colonel Stark and Captain Dearborn might not have seen him, therefore; but some of their troops did, and swear to his exposure of his person, and to his activity.

As to the second species of evidence, the hearsay testimony; as the statement of the principal, if alive, would be of no avail against so much positive evidence of ocular witnesses, it is plain that recollections of such conversations could not, and *ought not*, to be permitted to have weight.

There is one other curious fact, already alluded to, but proper to be repeated in this comparison of the weight of evidence. Most of our witnesses were the fellow-soldiers, neighbors, and acquaintances of Putnam. All the others, we believe, were at that time strangers to him. The latter may have been mistaken: the former could not. Most of Stark's Regiment, as they were stationed at Medford and Putnam at Cambridge, probably never saw him in their lives.

[V.—THE PRESUMPTIVE PART OF THE EVIDENCE.]

It is in this stage of the comparison, when we have reduced the weight of General Dearborn's evidence to a state of incalculable levity, that we are permitted to introduce presumptions, powerful, indeed, but which, without our positive evidence, we should have been unwilling to adduce, to support the character of a Hero, whose name will be as immortal as the history of that Battle or of the Revolution of which it was the first and most glorious fruits.

[1] The first presumption we introduce is

General Putnam's high character for valor, acquired in Lord Chatham's glorious War for the conquest of the French Colonies, in America. General Dearborn calls his popularity "unaccountable." Is it *unaccountable* that a man who had been signalized in more Battles than ever Dearborn fought, should have been dear to his fellow-citizens? And does it not require better testimony than that of General Dearborn, to prove that such a man, unacquainted with fear, untainted by suspicion—a man who had never been dismissed the service, the idol of his troops, familiarized to danger, at home in the midst of battle, should for the first and last time have proved a coward and recreant?

[2] The *second* presumptive proof we shall adduce is the silence of all cotemporaneous and subsequent historians as to such an infamous charge; and the positive testimony of all such witnesses to his valor.

[3] The *third* is, that when the delinquents in that Battle were brought to trial, to wit, four Colonels, three Captains, and five Lieutenants, many of whom were *convicted* and *cashiered*, there should not have been a color of evidence, a surmise, a whisper, against the conduct of General Putnam. To this point, we adduce the following certificate from Judge-advocate Tudor, who was present and managed all those prosecutions; and who has no connection, or remote interest whatever, in favor of General Putnam, except that which every high-minded and honorable man must have in the reputation of the brave defenders of their Country:

JUDGE-ADVOCATE TUDOR'S CERTIFICATE.

"Soon after the arrival of General Washington, as Commander-in-chief of the American forces, at Cambridge, in July, 1775, (in less than three weeks after the Battle,) Court Martials were ordered to be holden for the trial of different officers who were supposed to have misbehaved in the important action on Breed's-hill, on the seventeenth of June. In the inquiry which those trials occasioned, I never heard any insinuation against the conduct of General Putnam, who appeared to have been there without any command, for there was no authorized commander. Colonel Prescott appeared to have been the chief; and, according to my best recollection after forty-three years, the whole business appeared to have been conducted without order or regular command. Each man fought for himself, loaded and fired as he could, and took care to waste no powder, which was a scarce article at the time."

We are all agreed, that there was no regular Army nor legal authority, but how could it happen, that not a surmise was made by the New Hampshire officers against Putnam, nor an insinuation,

either by the accusers or accused, against him? We may show, hereafter, that the causes of dissatisfaction took their rise afterwards, in certain General Orders, censuring the New Hampshire troops for want of discipline.

In the absence of all direct proof of his charges on the part of this *late*, and *first*, accuser of Putnam, and after the production of a weight of positive and direct testimony in his favor, not to have been expected at the end of nearly half a century, we shall go on with our presumptive proofs, notwithstanding we have since received a great deal more of direct testimony of the highest nature, and which will be given in a future number.

If the fastidious and indifferent shall be disposed to quarrel with us for thus multiplying proof on proof, we answer, that the importance of the case justifies and requires it. As President Adams eloquently remarked as to the slander on the character of James Otis, "It is mortifying, it is astonishing, it is humiliating, to reflect how long a slander will be continued and repeated, and how difficult it is to refute it."

We have said that it is important to ascertain the truth of these charges. Every honest and honorable man, indeed, the whole Nation, have a deep interest in the character of Putnam. His reputation constituted a part of the national property; it formed a large portion of its fame. If men, obscure at the time, and whose unhappy contentions have raised to an undeserved eminence, from which by the general consent of the Nation they have deservedly fallen, can be allowed, with impunity, thus to rob, and pilfer, the graves of the illustrious Heroes of the Revolution, what will remain to us of glory, or to the Nation of deserved fame?

We shall soon see the name of Washington, Greene, Hamilton, Lincoln, and Knox, and an hundred others, assailed by this spirit of envy, by men unknown to fame, and their reputation transferred to those of whom the Nation and the world have heretofore been ignorant. It is then the most sacred rights of property, both of individuals and of the Nation, that we are called upon to defend.

[4.] The *fourth* presumption in favor of the utter falsehood of these charges against General Putnam is his appointment, immediately after this Battle, by the Congress of the United States, to the second military office in the Revolutionary Armies. That this did not pass without examination, and counter and opposite claims, will be apparent when we come to show the General Orders after the Battle of Bunker's-hill. If his rivals could then, or would have dared at that time, to advance such pretensions, they would certainly have done it, because their

own promotion depended upon it. The evidence is irresistible, that since amidst the contests for rank arising out of the merits of officers at the Battle of Bunker's-hill, not a word was said against the promotion of Putnam to the second rank in the Army, there was no just cause of censure against him for his conduct on that day.

[5.] *Fifthly.* The next and highest presumption in his favor arises from the confidence which Washington reposed in him, immediately after the Battle and during the whole War, until, by the act of God, he was compelled to leave the service. Washington was the most impartial man, both in his character and from his situation, that could be found in the Nation. He was as *independent* as he was impartial. He could not stoop to curry the favor of any man. Yet Washington was the man who recommended Putnam to this appointment. Washington was the man who instituted the inquiries into the conduct of the Battle at Bunker's-hill. Washington was the man who entrusted Putnam with the forlorn-hope, who were to land on Boston Common, and carry the War into the very Headquarters of the enemy. Washington was the man who selected Putnam, nearly a year after the Battle of Bunker's-hill, to defend New York against the whole forces of the enemy, that he believed had gone there. In other words, he trusted this man, whom Captain Dearborn brands as a coward, with the salvation and hopes of the whole Nation. His Instructions on this occasion are before the public. In these, he gives Putnam the command of Heath's and Sullivan's Divisions, and says, "That your *long service and experience* will, better than my particular directions, at this distance, point out to you the works most proper to be first raised; and your *perseverance, activity, and zeal* will lead you to exert every nerve to disappoint the enemy's designs, etc.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE,
29th March, 1776."

Here is abundant proof that, nine months after the Battle of Bunker's-hill, Washington had full confidence in the superior talents, activity, and zeal of a man whom Dearborn represents as *inactive and cowardly* at that important Battle.

Nor did his proofs of confidence rest here. Putnam must have discharged his duty at New York to the General's acceptance, because he entrusted him with the command at Flatbush, on Long Island, before the whole force of the enemy; where General Putnam added to the laurel wreath he had won at *Breed's-hill*, by very ably conducting that masterly retreat, the praise both of friends and foes.

We have already stated, that all the historians of our War have done ample justice to the valor and enterprise of this veteran; nor have our poets forgotten him. What General Dearborn could mean by his "ephemeral popularity having faded away," we are ignorant. He retained that popularity to the hour of this atrocious calumny; and he will retain it, long after the name of Dearborn and all his services and various fortunes, shall have been forgotten.

We have heard two officers of high rank in the Army, who enjoyed the confidence of Washington, near his person or under his eye, declare, since this charge, that they never heard a word nor an insinuation against the reputation of Putnam, till General Dearborn's "Account of the Battle."

We now add the testimony of the venerable President Adams, in a letter to General Putnam's son; and it is difficult to say to whom it does the most honor, to the memory of Putnam, or to the illustrious witness of his merit.

"QUINCY, June 5, 1818.

"DANIEL PUTNAM, Esq.

"DEAR SIR:—I received, yesterday, your kind letter of the 23d of May, with a copy of your letter to President Monroe, of the same month. Neither myself nor my family have been able to read either with dry eyes. They are letters that would do honor to the pen of Pliny. You ask whether any dissatisfaction existed in the public mind against General Putnam, in consequence of his conduct on the seventeenth of June, 1775. I was in Philadelphia, from the fifth of May, through the summer of 1775, and can testify to nothing which passed at Charlestown, on the seventeenth of June. But this I do say, *without reserve*, that I never heard the least insinuation of dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Putnam, through his whole life; and had the characters of Generals Greene, Knox, La Fayette, or even Generals Warren, Montgomery, or Mercer, been called in question, it would not have surprised me more. There must have been some great misunderstanding in this affair. I seem to see intuitively, or to feel instinctively, the truth of Major Small's testimony; but it would require a sheet of paper to relate what I have, in memory, relative to Major Small and General Warren.

"I must conclude with assurance of the profoundest respect for the memory of your father, and the sincerest esteem for yourself, &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

What President Adams alludes to, as to Major Small, we are not able to say; but we conjecture that he knew him well, and his intimacy with Warren; and from Small's character and

that intimacy, he feels *instinctively* that his story to Trumbull *was strictly true*. For ourselves we have no doubt of it.

We shall conclude this number by weakening the credibility of General Dearborn's *personal* relation, and show that his memory, as to very important points, is very defective; and, of course, not to be relied upon in others equally important. He says the making the barricade of hay, at the rail-fence, was done by the orders of the *Committee of Safety*, of which James Winthrop, Esq., was one, "*as he has, within a few years, informed me.*" We have, in our possession, the Certificate of Jonathan Hastings, Esq. Secretary of that Committee, giving a list of the Committee of Safety, on that day; and James Winthrop, Esq., was *not one*; and we have a letter from Mr. Winthrop in our hands, saying expressly, "It is *altogether a mistake* that I or my brother was *ever on the Committee of Safety.*" May there not be a like mistake, or defect, or *redundance* of memory, on other points?

We closed our last number with the testimony of Judge Winthrop, contradicting one of the most direct and positive assertions of General Dearborn, and thereby impeaching the *accuracy of his memory*, and throwing a great degree of doubt upon his relation of all other facts.

But Judge Winthrop's evidence is, in other points, of very high value. His talents, coolness, reputation, the disengaged state in which he stood in that Battle, being a volunteer and having no charge of others to distract his attention, his residence near the scene of action, and at the place where the Head-quarters of the Army were fixed, render him a witness of the highest credit. In a letter from him to George Brinley, Esq. which we have now on our table, he says that he saw Putnam and Warren at the *rail-fence*, near the field-pieces, on Breed's-hill, just before the action; and that he never saw either Warren or Putnam afterwards.

Does he draw the *cruel inference* that *neither Warren nor Putnam was in the Battle*? Yet he might have drawn it with as much justice as to *one* as to the *other*, if one had not, unhappily for his Country, fallen in the field. No. Judge Winthrop is too just and generous to draw such an inference. He says, "Ward, Putnam, and Heath, were general officers, and were generally respected. I never *heard any blame* cast on General Putnam; and it was about fifteen years afterwards that he *died in peace.*" A most touching and eloquent sarcasm on those who, forty-three years afterwards, have sacrilegiously scattered the ashes of this Hero on the rushing winds. But, thanks be to God, our Nation possesses thousands of generous spirits, who, like President Adams and Judge Winthrop, cannot read such an attack without emotion.

Let us now, *briefly, but clearly and decisively*, state the proofs, both of friends and foes, of General Dearborn's *own witnesses* and of those men who have volunteered to defend the memory of General Putnam, of the distinguished part he took in that Battle; and the result of this evidence will be, that there was not a moment of *actual engagement* when he was not present, *exposing his person and animating the troops by his language and example*. There was one exception, if it can be called such, and that was in the interval between the second repulse of the British and the final escalade of the fort and the carrying of it by the bayonet. Then, with the zeal and activity which belonged almost alone to Putnam, he rode over to Ploughed-hill and pushed on all the troops which were within his reach. To make a *Pyramid* of this evidence:—

FIRSTLY. Judge Winthrop saw him at the rail-fence, just before the action. His testimony is *confirmed* by General Peirce, one of Dearborn's witnesses, who, to detract from his merit, most ridiculously intimates that he was looking for some part of his sword. Almost every witness General Dearborn has produced thus endeavors to cast a ridicule on this illustrious veteran; still he was compelled to admit he was on the battle-ground.

SECONDLY. The next witness, in order of time, having reference to the engagement, is also one of Dearborn's. It is the loquacious Judge Abel Parker. He says:—"In the time of this *heavy fire*, I, for the *first time*, saw General Putnam standing with others under cover of the North wall of the fort, where, *I believe, he remained* till the British made their appearance in their boats. At this time, the artillery was withdrawn from the fort, but by whose orders I know not; and General Putnam, at or near the same time, *left the fort.*"

It is not our business to reconcile the contradictory and loose stories of Dearborn's witnesses, collected in haste and without that concert which would give the air of plausibility, at least, to their testimony; but this we do say, that Judge Parker is contradicted by Dearborn himself and all the witnesses. Judge Winthrop, and General Peirce, (who aided in drawing the cannon) agree that they were carried not to the fort, but to the rail-fence. There, and there only, were they first placed.

But, however mistaken Judge Abel Parker may have been, it is good evidence to prove that Dearborn's statement that Putnam remained *inactive* on Bunker's-hill, during the whole action, is not true—not true, even by his own testimony. Parker saw him at the fort in the time of a *heavy fire*.

THIRDLY. Ebenezer Bean, whose deposition we have published, says he "arrived on the

"ground just before the action commenced.—
"When we arrived at the redoubt, Putnam was
"there." This confirms Judge Abel Parker's tes-
timony. He adds, "and was *very active*, urging
"the men on, giving orders, riding from one end
"of the line to the other, and continued active
"through the action."

This proves he was there after the action com-
menced, and *during* the Battle.

Amos Barns also testifies that Putnam was by the
field-pieces, and *continued there* till Stark came up;
for he desired him to push on as soon as possible.

FOURTHLY. Isaac Bassett swears that, after
Grosvenor was wounded, which was after the
second onset, Putnam chid and even pricked his
father with his sword for leaving the ground to
assist Grosvenor; and adds, that "*oftentimes*
"*during the Battle, he saw General Putnam in*
"*the hottest of the fight, calling on the men to*
"*stand their ground; and I am sure that he was*
"*at this post [the breastwork] 'when the enemy*
"*scaled the walls of the redoubt.'*" This they
did not effect till the close of the Battle; and, of
course, we have traced General Putnam on the
ground of carnage, from a period before the firing
began till the enemy were victorious, if victory it
might be called where the loss was so greatly on
their side. All this is proved by competent and
credible witnesses, some of them of General
Dearborn's own choosing, and others in his own
Regiment.

What more could be asked or expected of man;
and what man could hope to prove so much after
a lapse of forty-three years?

We shall close the evidence in this case, by
citing two new witnesses, whose testimony came
to our knowledge too late for insertion in their
proper place. The first is that of Captain John
Barker, who is said to be a respectable citizen of
Stoddard, in New Hampshire, formerly of Leomin-
ster. As this testimony has been printed at large,
both in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, we
shall only cite one or two passages which are *con-
clusive*. He was a private in Colonel Reid's
Regiment, (another *New Hampshire one*) and the
only one that General Dearborn admits to the
honor of defending the rail-fence. He says:—
"During this cessation," [between the first and
second of the three attacks] "while the enemy
"had retired to form anew, I *very well remember*
"seeing General Putnam coming, apparently from
"the redoubt, on foot, and marching by till he
"reached about the centre of Colonel Reid's
"Regiment, when he made a halt, addressed the
"men, warmly praising them for their bravery,
"and encouraging them to fight well should the
"enemy come on again.

"JOHN BARKER.

"STODDARD, N. H. June 28, 1818."

Captain Barker knew Putnam perfectly, because,

thirteen months before that Battle, he had removed
from Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he had
often seen Putnam, "and knew his appearance,
"voice, and reputation."

This witness again flatly contradicts Dearborn
in a most important point, where Dearborn pur-
posely places himself in the foreground. Dear-
born says, "My position in the Battle, more the
"result of accident than any regularity of forma-
"tion, was on the *right of the rail-fence*, which
"afforded me a *fair view of the whole ground*."

Captain Barker says, and Dearborn admits it,
that Colonel Reid's Regiment was also at the rail-
fence; and Barker adds, that "Stark's Regiment
"came up and took post along the rail-fence, on
"our left." Now, we present two horns of a
dilemma to General Dearborn,—either he could
not have been on the right of the rail-fence,
because Reid's whole Regiment was on the rail-
fence, and on *his right*; or, if Dearborn is correct,
General Putnam must have walked directly by
Dearborn, along the whole of Stark's Regiment,
before he could have reached the centre of Colo-
nel Reid's, where Barker both *saw* and *heard* him.
One would suppose this would pretty nearly con-
found a man of ordinary feelings.

The last witness is Samuel Bassett, also a soldier
in Dearborn's own Regiment. He declares, "that
"Putnam came there on the gallop, and cried out,
"Up my brave boys! we drive them." On which
Captain Stiles marched his men; and soon arrived
at Ploughed-hill. There can be no mistake
here. He adds, "Captain Stiles and every man
"knew Putnam by sight perfectly well. General
"Putnam's activity and intrepidity gave us new
"life; and we were soon near the fort. At any
"rate, I was there in season to receive a flesh-
"wound in the thigh."

This disproves two assertions—that Putnam re-
mained inactive on Bunker's-hill, and that he took
no pains to bring up reinforcements. We are,
indeed, tired of accumulating proofs, for if men
will not believe this imposing, unanswerable
mass of direct testimony, "neither would they,
"should one come *from the dead*." It will be
observed, that we have made no use of Colonels
Small's and Trumbull's testimony. It is not
because we doubt it; but we preferred to prove the
facts by ocular witnesses rather than to rely on
hearsay testimony, which would *degrade our*
defence to the *tattling* level of General Dear-
born's.

[VI.]—SOME REMARKS ON THE BATTLE; AND
SOME HINTS AS TO THE PROBABLE CAUSE
OF GENERAL DEARBORN'S BITTERNESS
AGAINST GENERAL PUTNAM.

It is a little extraordinary, that, at this late
period of time, we should find men disputing
about the most essential facts relating to *such* a

Battle as that of Bunker's-hill; that, even the important one, whether there was *any* Commander-in-chief or not, is still the subject of controversy. For ourselves, we think the evidence recently before the public settles that question satisfactorily; and that General Putnam was undoubtedly the Commander in that action.

It is said by President Adams, that there *could be no Commander* because there was no general nor national authority. But is this conclusive? Or was it the fact? Were not the troops of Connecticut and New Hampshire acting as allies of Massachusetts, which was then engaged in a War, *de facto*? And, when allied Armies are assembled, is there not generally a Commander-in-chief? And if detachments are made *partly from each*, do not the officers retain their ranks and command inferior officers of *allied troops*? Did not General Ward assume the command of all the troops at Cambridge? Dearborn states this fact; and it was by the orders of a Massachusetts' General, that Colonel Stark, of *New Hampshire*, appeared on Bunker's-hill. If Putnam, then, was in the Battle at all, except as a volunteer, he must have had the command. That he had so is proved by his own history of the Battle, as detailed by his son. General Putnam certainly is as good and credible a witness, at the least, as any one who has been cited. He is not to be viewed as an accused person defending himself; for it is admitted, even by his mortal enemy, (and a man cannot have a more bitter one,) General Dearborn, that he never was *accused*, and he thinks it unaccountable that he escaped. So far from being accused, he was instantly promoted for his conduct in that Battle, as well as his "unaccountable popularity."

If General Putnam is to be believed, *he first proposed* the taking possession of Bunker's-hill, and was detached for the purpose of fortifying it; and Colonel Prescott was placed under his orders. This is rendered probable by the fact that one hundred and twenty men of his own (Putnam's) Regiment, under Knolton, certainly were detached, and did, in fact, work at the entrenchments, the night before.

That Putnam did give orders, and did assume a command, is proved by General Peirce, one of Dearborn's witnesses, and by six or seven whose testimony we have cited at large.

He was probably the only officer who had been accustomed to Battles and to regular Armies; and, surely, he would not have assumed a command to which he had not been detached.

This does not, in the slightest degree, affect the reputation of Colonel Prescott, nor his claims on the gratitude of his Country. All parties, at all times, have concurred in giving him the

praise of having defended, with the greatest gallantry and coolness, the most important post in the Battle. But it is a piece of justice which we owe to the memory of Putnam, to show that he was neither absent from the post of danger nor present at it officiously.

In connexion with this topic, we would notice an error into which the very able writer of the article, on this subject, in the *North American Review*, has inadvertently, though naturally, fallen, in relation to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Whitney. The writer supposes that Colonel Prescott applied for the command in the Battle of Bunker's-hill; but, on reviewing Mr. Whitney's letter, he will perceive that Whitney did not arrive at Putnam's Quarters *till after the Battle*. It was for a *second post of danger* that the gallant Prescott was aspiring; and Mr. Whitney cites his application to Putnam and respectful treatment of him, *after the Battle*, to prove that there could have been no coolness between them; which there certainly must have been if Prescott had thought Putnam a coward, or if he had given to Putnam such a tart and unsoldierlike reply as is ascribed to him by some of the witnesses.

When men of reflection read Dearborn's "Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill," they universally felt, we believe, that it was a mere vehicle to convey the coarsest and most bitter slander.

Amidst the little details of the *gill-cup* of powder, and the searching the ammunition-pouches of the dead, and the lucky falling in with the body of General Warren, though one may perceive a reasonable vein of personal vanity, yet it is apparent that there is a deep vindictive spirit, which was predetermined to blast the fame of General Putnam. Almost every one asked himself, what weighty cause of dissatisfaction with Putnam, could have nurtured, for so long a period of time, such a spirit of vengeance that should thus come forth with all the freshness of novelty and all the keenness and smart of recently-inflicted wrong?

Perhaps, if the Orderly-book of that day, which is now in the possession of Putnam's descendants, and copious extracts of which are now before us, were examined, it might serve to explain this hidden mystery. We forbear to open wounds afresh, which have been so long healed; but this is obvious to every one, that the glory of that Battle, when the whole was fresh in the minds of contemporaries, was awarded to Prescott, and Warren, and Putnam. It is the happiness of human nature, at least of minds well constituted, that time has the effect to wear off the sharp and ragged edges of affliction and resentment.

But there are a few, whose minds are like an alembic, retaining all which is put into them,

and restoring them again with concentrated force and virulence.

That General Dearborn's "Account of the Battle of Bunker's-hill" was the result of one of those deep passions that would be the fit subject for tragedy, we think is apparent from internal evidence. A man, not under the controlling influence of a master passion, would have perceived that he was about to shock all the finer feelings of human nature; that his coarseness of remark would inevitably range every fair and honorable man on the side of the accused. He would have perceived, too, that his evidence fell most ridiculously short of the highness and solemnity of his charges.

We now take our leave of this subject, happy in the conviction that every generous mind, every man who knows the inestimable value of reputation, every fatherless son who cherishes the memory of one whom he laments, will be convinced of the unguardedness of these charges against General Putnam, as well as of their untruth.

In performing this pleasing duty of defending the virtuous and brave, we have as much as possible abstained from all recrimination, inviting, and open, and easy of access, as it was. We have abstained, partly, because any comparison of the services of the accuser and accused would seem to presuppose some equality in desert, which would have been an indignity to the memory of Putnam; and, partly, because it would seem as if there were some fault imputable to Putnam, which we wished to offset against the defects of his calumniator. It is indeed extraordinary that a man who has reason to fear that his actions may yet become the subject of biographical criticism, should have become the accuser of one who was in possession of a Nation's respect, and whose merit was so well able, as we have seen, to endure the closest scrutiny. Is it that we are blind to our own failings, or is it policy, to bring the character of others into question to prevent a too curious examination of our own?

A FRIEND TO INJURED MERIT,

37.—*The Prescott Manuscript.**

On the sixteenth of June, 1775, General Ward, the Commander-in-chief, issued an Order for placing three Massachusetts Regiments (Colonel Pres-

cott's, Colonel Frye's, and Colonel Bridge's) and a detachment of one hundred and twenty men from a Connecticut Regiment, (under the command of Captain Knolton, a brave officer,) about one thousand in all, under the command of Colonel Prescott, directing him to proceed to Bunker's-hill, and there erect a fortification; stating that the party should be relieved the next morning. They therefore took only a small supply of provisions with them. Colonel Gridley, an experienced engineer, was appointed to lay out the works. The detachment was drawn up on the Common, in Cambridge, on the evening of that day; attended prayers by the Reverend Doctor Langdon, then President of Harvard College; and when daylight was gone, Colonel Prescott led them silently down Charlestown road, over the Neck, and then halted, called around him the field-officers, with Colonel Gridley, and then first communicated to them his orders, and conferred with them respecting the place intended for the fortification.

The whole height at that time was popularly called "Bunker's-hill;" although the southern part was known as "Breed's-hill," by the neighbors. After some discussion, the southern part, now better known as Breed's-hill, was determined on. This caused some delay. The detachment proceeded to Breed's-hill; and Colonel Gridley laid out the works—a redoubt and entrenchment—which the troops immediately commenced building. This was about eleven o'clock. Colonel Prescott was anxious lest they should be discovered and attacked in the night, or too early in the morning; and, to satisfy himself, went in person, accompanied by an officer, twice, to the margin of the river; and, much to his satisfaction, found that they were not discovered. The sentinels on board the ships were drowsily calling out, "All's well." Daylight made the discovery. A heavy cannonade from the ships and Copp's-hill then commenced, which annoyed them, but did not materially retard their work.* About nine o'clock, it became apparent that the British were preparing to cross the river and attack them. The officers then urged Colonel Prescott to send a messenger to Head-quarters, and request the Commander to relieve them according to his engagement, as they had brought on no provisions for a longer time, and had worked all night. This he refused, saying the works should be defended by those who built them: their honor required it; and they could do it successfully;

* This manuscript, "penned at sundry times and kept 'by sundry persons of that [the Prescott] family,'" is taken from that excellent local, Mr. Butler's *History of the Town of Groton*, for which the Author of that work was "indebted to the courtesy of a distinguished descendant of the commander on Bunker's-hill."

It is evident that it was not written by the Colonel, himself; but it is equally evident that portions of it, at least, must have been derived from information furnished by him.

BOSTON HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

* One man was killed outside of the redoubt. Seeing the soldiers gathering around the body, Colonel Prescott ordered them to cover it with earth immediately. They inquired if they might not have prayers over it. He told them that might be done after the battle; but it must be covered with earth immediately. Finding the men still continuing round the body, regardless of the danger, he ordered the body to be thrown into the trench, and earth thrown over it.

but he would send for reinforcements and refreshments. He accordingly despatched two messengers, in the course of the morning—the last, Major, afterward Governor, Brooks. This last message produced an Order to Colonel Stark and Colonel Reid, of the New Hampshire troops, to march their Regiments to his assistance. They arrived just at the commencement of the action; and posted their Regiments at the rail-fence,* where they fought with great bravery. The Connecticut Company, under Captain Knolton, were posted at the end of the rail-fence nearest the breast-work; and the three Massachusetts Regiments defended the redoubt.† The action began between two and three o'clock. The redoubt was the great object of attack, and the principal force was directed against it; while three Regiments advanced towards the rail-fence, with intent to come on the rear of the redoubt and cut off the retreat of the Americans. The British were twice repulsed with great loss from the redoubt and from the fence.

The British officers were obliged to make great exertions to bring up their men a third time. They, however, succeeded, and made a third attack, with great spirit, on the redoubt and at the fence. The redoubt was entered on the southern or southeastern side; and, at the same time, the enemy advanced between the breast-work and the rail-fence, to the rear of the redoubt. A few men were shot down as they mounted the breast-work; among others, Major Pitcairn; but the ammunition of the Americans was exhausted; a cartridge of one of the field-pieces furnished powder to load the last muskets that were discharged. They had few bayonets; and were obliged to use the butts of their guns.

The enemy had entered the redoubt on one side, and were advancing to the rear of it, when Colonel Prescott ordered the retreat. He was among the last that left the redoubt; and, before leaving it, was surrounded by the enemy, and had several bayonets pushed at his body, which he parried with his sword, in the use of which he had some skill: they, however, pierced his banyan‡ and waistcoat; but he was not wounded.§

* One rail-fence was pulled up and placed parallel to another left standing; and the intermediate space filled with grass, mown on the spot, the day previous.

† General Warren came up to the works a short time before the action was commenced, with a musket in his hand. Colonel Prescott proposed to him that he should take the command, as he understood he had been appointed a Major-general, the day before. General Warren replied, "I have no command here; I have not received my commission. I come as a volunteer; and shall be happy to learn service from a soldier of your experience."

‡ Doctor Oliver Prescott, the younger, who relates the facts, says, that soon after the Battle, he was at Pepperell; and his uncle, Colonel Prescott, showed him the banyan and waistcoat, and the rents or holes made in them by the British Bayonets.

§ Eight of the Pepperell soldiers were killed in this Battle, and eight wounded. The names of the whole Company are preserved in the Town Records.

Colonel Prescott was always confident he could have maintained his position, with the handful of men under his command, if he had been supplied with ammunition. The British staggered before they entered the redoubt; and, he thought, would not have rallied, if they had been again repulsed.

On his return to Cambridge, he immediately repaired to Head-quarters, where he found the Commander-in-chief, General Ward, in great distress, apprehensive that the enemy, encouraged by their success, might advance on Cambridge and attempt to penetrate into the country. Colonel Prescott assured him that the enemy's confidence would not be increased by the result of the action; and offered to re-take the Heights, that night, or perish in the attempt, if the Commander-in-chief would give him three Regiments, with bayonets and sufficient ammunition. The Commander-in-chief thought, perhaps justly, that the character and situation of his Army would not justify so bold a measure. We afterwards saw that this Battle made a lasting impression on General Howe's mind, and rendered him an over-cautious Commander during the remainder of his command.

38.—Notes on Lieutenant De Berniere's Plan of the Battle.

[From *The Analectic Magazine* for March, 1818—Vol. xi, pages 254—256.]

The general accuracy of the Plan of operations near Bunker's-hill, given in our last number, has met the approbation of His Excellency John Brooks, Governor of Massachusetts, Major-general Dearborn, Doctor A. Dexter, and the Hon. William Prescott, of Boston, son of the gallant Colonel Prescott, of whom honorable mention is made in accounts of this Battle; the Hon. James Winthrop of Cambridge, and John Kettell, Esq., Deacon Thomas Miller, and Dr. Bartlett of Charlestown, who have expressed concurring opinions in favor of it, as being a faithful outline. Two doubts only were suggested.

FIRST: As to the position of the abbatiss or hay-fence, which was hastily got up just before the action; and, SECOND: As to the pieces of cannon represented behind it, and which are mentioned in the references.

General Dearborn thinks that the rail-fence was farther in advance towards Breed's-hill than is represented on the Plan; and that it was nearly in a line with the breastwork.

Doctor Dexter is of the same opinion. So, also, is Deacon Miller. Upon describing the present known objects which the line of fence would pass over, it was considered by Doctor Bartlett, to whom the ground is familiar, that the description, in fact, supported the Plan. Judge Win-

throp is satisfied that the position of the fence on the plan is correct. The account which follows was kindly committed to paper by himself :

[JUDGE WINTHROP'S "ACCOUNT."]

"As far as I recollect, I believe the Plan to be generally correct. The rail-fence was, I think, as far as a quarter of a mile from the curtain belonging to the redoubt. There was room for a body of troops to enter that way, which was one circumstance that discomfited our men. There was no such grove as is represented on the Plan. There were two or three trees near the fences; and, I believe, not more than that number. I remember two field-pieces at the rail-fence which covered our left. When I first got there, Generals Warren and Putnam were standing by the pieces and consulting together. Very few men were at that part of the lines. I went forward to the redoubt, and tarried there, a little while. Mr. James Swan and myself were in company. Finding that a column of the enemy was advancing toward our left, and not far from Mystic-river, we pointed them out to the people without the redoubt, and proposed that some measure should be taken to man the fence, which, when we passed, we had considered as slightly guarded. We two, in the style of the times, were appointed a Committee for that purpose. We went directly to the rail-fence, and found a body of men had arrived since we had left it. Possibly, three hundred would not be an estimate far from the truth. As soon as we had got to the middle of the line, the firing commenced from the redoubt and continued through our left. The field-pieces stood there; and nobody appeared to have the care of them. After an obstinate dispute, our people were driven from the redoubt, and the retreat was rapid from our whole line. I saw one or two young men, in uniform, try to muster a party to bring off the field-pieces, but they could not succeed.

"In coming down Bunker's-hill, at the place where the British built their fort, I met a Regiment going up, and joined company, still in hopes of repelling the invaders. I have since learned that it was Colonel Gardner's Regiment. He being badly wounded was removed, and his Regiment was not deployed.

"When the firing commenced from the redoubt, the smoke rose from the lower part of the street. A man near me pointed to it as 'the smoke from the guns.' This shows that the fire was in a line with the redoubt and the middle of the rail-fence. By laying a ruler from the middle of the rail-fence, as marked upon the Plan, and over that side of the fort

"next the main street, it will cross the northern side of the Square, where the Court-house stood. After the destruction of the Town, the places of the Court-house and Meeting-house were cleared of the ruins to form the present Square. An irregular mass of buildings was also removed in front of the present hotel, and extended the corner of the Square to its present magnitude. As well as I can conclude from this statement, I am inclined to believe the Plan nearly correct."

"JAMES WINTHROP."

General Dearborn does not recollect seeing any cannon at the place indicated on the Plan; and is confident there were none. Deacon Miller is of the same opinion. Governor Brooks thinks differently; and Judge Winthrop's letter distinctly affirms that two field-pieces were on that part of the ground. It appears, however, from the whole of the evidence, that little or no use was made of them.

Some of the witnesses expressed an opinion that there was no such break between the breastwork and the hay-fence, as is represented on the Plan; but there was a line of that sort of imperfect defence extending from the breastwork to the shore. It is represented in the Plan of the action in Stedman's *History of the American War* (English edition, quarto.) A line drawn on Lieutenant De Berniere's Plan, from the lowest end of the breastwork to the hay-fence, will correspond, as to the lines of defence, with Stedman's Plan. It appears that the British Grenadiers received a very heavy fire from the place marked P; and it is not probable that the troops from whom that fire proceeded were altogether unprotected. Indeed, there are three angular figures represented at that place in De Berniere's Plan, which are not very intelligible and were probably meant to indicate unfinished entrenchments or some other description of defence. Judge Winthrop's letter, however, mentions the accuracy of the Plan in this particular, also.

39.—Who Built "The Remains of the Breast-work" on Bunker's-hill?

Near the office of the Monument, on Breed's-hill, Charlestown, Mass., popularly known as Bunker's-hill, may be seen an embankment about twenty inches high, extending North and South, for some distance, and neatly turfed with green sward. This, the admiring visitor is accustomed to view as a veritable relic of the engagement fought on the spot, on the seventeenth of June, 1775. In this popular opinion, he is confirmed by an inscription cut in a block of imperishable Quincy granite, which is planted in the side of the embankment. The inscription, so reverently read, runs as follows :

"THIS STONE
"MARKS THE REMAINS
"OF THE BREASTWORK
"ERECTED, JUNE 17, 1775."

Now a question comes in regard to the veracity of this inscription. Is it true, or false?

First, however, we ought to inquire what it actually means. Is there, then, any ambiguity in the language? Is there any attempt to say one thing and mean another? A duplicity of this character would, of course, be denied by honorable gentlemen. What then, again, does the language mean? Manifestly it means just what it says, viz., that "This stone marks THE REMAINS of 'the Breastwork erected June 17, 1775.'" Where, then, are the *Remains*? In looking around him, the Antiquarian finds only one thing that could possibly be taken as "The Remains" of that Breastwork; and that is the embankment in question, in the face of which the inscribed block of granite has been planted.

The meaning of the inscription being, therefore, placed beyond doubt, we ask again, Is it true or false? This point must be settled by the testimony.

The facts of the case are as follows: When the Monument was finished, the grounds were graded under the superintendency of one William Sheridan; and some vestige of an earthwork still remaining, *it was dug away, and the soil of which it was composed was scattered over various parts of the hill.* When this came to the knowledge of the authorities, an order was given to do what? WHY, SIMPLY TO BUILD ANOTHER! The principal work was done by a hale son of the Emerald Isle, who came to this country, about thirty years ago. This statement of the facts entirely agrees with the account of trusty eye-witnesses, whose testimony cannot be impeached.

Thus we learn who built this Breastwork on Bunker's-hill. The statement of the Association is remarkable and curious. The achievement, on the whole, is without a parallel. There is a man in one of the Insane-asylums, alive and tolerably well, who, according to the carefully-printed family Genealogy, "*Died early*;" yet what is this compared with the case of the Irishman in question, who built "The Remains" of the Breastwork, thirty years or so before he was born?

But, pleasantry aside, what has the Bunker Hill Monument Association to urge in behalf of this fraud? Is it honorable or dignified thus to corrupt History? Are the mementos of the Revolution becoming so scarce that it is needful to resort to the craft of the relic-monger?

NEW YORK, June, 1868.

X.

ADDENDA.

[From the original manuscript belonging to Fred. W. Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.]

40.—*Samuel Paine's Account of the Battle.**

BOSTON HEAD-QUARTERS
BRITISH ARMY N. AMERICA.
June 22d, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER:

By the *Cerebus*, I have an Opportunity of writing, by which altho' I can take but little pleasure in Reciting things Shocking to relate, yet I am Sensible it must afford you Sincere Satisfaction to hear from this Country & the Situation of your dearest human Connections, and altho' the situation of my Mind, in Every Thing Anxious, will scarce permit me to set down and write any thing connected. Yet sure I am you'll Excuse it, but the variety of Events constantly happening & the Ample Field which the Politics of this Country affords at present almost Confuses me in writing.

I left Worcester last Tuesday Week, after pass-

* SAMUEL PAINE was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the twenty-third of August, 1753. He graduated at Harvard College, in the Class of 1771.

He was an ardent friend of the Royal Government; and in May, 1775, he was accused by some of his townsmen, of circulating reports injurious to the honor of the Provincial Army. He was arrested and, by order of the Town, sent to the Congress at Watertown; but, afterwards, escaped and went to Boston. When the British Army evacuated Boston, he went with it to Halifax, staying there a short time and then going to England, where he lived several years, receiving a pension from the British Government.

In 1800, he returned to the United States, and died in Worcester, Massachusetts, in June, 1807. He was one of the most fashionable men of his day; and is said to have resembled, in person and manners, the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV.

The brother to whom this letter was written was Doctor WILLIAM PAINE, also of Worcester, and a graduate of Harvard.

He was a pupil of John Adams, who kept a school in Worcester, while reading law there. He was a warm adherent of the King; and left the country before the actual commencement of hostilities; his loyalist ideas making it too unpleasant for him to remain at Worcester. He returned to the United States in the Spring of 1775; but finding he was denounced as a Tory, he at once returned to England.

In November of the same year, he was appointed Surgeon in the British Army, and joined the forces in America, serving in New York and Rhode Island. In 1782, he was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton, Surgeon-general of the Army; and was afterwards stationed at Halifax.

In 1784, he took possession of the island of La Tête, in the bay of Passamaquoddy, granted him by the British Government for his services in America. He did not remain long there, but went to St. John's, New Brunswick, and was soon elected member of the New Brunswick Assembly, and Clerk of that body. The office of Deputy Surveyor-general of the King's Forests in America was conferred upon him by Sir John Wentworth.

He returned to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1787; and, in 1793, to Worcester, where he lived for many years and regained the confidence and esteem of the community.

He was the first Vice-president of the American Antiquarian Society; and, in 1815, he delivered an Address before the Society in Kings Chapel, Boston. He received his degree of M. D. in 1776, from Marischal College, Aberdeen, and, in 1818, an honorary degree of M. D. from Harvard University.

He died in Worcester, on the nineteenth of April, 1832.

ing thro' too many Insults & too Cruel Treatment to trouble you with the Recital, as well as my Friends; and by a stratagem and the greatest good Fortune, I passed through the numerous Provincial Armies which had besieged the Town in every part by Land, and arrived safe, and a novelty it was to see or hear of a person from the Country. I have since been treated with great Politeness by some of the Principal Officers in the Army. * * * *

My Father is a Prisoner and Confined to the Town and disarmed, with a number of others among whom I was one, but have made my escape. * * * *

The King's Troops have gained tho' at Great Loss, a surprising Victory over the Rebels, last Saturday. An awful scene of which I was an Eye Witness & been since on the Field of Battle, and shall endeavor for your Satisfaction to give some account of it.

After the Concord Expedition Affairs took a Turn. A Large Army was immediately raised, & Every Passage to the Town of Boston Invested, the Prov^l Congress conduct^d extremely well, put their Army on Pay, by Issuing a large Sum of Paper Currency, and they appeared very formidable having plenty of Artillery. In various Rencontres with the King's Troops they got the Better were flushed with Victory & held a British Soldier in the highest Contempt, but the Surrender of the Important Fortress of Ticonderoga, to the American Arms, heightened their Enthusiasm. In this situation of their Minds last Friday night being very dark Many Thousands took Possession of a High Hill in Charlestown (called Bunker's) that Commands the whole of this Town, & before Morning they had completed a Redoubt & such Intrenchments as did honor to the Engineer, and this Town lay Exposed to a fire which must have ruined it unless prevented. As soon as it was discovered from Cops Hill, near the ferry, on which is a fine Battery, the *Lively, Glasgow & Battery* began to play & a most furious Cannonade began upon the Rebels, which they returned Seven times upon the Town. Instead of Quitting their Post large Reinforcements were sent from Cambridge Head Quarters of their Army. Matters here begun to be Serious, about 1 o'clock All the Grenadiers & light Infantry of the whole Army reinforced to about 3000 under the conduct of the Gallant Lord Howe & Abercromby Embarked from the Long Wharf with 12 Brass Pieces, & landed at a Point of Land back of Charlestown, in full view of the Rebels who still kept their Post.

The Troops being annoyed from some Houses in Charlestown, the Ships threw Carcasses into it and in a few minutes the whole Town was in flames, a most awful, Grand and Melancholy Sight. In the Mean, the Troops marched on

towards the Hill for the Intrenchments, under a most heavy fire of Artillery, on both sides. Never did I see such a day: I was on Beacon Hill in full Prospect, in about thirty minutes the Troops were nigh the Works Exposed to an Amazing fire of Small Arms, for by this Time, the Rebels amounted to 10,000. In a few minutes, we heard the Shouts of the British Army whom we now saw entering the Breast Works & soon they entered, and a most terrible slaughter began upon the Rebels who now were every one Shifting for Himself. The Troops pursued them over the Neck, beyond Temples House & were Masters of the Field of Battle. The Troops have suffered Extremely, there being about 24 Officers killed & near 60 wounded and about 700 rank & file Killed and Wounded.

The Rebels lost a vast many among whom was Doctor Warren a noted Rascal & Willard Moore of Paxton a Lt. Col. We have about 30 Prisoners here, some of whom are to be executed. After the firing ceased I went over & Good God, what a Sight, all the Horrors of War, Death & Rebellion. The British Army is encamped upon the High Hills in Charlestown, in fine Spirits, will advance into the Country as soon as possible, laying waste & desolation wherever they go.

What the Event of all these Matters will be God only knows. As perhaps you may see some better account of the matter I shall spare any further. The Rebels are very numerous & continue to besiege the Passages, & entrenching themselves upon every strong Point about. * * * *

We are in Continual Motion here & now we are all in the dark. Last evening 1500 troops under Genl Clinton embark^d in four Transports, their Destination not known, but no doubt Salem Marblehead Newbury &c will be in ashes before night. All the Troops ordered to New York are now to come here, which including Preston's Regiment of Light Horse, which has arrived safe and in fine order, will make abt 20 Regiments so that we may Expect a Bloody Summer, for my Countrymen fight well for them and are determined at all events to die or conquer. Write by the Men of War or Transports bound for this Place, in which I expect to remain this Summer. We have no Market here, the best of us live upon Salt Provisions & Vegetables of which we have Plenty & Plenty of Fish. I am in good Health & think upon the whole the Curious Annals of the times, which perhaps I may not see again in my day, Induce me rather to be here than in London or any other part of Europe. * * * *

If before I send this I can procure one of the Genl Procn I will send it, whereby Martial Law is declared throughout the Province, to be the only Law and all Civil Government suspended.

You will excuse an Unconnected jumbled let-

ter, the Times are jumbled in such a manner, as that it is impossible for me to write.

I wish you my dear Brother all the happiness this Life can afford you, & hope in God, when the Peace of this Country is restored you may be restored to taste the sweets of domestic Life the only Source of Happiness in this World,

I am with the Sincerest Esteem

Your true Friend & Loving Brother,

S. PAINE.

Since my beginning this, the brave Abercromby is dead of a wound he recd in Battle Saturday.

II.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Travels by Sea and Land of Alceitheras*. New York: Moorhead, Simpson, and Bond. 1868. Duodecimo. Price \$1.75.

In this anonymous volume we have the journeyings and adventures of a searcher for the Truth; and while it professes to "take the very widest range in its sarcastic philosophy, and to combine with the humorous adventures of genuine travel the interest of a fictitious tale of passion," it is any thing but a *Pilgrim's Progress*, in simplicity, and of no practical utility whatever to the mass of mankind.

It is beautifully printed, and will be much admired, as a handsome book, by a wide circle of readers.

2.—*Light: its Influence on Life and Health*. By Forbes Winslow, M.D., D.C.L. Oxon. New York: Moorhead, Simpson, & Bond. 1868. 16mo., pp. xvi, 90.

The object of this work is to demonstrate the inestimable value of Light, as an hygienic agent, and to analytically examine its physiological influence in the development of vital phenomena as manifested in the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and in the prosecution of that purpose, the author traces the origin of light; its effects, as seen in both its presence and its absence, on men and things, on residents in the city and those in the country, on negroes and whites, on the ocean and its inhabitants. It treats also of *lunar light*, and discusses the influence of the moon on man, on the tidal action, on the vegetable world, on the mind of those who are insane, etc.

In many respects this is one of the most interesting volumes, on a scientific subject, that we ever perused, and its teachings are among the most important. We commend it, therefore, to our readers as an exceedingly useful work and worthy of their attention.

3.—*Man, where, whence, and whither?* Being a glance at Man in his Natural History Relations. By David Paige, LL.D., F. R. S. E., F. G. S. First American Edition. New York: Moorehead, Simpson, & Bond. 1868. 16mo. pp. 197.

This very handsome little volume, which has been received with the greatest interest, both in Europe and America, is the substance of two Lectures delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, in the Fall of 1866, and embraces the Zoological, the Geographical, the Ethnological, the Functional, the Historical, the Geological, the Progressive, and other Relations of Man.

In a work which is so varied in its character and which handles subjects of so much delicacy, there must needs be a clashing with many old notions; and, notwithstanding the ability of the author, we understand he has encountered the earnest opposition of many whose opinions he has controverted.

4.—*Centennial Celebration of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York*, at Irving Hall, April 6. 1868. *Report of Proceedings*. New York: J. W. Amerman. 1868. Octavo, pp. 44.

The venerable Chamber of Commerce, one of the few ante-Revolutionary relics which remain to remind us of a past age, celebrated its one hundredth birth-day, a few weeks since; and the tract before is a "Report of [its] Proceedings," on that occasion.

The meeting was presided over by Hon. William E. Dodge, who briefly opened the proceedings, after a prayer by Doctor Osgood. The Secretary of the Society, J. Austin Stevens, Esq., followed with a carefully-written historical sketch of the Chamber—a duty which no one was so well qualified to discharge as he,—and he confined himself to the *history* of the Chamber. Messrs. A. A. Low, George Opdyke, J. de Peyster Ogden, Jonathen Sturges, and S. B. Chittenden followed with brief, business-like addresses.

This pamphlet will be valued by every one who takes any interest in the history of Old New York.

III.—CURRENT EVENTS.

—The Royal Geographical Society of London have presented to Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, the Victoria gold medal for his Arctic discoveries. The obverse of the medal contains a medallion of the Queen, with the inscription: VICTORIA, D. G., BRITANNARUM REGINA MDCCCXXXVII. PATRONA. The reverse contains the figure of Minerva holding out a wreath with the motto OB TERRAS RECLUSAS. ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. As our readers well know, this honorable distinction has been honorably won; as our explorer, in his "Arctic Boat Journey," reached the highest Northern Latitude ever trodden by man.

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